THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1792.

PART II.
CHRONICLE, STATE PAPERS, CHARACTERS, &c.

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ABSTRACT

OF THE

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ERRATA, SECOND PART.

Page 268* 2d col. line 10. for “ Director,” read, “ Directory.”
—— in two places, for “ St. Martel,” read, “ St. Marcel.”
273* 1ſt col. line 9 from the bottom, for “ St. Martel,” read, “ St. Marcel.”
293* 1ſt col. line 26. for “ moſt ſacred duties,” read, “ moſt ſacred of duties.”
304* 1ſt col. line 3. for “ French Biſhop,” read, “ Prince Biſhop.”
—— line 12. for “ reverſing,” read, “ reſerving.”
314* 2d col. line 29. for “ 10th of December,” read “ 10th of September.”
351* 1ſt col. line 28. for “ piratical,” read “ practical.”

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1ſt. A Dreadful accident happened lately at Clermont Ferrand, a town in France. A number of young perſons were collected together for a private theatrical. They had choſen a large room in a ruinous houſe, occupied by a peaſant. Having diſtributed a great number of tickets, the room was much crowded. Juſt at the moment that the repreſentation began, the joiſts gave way, and the whole company, actors and ſpectators, fell together, 18 feet, into a cellar. Notwithſtanding immediate aſſiſtance, 36 of the unfortunate people died on the ſpot; and of thoſe who eſcaped alive, 57 had broken limbs, or were badly wounded.

Rome. Prince Auguſtus, fifth ſon of his Britannic majeſty, has been received by his holineſs with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect. Yeſterday cardinal de Bernis informed his royal highneſs, that by expreſs deſire of the holy father, apartments were ordered to be in readineſs for him in the Vatican; and a ſuite of ſuperb rooms were accordingly prepared. But his royal highneſs politely refuſed the hoſpitable compliment, alledging the neceſſity he was under of making Rome his reſidence for a very ſhort duration. He received an addreſs, on Tueſday, from the Dominican friars, congratulating him upon his arrival in Rome. It was accompanied by an elegant Latin oration, pronounced by father Le Pole; to which his royal highneſs returned a polite anſwer in the ſame language. Several other religious orders have alſo addreſſed his royal highneſs, each of whom, as their ſeveral ſentiments dictated, added to their complimentary congratulations, alternate alluſions to the political ſituations of Great Britain and France at this preſent juncture. His royal highneſs is the firſt proteſtant prince who has been offered, by any pope, apartments in the apoſtolic palace; or who has received, upon arriving in Rome, public congratulations from the clergy.

Liſbon. On Sunday night, the 27th ult. we had an extraordinary earthquake. The firſt ſhock was felt about twenty minutes after eleven, and conſiſted of five or ſix ſtrong vibrations, ſo cloſely following each other, that they could ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed. After a pauſe of near five minutes, one very violent undulatory motion, that ſhook the whole houſe, ſucceeded, attended by a tremendous craſh, which, after a ruſtling noiſe, and ſeveral hiſſes, like thoſe which proceed from a great maſs of flaming iron ſuddenly quenched in cold water,

ter, went off with the report of a cannon. Meantime the ſtreets were crowded with the multitudes flying from their houſes, whoſe chimnies were falling about their ears. The bells of St. Roche tumbled in all directions, and tolled in the moſt horrible ſounds. After the firſt fright had a little abated, the churches were opened, and ſoon filled with multitudes, to deprecate the miſchiefs of 1755, and implore the divine mercy. Between ſix and ſeven her majeſty, with her houſehold, ſet out for Belem, followed by almoſt every perſon of quality, who retired to ſome diſtance. So laſting was the conſternation, that no buſineſs was done at the exchange, the cuſtom-houſe, or quays. The theatres were ſhut, and all public diverſions forbidden till further orders. Prayers were made three times a day in the churches.

The following hint, of importance to the owners and occupiers of lands, is given by Mr. Leyburn, jun. of Hunmanby. This gentleman ſays, that in order to prevent manure ſinking too deep in low and ſpringy meadow or paſture land, a ſufficient quantity of the ſtrongeſt lime that can be procured ſhould be laid on it; that he has uſed Knottingley lime with great ſucceſs; the quantity not leſs than ſix chaldrons to a ſtatute acre, to be laid on the land in the winter ſeaſon. In 12 or 15 months after, by putting a ſpade into the ground, it will be found that the lime is formed into a ſolid body, which will prevent manure ſinking any lower than the lime, and conſequently the lands will receive benefit ſo long as the manure will laſt. The lime ſhould be laid in heaps till it be very wet, before it be put on the land.

2d. A melancholy affair happened in the park of N. Scottone, Eſq. of Cheſham, Bucks. As two boys, about 12 years of age, were foddering the deer, ſome words aroſe between them, when one ſtruck the other with a fork, and ran it five inches into his ear. After languiſhing for about ten days, the boy died. The verdict of the jury, who ſat ſeven hours on the body, was wilful murder.

4th. A donation of 3000l. from an unknown hand is tranſmitted to the Middleſex hoſpital, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a cancer ward. There is no ward for that particular diſorder in any hoſpital in Europe.

Ten thouſand pounds bank ſtock has lately been preſented to the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge in the highlands of Scotland. Iſaac Hawkins Browne, eſq. M. P. announced the donation; but the name of the donor is to be ever a ſecret.

5th. Yeſterday their majeſties, the prince of Wales, the duke and ducheſs of York, the duke of Clarence, and ſix of the princeſſes, went to the new theatre in the Haymarket. Such was the curioſity on this occaſion, that undeſcribable confuſion and miſchief enſued, and Mr. Smith, a gentleman belonging to the India-houſe, loſt his life. The crowd had aſſembled at an early hour; in conſequence of which, the ſtreet doors were ſoon opened to the lobbies. As ſoon as the lobby leading to the pit was full, by ſome means or other the door was ſhut: numbers continuing to aſſemble, who wiſhed to get to the pit, ſuppoſed that the door had not been opened, as it was only five o'clock; when the uſual period arrived for opening, finding the door ſhut, they grew exceedingly tumultuous, calling out, "Open the door! open the door! or down with the houſe!" The advanced guard arrived about this time, ſoon followed by the king's guard, who attempted to make way, and drive the people from the doors, but in vain: they were diſperſed from their poſts; ſome forced into the highway, and ſome under carriages; and, in the general confuſion, ſeveral loſt their bayonets and ſide arms. At ſix o'clock, the pit door was opened a ſecond time; nor, till this period, would the multitude be convinced that the door had been opened before, much leſs that the houſe was full.—The unfortunate Mr. Smith was injured in the firſt attempt to get in: at the confined entrance he fell down, when the mob cloſed and trampled upon him.

6th. Yeſterday morning Mr. Holman, of Covent-garden theatre, ringing for his ſervant; and on his not appearing to the bell, they found the man, on going into his room, dead in his bed. It appeared that he had taken poiſon, as a phial, with ſome remaining in it, was found by his bedſide. It ſeems he had been inſuring for ſome time paſt in the Iriſh lottery, and had gradually parted with every thing he had, and having nothing farther to hazard, thus, in deſpair, parted with life.

7th. The Weſt India merchants have voted a preſent of 500 l. to captain Bligh, of the navy, as a compliment for ſervices rendered while on the Weſt India ſtation. They have alſo voted a preſent of a handſome ſword, value 200 l. to captain Samuel Hood, of the navy, for ſaving, at the hazard of his own life, while on the Weſt India ſtation, the lives of three ſeamen, who were floating at the mercy of the waves, on a raft of timber. The captain himſelf left his ſhip in a very high ſea, attended in the boat only by his coxſwain, after an ineffectual remonſtrance with the whole crew (none of whom durſt venture), and with the greateſt danger and difficulty picked the poor fellows up, and brought them on board.

8th. A young man named Honnyſett, a native of Stone, in the iſle of Oxney, about 20 years of age, was found almoſt frozen to death in the ſhambles of Canterbury. He was taken to the workhouſe, and every means for his recovery uſed without ſucceſs.

9th. The inhabitants of Hull, with a degree of humanity which deſerves to be recorded to their honour, lately entered into a ſubſcription for the relief of the ſhipwrecked crew of the Swediſh veſſel Soldermandland, captain Nielſon, which were carried in there by captain Barnes. Fifty-ſix pounds were collected, and applied to cloathing and ſuccouring theſe diſtreſſed foreigners. Near nine pounds were depoſited for the ſupport of one of them, whoſe arm was fractured, and who was removed to the infirmary. Captain Nielſon and his crew, the above man excepted, are returned to their native country, and during their ſtay at Hull expreſſed their warmeſt gratitude for the ſeaſonable relief afforded them by their humane benefactors.

10th. An enormous ſtone was laſt week diſcovered in the body of a cart mare, belonging to Bezaliel Angier, eſq. of Colcheſter, which had died ſuddenly; it being two feet in circumference, and as perfectly ſpherical, as if turned in a lathe; the ſuperficies was ſmooth and hard, but being penetrated, leſs hard within; its weight is exactly 14 lb. avoirdupois; and theſe particulars have been ſworn to before a magiſtrate.

14th. On Tueſday James M'Manus, one of the nightly patrole, was tried at the Seſſions-houſe at Clerkenwell, for aſſaulting Ann Trunkett, and confining her for ſeveral hours. On pretence of ſearching Mrs. Trunkett for baſe money, he had pulled the clothes off her back, except her ſhift and under-petticoat, and otherwiſe treated her with great brutality and indecency. The jury found the defendant guilty. And yeſterday, being again put to the bar, the chairman ſaid, "Priſoner, as a peace officer, you ought to have known that you acted illegally; but, independent of this circumſtance, the manner in which it was conducted was cruel in the higheſt degree. This unprotected woman you forced into a back room, and tore her clothes from her, even to her linen. It is one of the firſt duties of a peace officer to protect the unoffending ſubject from violence; but here you were the author of that violence yourſelf. In order to deter baſe-minded perſons from ſuch ſhocking enormities, the bench have determined to make you an example; you are therefore to ſuffer one year's impriſonment in New priſon, and to pay a fine of 6 s. 8 d. to the king."—Mr. Mainwaring then called Mr. Newport, the keeper, and ſaid, "This man is not to be a turnkey, a waiter, or aſſiſtant-keeper. He is to be a cloſe priſoner; and to have no other than the gaol allowance; and remember that this order be obeyed."

16th. On Saturday morning between one and two, a fire broke out at the Pantheon in Oxford-ſtreet; but it was a little after twelve, when Mr. Tempie, the ſecretary to the opera undertaking, perceived a ſmell, which induced him to ſuſpect ſome fire about the premiſes, and to order the watchman, who was conſtantly ſtationed there in the night, to examine the whole. No diſcovery reſulted from this ſearch, which was carried into every apartment of the houſe, except that occupied by the painters in the day-time, who had taken the key of it with them. Mr. Tempie and his family, the watchman, and a porter, were the only inhabitants of the building. Soon after one, the ſmell continuing to increaſe, another ſurvey commenced, and a room adjoining to that allotted to the painters, appeared to be injured by the fire, which had then nearly deſtroyed the former apartment, and was become ſo furious, that theſe perſons were only able to give the alarm, and make their eſcape. The flames ſoon got to a great height, illuminating all the weſt part of the metropolis, and were not much checked by what water the engines, when they arrived, between two and three, could throw in upon them. The walls of the building, which, by their thickneſs, prevented the flames from ſpreading to the adjoining houſes, by their height made it difficult to project water over them. At length, between four and five, the roof, which was of wood and ſlate, fell in, and the immenſe column of flame, riſing then to a great height, and continuing for ſeveral minutes, was a dreadful and ſublime object. The fire continued to rage till between ſix and ſeven, and was not entirely extinguiſhed at twelve o'clock on Saturday. The original building coſt 60,000 l. of which only 10,000 l. was inſured, viz. in the Weſtminſter office; and, on the property, 5000 l. was inſured in the Phœnix. Happily no lives were loſt, either by the fire, or by the falling of the dome; but the firemen had left the cotilion-room only ten minutes before the falling of the floor.

18th. The following moſt daring attempt was made to rob his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, in the drawing-room, at St. James's. Upon the entrance of his royal highneſs into the drawing-room, he was ſuddenly obſtructed by a gang of fellows, who, by means of a dreſs coat, had procured admittance. A gentleman of the prince's retinue cautioned his highneſs to be on his guard, as the characters of ſome perſons near him ſeemed to be ſuſpicious. Not long after the prince felt a violent force pulling him ſuddenly on one ſide, and clapping his hand upon his ſword, found that the guard, or bow, which contains the principal diamonds, had been forcibly broken off, and was hanging by ſo ſlight a hold, that the ſmalleſt repetition of force would have removed it.

20th. In the evening, as a young lady of Newgate-ſtreet, was ſitting by the fire, a coal falling off, caught her gown, which was nearly conſumed before it could be extinguiſhed, and her arms were burnt in a dreadful manner.

21ſt. This day between four and five o'clock, the houſe of Mrs. Lloyd, on the Lower Terrace, in the Lower-Street, Iſlington, was broken into; the invaders had gotten over the wall into the garden, and attempted the main back-door, which luckily was faſtened within by iron bolts, and they were in conſequence reduced to make their entry by taking out the window of the back kitchen; but in breaking one of the bolts, a gentleman, who lodged in the houſe, being awakened, left his bed and came down ſtairs, and having a rattle in his hand, gave a twirl or two, which alarming the depredators, they made their eſcape, leaving behind them their augres, crows, a dark lanthorn, tinder-box, with matches and tinder, &c. &c.

24th. A bet of 500 guineas, was ſaid to have been laid between a royal perſonage and a Mr. Bingham, that the latter's Iriſh-bred brown mare ſhould leap over the wall of Hyde-park, near the gate going from Piccadilly, which wall is 6½ feet high on the inſide, and 8 on the out. Mr. Bingham having ſold his mare on Saturday to Mr. Jones, the bett of courſe became void; Mr. Jones offered betts to any amount, that the mare ſhould do it, but his offers were not accepted. Mr. Bingham, to ſhew the poſſibility of its being done, led to the ſame place a beautiful bay horſe, his property, who performed this ſtanding leap twice, without any difficulty, except that, in returning, his hind feet bruſhed the bricks off the top of the wall. As the height from which he was to deſcend into the road was ſo conſiderable, he was received on a large bed of long dung. The duke of York, prince William of Glouceſter, lord Derby, and a number of nobility, joined the innumerable concourſe of impatient ſpectators, who were nearly tired out before the exhibition began.

26th. This morning a drummer belonging to the Coldſtream regiment, being ordered to the barracks on the ſouth ſide of St. James's Park, for puniſhment, cut his throat in a dreadful manner. He was immediately conveyed to the regimental hoſpital, without hopes of ſurviving.

28th. This evening, a man genteelly dreſſed, with a cockade in his hat, called a coach in Hart-ſtreet, Bloomſbury; but the coachman had no ſooner mounted his box, than he was alarmed by the report of a piſtol. On opening the coach-door, he found the gentleman ſenſeleſs, and weltering in his blood. His forehead, where the bullet entered, was ſhattered in a very ſhocking manner. He was conveyed to Bloomſbury workhouſe, without hopes of recovery.

31ſt. *Plymouth.* A few days ſince there was the moſt tremendous ſtorm experienced at this port for many years. The tide was two feet higher than uſual; the lower part of the town was entirely overflowed, and in many houſes it was near 18 inches in the ground floors. The ſea, which in the Sound was tremendouſly grand, made a clear breach over St. Nicholas's iſland, and at Fiſher's Noſe, over the lower batteries of the citadel, forming an object ſublime and awful to a degree. A boat rowed through Tin-ſtreet with four oars, took cheeſe and gin at a public-houſe called the Noah's ark, and, after giving three cheers, rowed back into the Pool. The moſt remarkable thing which happened was at the Edyſtone light-houſe, which, on the 28th of January, was viſited by the boat belonging to it. The ſurf continuing very heavy, the boat could not land, and the men in the houſe threw out a bottle, which the boatſmen took up. It contained a letter, and the contents deſcribe the ſtorm as dreadful indeed. For ſome hours before day-break the ſea ſeveral times made a clear breach of many feet higher than the Edyſtone light-houſe, over the lanthorn. At laſt three panes of the glaſs of the lanthorn were broken, although they were remarkably thick.

DIED.—Lately near Tuam, in Ireland, in his 117th year, Thomas Wims, who fought at the ſiege of Londonderry, in 1701.

22d. Aged 81, Mrs. Hoys, of Peterborough. It is ſuppoſed that ſhe fell into the fire in a fit, as ſhe was found burnt to death.

24th. At Iſlington, aged 102, Mrs. Judith Scott.

27th. At Aughtfarnale, co. Lanark, aged 103, Archibald Niſbet.

31ſt. At Fiſh Hill, in Cumberland, at the great age of 120 years, Mr. Frederick Harpe.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. *Stockholm.* The king opened the diet the 27th of laſt month, at Geſle, and pronounced a diſcourſe, wherein he traced the exhauſted and weak ſtate of Sweden at his acceſſion; the ſpeedy and ſucceſsful manner in which he had regenerated it; the happineſs which the Swedes had enjoyed under his reign for many years; the diſtruſt, ſchiſm, and diviſions which had occurred to diſturb that happineſs; the meaſures he had taken to remedy thoſe evils; the glorious concluſion of the war with Ruſſia during thoſe troubles; the reduced ſituation of the finances, which was the effects of it; and, finally, the neceſſity of amending them, and ſupporting the credit of the ſtate. This he mentioned as, in fact, the principal object of the convocation of the diet, and therefore hoped that none of the former diviſions will now prevail amongſt the members of it.

2d. Lately was preſented to the preſident of the united ſtates of America a ſilver-mounted box, made of the celebrated oak that ſheltered Sir William Wallace, the Scottiſh hero, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, about the beginning of the 14th century, by Edward I. This box was a preſent ſent the earl of Buchan from the goldſmiths company at Edinburgh. That patriotic company afterwards, at his lordſhip's requeſt, gave him leave to preſent it to the preſident. The box was delivered by Archibald Robertſon, a Scotch gentleman juſt ſettled in America, who, at the ſame time, delivered a letter from his lordſhip to the preſident, requeſting, that at his deceaſe he would conſign it to the man who, in his opinion, ſhould beſt deſerve it of his country. The inſcription upon a ſilver plate, on the inſide of the lid, is as follows: "Preſented by the goldſmiths of Edinburgh, to David Stuart Erſkine, earl of Buchan, with the freedom of the corporation, by their deacon—A. D. 1782."

3d. Laſt week the lords of ſeſſion delivered their opinions in the caſe of Lord Daer againſt the freeholders of the county of Wigton and ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright. Lord Daer had been put upon the roll of freeholders of the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright. The determination of the court on Tueſday was, that he had been improperly admitted there. They therefore ordered him to be ſtruck off the roll, and found him liable in expences. His lordſhip had not been upon the roll of freeholders of the county of Wigton; and, by this deciſion, cannot now be admitted there.

5th. Mr. Layton, of the Borough, entertained 200 friends in a new tub. It was made for Mr. Meux, brewer, and will contain 10,000 barrels, the coſt of which will be about 3000l. Mr. Layton gives ſecurity of 2000l. to indemnify Mr. Meux from any loſs that may be ſuſtained within the firſt twelve months. On a ſide-table in the tub was a china bowl, on a mahogany ſtand with wheels, which contained 27 gallons and a half of punch.

6th. As ſome maſons were pulling down an old houſe in Hampſhire, they found concealed in the wall an iron box, with 120l. bank-notes in it, and a pair of large diamond rings. The laſt perſon who lived in the houſe was an old Jew, and, as he had no relations, it is ſuppoſed he was the perſon who put the box into the wall. The Jew died the 28th of laſt month, and about a week before his death he ſent a letter to a Mr. Marcer, of the ſame county, informing him he thought he ſhould die ſoon; and whatever Mr. M. could find in his houſe, after his death, he ſhould keep in remembrance of him. It is ſaid, Mr. M. purpoſes ſuing the maſons in conſequence

ſequence of the letters ſent him by the Jew, as Mr. M. thinks the above his property.

16th. About half paſt four o'clock, the cotton-mill belonging to Meſſ. Wells, Heathfield and Co. of Sheffield, was diſcovered to be on fire, which raged with ſuch impetuous fury, that ſoon after ſix o'clock, notwithſtanding every aſſiſtance, that noble edifice was levelled with the ground. Happily no lives were loſt. The damage ſuſtained is eſtimated at 30,000 l.

17th. *Werneth, near Oldham.* A young man was aſſiſted to mount a reſtive horſe; and no ſooner was he upon it, than the animal ran backwards ſeveral yards, till he got to the mouth of a coal-pit, and fell into it, with his rider, 106 yards in depth! The horſe was daſhed to pieces, and the young man's thigh was terribly broken: but he was otherwiſe unhurt, and is likely to do well.

18th. About 1 o'clock in the morning, an alarming fire broke out on the Market-hill, Northampton, which in a ſhort time entirely deſtroyed the houſe where it began, together with all the furniture, &c. and what is moſt ſhocking to relate, out of 9 people, who were in bed, only one (Henry Marriott, the landlord) eſcaped the fury of the flames. The family conſiſted of the ſaid Henry Marriott, his wife, and 5 children, and a man and his wife (lodgers) who only came the preceding evening.

19th. *Oxford.* By a ſtatement of the earnings and ſupport of the criminals under confinement, and ſentenced to hard labour, in our gaol and houſe of correction at the caſtle, delivered in by the committee of magiſtrates, at the laſt general quarter ſeſſions, and by the bench ordered to be printed, it appears that their earnings, during the laſt year, have been as follow:

	£.	s.	d.
By labour of different kinds, in works carried on within the walls - - - -	297	10	8
Caſh paid into the hands of the treaſurer, for labour on the river navigation, and the repair of the Bottley turnpike road -	91	8	7
	388	18	3
Total expence of clothing and maintenance	273	10	8
Balance - £.	115	7	7

20th. As lady Laneſborough was ſtanding by the fire-ſide, dreſſing for dinner, a ſpark flew among her cloaths, and almoſt inſtantly ſet her in a blaze. Her ladyſhip and her daughter lady Sophia's ſhrieks brought up Mr. King and Mr. Butler, who immediately tried to ſmother the flames, and tear her cloaths from her; but the fire had ſo generally communicated, that it was a conſiderable time before it could be got under, and not till her arms and part of her face were burnt. Her ladyſhip was immediately attended by ſeveral ſurgeons, and pronounced out of danger. Her daughter, in attempting to aſſiſt her, was very much burnt.

Shadrach Shaw, a clerk of the Bank, was indicted at the Old Bailey for a miſdemeanor in his office, found guilty, and ſentenced to be tranſported for ſeven years. His crime was, ſelling ſtock, not being himſelf poſſeſſed of any in the Bank. The recorder enlarged on the heinouſneſs of the crime, which, he ſaid, called for the ſevereſt puniſhment the law could inflict.

21ſt. On Thurſday laſt, at nine o'clock in the evening, a gang of twelve men, armed with knives and bludgeons, aſſembled on Saffron-hill, and, as appears, from a ſpirit of wanton barbarity, fell with their bludgeons and knives upon every perſon they met with, many of whom were ſeverely and dangerouſly wounded, by ſtabs they received on the ſide and face. One poor labouring man, who was quietly paſſing by them, fell a victim to the cruelties practiſed by theſe deſperadoes, for him they purſued, and one of the party gave him a mortal wound in his ſide. After he fell, this wretch kicked the poor man, and ſtamped upon him, and with the reſt of his companions knocked down the gentleman who took the wounded man into his houſe, and demoliſhed his windows. The name of the unfortunate man was Jordan Hoſty; he was taken to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, where he lingered a ſhort time, and died. On Friday night two of the gang were taken in Holborn, Armſtrong and Jones, who were on Saturday examined at Bow-ſtreet, and were by ſeveral perſons ſworn to have been very active in the above ſhocking tranſaction: that Armſtrong was there with a drawn knife in his hand, and, as well as Jones, had a bludgeon, with which they knocked down ſeveral perſons, who appeared and identified them.

A ſcheme of a very ſingular nature was detected lately at the poſt-office in Exeter. A gentleman dropping a letter into the letter-hole, was ſtruck at not hearing it drop to the bottom, and on examination a caſe was diſcovered to have been let down the hole by a ſtring, and faſtened on the outſide by a piece of watch-ſpring; it was, when detected, full of letters, and, no doubt, contained bills to a very conſiderable amount.

24th. Mr. James Napper Tandy having eſcaped from the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms of the Iriſh houſe of commons, a proclamation by the lord lieutenant was poſted up in Dublin, offering a reward of 50l. for his apprehenſion.

Information being laid before Sir Lawrence Cox, the ſitting magiſtrate at the Rotation-office in Litchfield-ſtreet, that a combination had taken place among the journeymen ſhoemakers, for the raiſing of their wages 1 s. on the making of a pair of boots, and 6 d. on each pair of ſhoes; Sir Lawrence iſſued out 170 warrants for apprehending the parties concerned, 21 of whom were brought before the Right Hon. Viſcount Galway, Sir L. Cox, and Mr. Shepherd, yeſterday morning, at the above office; the report of which having ſpread over the town, a multitude of ſhoemakers, &c. in number upwards of 1000, aſſembled in Litchfield-ſtreet, in a riotous manner; on account of which Viſcount Galway went to St. James's, where he reported the ſame to the king; his majeſty ordered that a ſufficient number of horſe and foot ſoldiers ſhould be ſent to prevent any interruption, and that the battalion on guard ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs, in caſe of being wanted; by which orders a troop of horſe-guards, and a company of foot, went to the relief of the magiſtrates; on appearance of whom, the mob diſperſed, and the priſoners were committed to Newgate for ſix weeks.

27th. *Dublin.* About half paſt four o'clock, the ſheet iron funnel from one of the ſtoves, either that in the corridore, or that in the hall forming the weſtern wing of the court of requeſts, which paſſed through the roof cloſe by the baſe of the great dome of the ſenate-houſe, was obſerved from the ſtreet to be on fire; but no further notice was taken until a few minutes paſt five, when the members in the houſe of commons were alarmed by the tumultuous buſtle of a number of people paſſing and repaſſing in ſeeming confuſion, before the windows, which, from the baſe of the dome, threw light into the houſe. Immediately an alarm of fire was given, and the houſe filling with ſmoke corroborated this alarm. It was thought, however, too trifling to interrupt the buſineſs of the houſe, when one of the members who had diſcerned the fire from the ſtreet, and had made his way to the roof, looking down into the houſe from one of the ventilators, confirmed the apprehenſions of thoſe within, by ſaying the dome was ſurrounded by fire, and would tumble into the houſe in five minutes. The ſpeaker inſtantly put the queſtion of adjournment—and all the members ran into the ſtreet—where they had the mortification to obſerve the flames burſting forth on all ſides from the baſe of the dome. In leſs than three quarters of an hour the whole dome was ſurrounded by a volume of fire, which ſoon made apertures on all ſides, by melting the copper from the woodwork, and thus exhibiting the cavity of the dome filled with flames like a huge furnace. About half paſt ſix the dome, burnt on all ſides from its ſupporting principles, tumbled into the houſe with one great craſh. The houſe of lords, as well as the commons, was ſitting and in debate when the flames firſt broke out. Engines were brought from all ſides—but their approach was ſo tardy—and when they did come the ſupply of water ſo very ſcanty—that the rapidity of the flame baffled all their efforts to prevent the total ruin of the place. Parties of horſe and foot from the garriſon were immediately brought to keep off the populace, and prevent as well plunder to the chambers, as interruption to the firemen. The flames, having ſpent their fury on the houſe of commons, ſpread their ravages to the reſt of the building, and blended every thing ſuſceptible of combuſtion in the common ruin. Happily and providentially the calmneſs of the evening prevented the extenſive miſchief that would otherwiſe have been inevitable. The valuable library and all the papers of importance were ſaved. For the remainder of the ſeſſion the houſe of commons are to do buſineſs in the great room at the weſt front of the building, which was intended to be appropriated for the parliamentary records.

DIED.—19th. At Auchinleck, in Ayrſhire, aged 123, Matthew Tait, who ſerved as a private ſoldier at the taking of Gibraltar by the Engliſh in 1704.

20th. At North Sunderland, in her 104th year, Elizabeth Haſtings.

23d. At his houſe in Leiceſter-fields, in his 69th year, Sir Joſhua Reynolds, Knt. F. R. S. and A. S. S. LL. D.

LL. D. of Oxford and Dublin, and a member of the company of painter-ſtainers in London.

MARCH.

1ſt. On Monday laſt an action was tried in the court of Common Pleas, to recover from the warden of the Fleet a debt due from the count de Verteillac, lately eſcaped from cuſtody. The jury gave a verdict againſt the warden, although he did not appear to have been criminally negligent. Lord Loughborough ſtated the law to be, that nothing but irreſiſtible force (ſuch as the riots in 1780) could be pleaded in excuſe for a gaoler, whoſe priſoners eſcape by any means from his cuſtody.

The ground in a meadow, part of the farm or eſtate of Stanley, the property of the right honourable the earl of Lonſdale, ſuddenly ſunk to the depth of ſome feet, making a circular break on the ſurface. Immediately after, a torrent of water was heard, which appeared to ruſh out from various parts of the broken ſoil; and falling, as it was conjectured, into a receptacle which could not at that time be perceived, occaſioned a moſt tremendous noiſe, while the ſhrinking was evidently increaſing upon the ſurface. In the morning this extraordinary ſpot was viſited by numbers of people. The aperture then exhibited the appearance of an immenſe funnel: it was yet enlarging, conſequently no admeaſurement could be made: but the computation generally agreed to was from 60 to 70 yards in diameter, and 30 yards in depth to the vortex, the diameter of which appeared to be about 6 or 7 yards. During this time, large heaps of earth were falling from the ſides, and water guſhing out in an amazing abundance; the water alſo was ſometimes forced up a conſiderable height above the vortex, or gulph, as if from a *jet d'eau*; the whole preſenting to the eye a ſcene of the moſt awful and horrible grandeur, while the ear was filled with ſounds the moſt terrifying and alarming, often reſembling diſtant thunder, as the deluge poured into the ſubterraneous workings of Scalegill colliery, which, it is ſaid, is now rendered uſeleſs. It was a land-ſale colliery of ſmall compaſs, and the coal nearly exhauſted. Providentially, the people employed in it had quitted their work a ſhort time before the ſinking happened.

2d. At Kettering, in the county of Northampton, a quarter before nine in the evening, an earthquake was felt there and at ſeveral of the neighbouring towns, which continued near thirty ſeconds. It was preceded by a violent craſh over head (as deſcribed by ſome); by others as a violent concuſſion in the air; and by all as an earthquake, which extended near 40 miles round; but was attended with no perceptibly pernicious effects, other than cauſing a general alarm. The ſhock was ſenſibly felt throughout the counties of Bedford, Leiceſter, Nottingham, Rutland, and Lincoln. At Biggleſwade ſome old houſes were thrown down, but no lives loſt. At Nottingham many of the inhabitants ran into the ſtreets, expecting their habitations to fall. The ſhock was preceded by a violent rumbling noiſe, like the rolling of a cannon-ball on a floor, and there was an uncommon tremor in the air before and during its continuance.

3d. This day the remains of Sir Joſhua Reynolds were conveyed with great funeral pomp from Somerſet-place to St. Paul's Cathedral, where they were interred in the Crypt, cloſe to the tomb of Sir Chriſtopher Wren.—(*See the Appendix to our Chronicle.*)

Oxford. Yeſterday a perſon diſmounted in the entrance of the lane on the other ſide of St. Clement's field, about a mile from this city, on the Henley road, and having faſtened his mare to a gate-poſt on the ſide of the lane, applied a piſtol to his right temple, and ſhot himſelf dead upon the ſpot. A gentleman of All-Souls college almoſt inſtantly came up, who made the utmoſt ſpeed to procure a ſurgeon, when it was found that the ball had paſſed quite through his head. In his pockets were found a memorandum-book, a gold watch, a few guineas, with ſome ſilver; and in his left-hand coat pocket another loaded piſtol. Divers perſons ſoon after coming along the road, the body was known to be that of Mr. Thomas Turner, of this place, gold and ſilverſmith, againſt whom a commiſſion of bankruptcy was lately awarded, and who was to have appeared this day at the Croſs-inn in this city, to undergo his firſt examination before the commiſſioners.

5th. The people of Shields have conſtructed a boat, which will go out with ſafety to the aſſiſtance of diſtreſſed mariners, when no other conſtructed veſſel could poſſibly live; it has already been the means of ſaving many lives.

6th. At Shrewſbury aſſizes came on to be tried a cauſe of very conſiderable importance to the tanners in every part of the kingdom. By the ſtatute of the 1ſt of James I. all perſons are prohibited, under very heavy penalties, from carrying on the trade of tanning, except ſuch as have ſerved regular apprenticeſhips to the ſame, or are otherwiſe qualified, as the act requires. Notwithſtanding this, many adventurers have of late years taken upon themſelves the trade of tanning; ſo that it became ſeriouſly requiſite to bring the queſtion to be ſolemnly decided in a court of judicature. For this purpoſe Zachariah Brown, a tanner at Wymondham, entered an action againſt Mr. Arnal Cooper Fayerman, of London, for having carried on and exerciſed the trade of tanning leather, without being qualified as the act directs; when, after hearing the evidence of many reſpectable witneſſes, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 5 l. damages.

7th. A mill has been invented in Yorkſhire, by which cordage is manufactured from ſo ſmall a ſize as whip-cord up to the heavieſt cable of a firſt-rate ſhip of war (which to make in the common way will require 80 hands), and which by this new machinery may be completely managed by one man.

8th. The queen of Portugal being unhappily in a ſtate of lunacy, the effect of ſuperſtition, the Portugueſe miniſter has engaged Dr. Willis to attend her majeſty; and the doctor is accordingly gone to Liſbon, attended by his ſon, and two experienced female attendants. With reſpect to the terms, the original offer was 20,000 l. But the doctor conceiving this offer to implicate a ſtay longer than was conſiſtent with his inclination, has accepted of 10,000l. which, with 1000l. *per* month, forms the total of his allowance.

12th. In a New York paper, an account is given of the arrival of the ſnow Elinora, at the Sandwich Iſlands. The natives, according to their uſual cuſtom of depredation, ſtole away the cutter one night, murdered the boat-keeper who was in her, and afterward burnt him in ſacrifice. On being requeſted to reſtore him and the boat, they brought his two thigh bones, and the keel of the boat. Captain Metcalfe, the commander of the Elinora, in revenge for this treachery, ſome days after, when about 200 canoes were aſſembled round the veſſel, under the ſuppoſition that their villany was paſſed over, fired a broadſide among them, which did dreadful execution; eighty people being killed, and upward of 100 miſerably wounded, who moſt of them died.—*(See the Appendix to our Chronicle.)*

14th. In November laſt an ingenious farmer, in the neighbourhood of Wendover, ſelected from a field of three acres of turnips, about 20 loads of the largeſt of them; from which he cut the tops and tails, piled them into a ſtack, and thatched them. In this ſtate they remained till the froſt in February, when they were opened and found perfectly ſound and freſh, and afforded an excellent fodder for ewes with lambs, giving abundance of milk; and when thrown on meadow land, the feeding off, which muſt much benefit it, was without the leaſt waſte whatever. The whole expence of this proceſs was not more than twenty ſhillings.

18th. *Stockholm.* An atrocious attempt was made on the life of his Swediſh majeſty on Friday laſt, the 16th inſt. A perſon approached the king at the opera-houſe, and diſcharged the contents of a piſtol into his body, a little above the hip. The charge appears to have penetrated to a conſiderable depth; and the ſurgeons have been hitherto able to extract but a very ſmall part of it. His majeſty ſlept little during the laſt night; and the fever, which began yeſterday, increaſed this evening, ſo that ſerious apprehenſions are entertained for his majeſty's life. The aſſaſſin was arreſted early the next morning. His majeſty yeſterday gave orders for the publication of an edict conſtituting a regency, which has already begun to act. It conſiſts of the duke of Sudermania, Count Watchmeiſter (the juſtice general), Count Oxenſtierna, Baron Taube, and M. d'Armfelt.

20th. *Copenhagen.* The royal ordinance, aboliſhing the ſlave trade, is publiſhed, and the following are the two principal articles, viz.

1ſt. In 1803, all trade in negroes, in any ſhape whatever, is to ceaſe on the part of Daniſh ſubjects.

2dly. Until 1803, it ſhall be permitted for all nations, without diſtinction, to carry negroes to the Weſt Indies.

21ſt. On Tueſday, the 13th inſtant, the moſt horrid act of barbarity was perpetrated at the houſe of Mr. Vaſey, called Ruſhcomb-houſe, in the pariſh of Exford, near Exeter, that could enter into the mind of the moſt malignant villain. The wretch (who is a near relation to Mrs. Vaſey) went into the ſtable, and after mixing a quantity of arſenic among the oats, gave it to a team of fine horſes, who all of them died the next day in agonies. Not content with this cruelty, the villain, on Saturday the 17th, at midnight, ſet fire to the houſe and ſtables in four different places; and, had not the cries of an infant awaked Mrs. Vaſey, the whole family muſt have periſhed in the flames, which were ſo rapid, that Mr. and Mrs. Vaſey, with their children and ſervants, had but juſt time to eſcape. The next morning, Sir Thomas Ackland ſent for Mr. Vaſey and his family, to whom he adminiſtered every comfort their melancholy ſituation would admit of. The houſe, barns, and ſtables, are reduced to a heap of ruins.—A reward of 100l. is offered for apprehending the offender, who is ſaid to have been poſſeſſed formerly of 8000l. a year.

30th. A very melancholy accident happened lately near Rickmanſworth, Hertfordſhire: Mr. Dundas, a gentleman of that neighbourhood, was driving his wife and ſiſter in a ſmall country cart. The carriage got entangled with a waggon on the road, and in conſequence overſet. Mrs. Dundas fell under the wheel of the waggon, and was cruſhed to death; Mr. Dundas had both his legs broken; and the other lady was thrown into a ditch, but luckily eſcaped with only a few ſlight contuſions. The unfortunate lady has left three children, thus dreadfully deprived of maternal care.

Stockholm. His majeſty expired yeſterday morning. The prince royal was immediately proclaimed king, by the name of Guſtavus Adolphus; and the duke of Sudermania, in compliance with his late majeſty's will, was declared ſole regent, or guardian of the young ſovereign, till he attains his majority, which is fixed at the age of eighteen.

DIED.—1ſt. At the palace at Vienna, his imperial majeſty Leopold II. emperor of Germany.

3d. At his houſe in Albemarle-ſtreet, Robert Adam, Eſq. architect, fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London and Edinburgh. His death was occaſioned by the burſting of a blood-veſſel in his ſtomach. The many elegant buildings, public and private, erected in various parts of the kingdom by Mr. Adam, will remain laſting monuments of his taſte and genius. On the 10th inſtant, his remains were interred in the ſouth aile of Weſtminſter Abbey. The funeral was private, being attended only by a ſelect number of his friends, who eſteemed him while living, and wiſhed to beſtow this laſt mark of their regard. The pall was ſupported by the duke of Buccleugh, the earl of Coventry, the earl of Lauderdale, lord viſcount Stormont, lord Frederick Campbell, and Mr. Pulteney.

11th. In the pariſh of Llanlivery, near Leſtwithiel, aged 101, Mrs. Blanch Littleton. Her death was ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by a fit, as ſhe was found on the fire, burnt in a moſt ſhocking manner.

Lately, at Beighton in Derbyſhire, aged 105, Mary Bate, a pauper.

In St. Paul's, Norwich, in his 88th year, Mr. Nicholas Hubbard, who for many years kept the Elephant in Magdalen-ſtreet. Two ſingular circumſtances attended his life, viz. his having had 26 children by two wives; and what is more extraordinary, 13 by each wife; and that of receiving naturally and providentially, without any medical aſſiſtance, about eight months ſince, a return of his eyeſight, after having been totally deprived of that ineſtimable bleſſing fourteen years, which he retained with increaſing ſtrength to the hour of his death.

In the pariſh of Monimail, in Fifeſhire, in the 105th year of her age, Helen Gray. Some years before her death ſhe had a new ſet of teeth.

APRIL.

3d. The Thames frigate arrived off Portſmouth with diſpatches from the Eaſt Indies. She ſailed from Tellicherry the 28th of December, and from the Cape the 2d of February. She brings an account of the Phœnix frigate, captain Sir Richard Strachan, having taken, on the 19th of November laſt, after a well-fought action, the Reſolu French frigate of 32 guns. Early in November the Reſolu arrived in the Mallee roads, and ſailed on the 19th with two merchantmen, from the ſame port, which, it is conjectured, was a ſcheme to diſcover whether commodore Cornwallis would board the merchantmen under his protection; an unlucky experiment in the event; for, on ſeeing them in the offing, he made ſignals to the Phœnix and Perſeverance to board them. They got under way, and chaſed to the northward, as far as Mangalore, before they came up with them. An engagement enſued, in which the Reſolu ſtruck, after having had 25 men killed and 40 wounded. The Phœnix had ſix men killed, and eleven wounded, including lieutenant Finlay of the marines, ſince dead. Commodore Cornwallis ordered the Perſeverance to take the French frigate to a French port, and there to leave her, for the French to be at at liberty to act as they pleaſe; the captain having refuſed to have any farther concern with his ſhip, as he ſaid he had ſtruck to the Phœnix. The two merchantmen, on being ſearched, not appearing to carry any ſtores contrary to treaty, was ſuffered to proceed.

Cardigan. Miſs Lloyd, of Killrhyg, near Llangitho, a maiden lady, aged 70, having occaſion to ſend ſome of her ſervants to Tregaron fair; and the reſt being employed in agricultural purpoſes at ſome diſtance, ſhe was unavoidably left at home by herſelf the greateſt part of the day. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon, one of the ſervants, returning from the fair, went into the parlour upon buſineſs, where he found his miſtreſs dead, with her arms extended. Upon calling for aſſiſtance they examined the body, and found ſeveral marks of violence about the neck. The villain has been taken up, and committed to Cardigan gaol. Finding the lady was alone in the houſe, he went to her in the parlour, and ſet up a pretended claim to money for hay-making. The lady, affrighted, ran from him into the kitchen; he followed her, and, making a ſpring, caught her by the throat, and inſtantly choaked her; then, dragging the body into the parlour, he rifled her pockets, and made his eſcape.

At the aſſizes juſt held at Cardigan, John Benjamin, aged only 18 years, was found guilty of the above murder, on his own confeſſion, condemned to be hanged, and his body given to the ſurgeons to be anatomized.

5th. *Warwick.* This morning the court was crowded at an early period, to hear the trial of Dr. Prieſtley's cauſe. His principal evidences for his furniture and wearing apparel were his two ſons and daughters; for his philoſophical apparatus, the Rev. Mr. Johnſon, the Rev. Mr. Berrington (the catholick), Mr. Galton, and Mr. Nairne, the optician; for his books, Mr. Payne of the Mews-gate; and for his manuſcripts, Mr. Johnſon, of St. Paul's Church-yard. The claim for theſe latter was 420l. 15 s. Among them were memoirs of his own life, and diaries regularly kept by him ſince 1752. In about nine hours, the jury returned their verdict for 2502l. 18 s. being 1619l. 13 s. 9 d. leſs than Dr. Prieſtley's claim (4122l. 11 s. 9 d.) The following is a ſtatement of the verdicts obtained by the different ſufferers on this occaſion.

	£.	s.	d.
J. Rylard, Eſq.	3,000	0	0
The Old Meeting	2,177	0	0
Dr. Prieſtley	2,502	18	0
J. Taylor, Eſq.	9,831	13	10
Mr. Humphreys	2,191	5	$6\frac{1}{4}$
Mr. Hutton	625	0	0

Other verdicts had previouſly been obtained by different perſons at the Worceſter aſſizes, to the amount altogether of 5,504l. 13 s. 2 d.

12th. *Birmingham.* The inhabitants of Bromſgrove, in Worceſter, were alarmed and diſtreſſed, beyond deſcription, by one of the moſt ſudden and violent inundations ever known. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, during a ſtorm, accompanied with loud and continued claps of thunder, and the moſt vivid lightning, a water-ſpout fell upon that part of the Lickey which is neareſt the town. The pouring down of the cataract was heard to a great diſtance, and the body of water, taking a direction towards Bromſgrove, ſoon ſwept away every thing before it, laid down the hedges, waſhed quantities of grain from barns and malt-houſes, deſtroyed tan-yards, and, ſo ſtrong was the current, that it floated through the town a waggon loaded with ſkins. The inhabitants of the place had no time to take the neceſſary precautions; almoſt in an inſtant the cellars and under-kitchens were filled to the top, and every thing in them overturned. In a few minutes the water entered at the parlour-windows, covered the counters of ſhops, and in the principal ſtreet it roſe and continued upwards of five feet perpendicular from the pavement. The horſes in ſome of the inn-ſtables ſtood up to their tails in water. This tremendous fall of water happened near the eleven mile ſtone, on the edge of the Lickey. It has beat the ground there (which is chiefly gravel) into ſmall pits. At Bromſgrove, and the upper part of the Lickey, nothing more than a common fall of rain was experienced.

The ſame day a very violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, fell between Graveſend and Chatham. It laſted nearly an hour and a half. The torrent of rain overflowed the roads, and rendered them for ſome hours nearly impaſſable, and the thunder and flaſhes of lightning were the moſt awful and tremendous ever known. The ſtorm extended only about two miles.

During the thunder-ſtorm a ball of fire fell upon the chimney of a houſe at Acomb, near the city of York, occupied by Henry Clarke, eſq. ſet fire to the ſame, and paſſed down into the kitchen, carrying with it an amazing quantity of ſoot; threw a ſervant man from his ſeat, and ſeveral plates from the rack; ſtruck a woman-ſervant with great force, and nearly deprived her of the uſe of her right ſide. It then made its way into a parlour where Mrs. Clarke and three of her children were, burnt the door and wainſcoting in a very extraordinary manner, and the room ſeemed at the moment to be filled with ſparks of vivid fire. It then forced itſelf, by the bell-wire, through a paſſage, which it ſinged extremely, into the dining-room, tearing the wall and wainſcoting very much; threw ſeveral ſplinters acroſs the room, through the canvas of a large picture, and turned the gilding of the frames of ſeveral others entirely black; then burſt in the room with an uncommon exploſion, and left the whole houſe full of a ſulphureous ſmoke. What is remarkable, four gentlemen were at cards in the room when it burſt, without receiving the leaſt injury.

The houſe of Mr. Samuel Collier, of Hareſcombe, about four miles from Glouceſter, was burnt down. Mr. Collier and his ſon, a little boy about 6 years old, were all that were in the houſe. The crackling of the fire rouſed the father from his ſleep, about 12 o'clock at night; and, when he got out of bed, he found the ſtairs in a blaze, upon which he leaped out of the window, and bid the child get out after him, and he would catch him in his arms: however, the little boy in his confuſion ran to the ſtairs, where he fell into the flames, and was burnt to death. The houſe, with all it contained, was entirely deſtroyed. Collier's wife, and another of his children, were fortunately at Stroud.

13th. The following extraordinary circumſtance is mentioned in one of the country papers: "On the 24th and 25th ult. the lake of Horentoreen, near Killorglin, in the county of Kerry, one mile in circumference, totally diſappeared, a cavern having opened and ſwallowed it in. This body of water has not yet diſembogued in that neighbourhood, or any place that we have heard of. The lake was very remarkable for the quantity and goodneſs of the trout, not one of which remained, having all been precipitated into the earth with their element."

15th. An inſtance has lately occurred of a perſon having been cured of a cancer in the lower lip, by the following application: the patient had undergone the operation of the knife under an eminent ſurgeon at York; but the complaint returning ſoon after, a friend adviſed him to apply leeches, and he followed this advice; and the three firſt which were applied, after ſucking a conſiderable time, dropped off dead; a few days after, three more were applied. Theſe died like the former, after remaining on ſome time. In leſs than a week he applied three more, which, after ſucking ſome time, dropped off alive. This wrought a cure; and the perſon, who is a farmer near Weſtbury, in Yorkſhire, is now living,

ing, and has had no return of the complaint.

17th. *Dublin.* Yeſterday James Napper Tandy was arreſted, by virtue of a proclamation from the privy-council, and carried before the lord-mayor of Dublin, and ſeveral aldermen. On his being taken, he denied the authority of the proclamation; and when he appeared before the magiſtrates, they expreſſed a wiſh to have nothing to do in the buſineſs. The perſon who apprehended him, anſwered, that it was ſufficient for him that he had done his duty in producing the priſoner; he ſhould concern himſelf no farther in the affair, than to apply for the offered reward. On the recorder's being conſulted, Tandy was informed that he was no longer a priſoner; he then wiſhed to give in his examination againſt the perſon who took him, charging him with an aſſault, and having held him in falſe impriſonment. This was refuſed on the part of ſeveral aldermen, but at length it was taken by one of them. On Wedneſday, however, he was again apprehended by an order from the houſe of commons, and being brought to their bar, and refuſing to anſwer the ſpeaker's interrogatories, was committed to Newgate; whence, however, he was liberated the ſame night, in conſequence of the prorogation of parliament.

20th. Government received diſpatches from Captain Edwards, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Pandora, who was ſent out ſoon after the return of Captain Bligh from the South Seas, in ſearch of Chriſtian and the other mutineers who ran away with the Bounty armed ſhip on the bread-fruit expedition; the contents of which are—That on the Pandora's appearing off Otaheite, two men ſwam off from the ſhore, and ſolicited to be taken on board; they proved to be two of the Bounty's mutineers, and immediately gave intelligence where fourteen of their companions were concealed on the iſland—a part of the Pandora's crew were inſtantly diſpatched in ſearch of them, and after ſome little reſiſtance they were taken, and brought priſoners on board. Chriſtian, with the other nine mutineers, had previouſly ſailed in the Bounty to ſome remote iſland, and every exertion of the Pandora to diſcover their retreat proved ineffectual. On her return home, the Pandora ſtruck upon a reef of rocks in Endeavour Straits, and had her bottom beat in. Her crew were happily ſaved, and eſcaped from their perilous ſituation to an iſland in the Straits, except 32 men, and three of the Bounty's people, who unfortunately periſhed by the boat overſetting. Captain Edwards was now reduced to the neceſſity of ſending one of his officers, and ſome able ſeamen, in a ſmall boat to Timor, which they were 14 days in reaching, and where a veſſel was procured agreeably to that gentleman's orders, to proceed without loſs of time to the aſſiſtance of the remainder of the crew, who were taken on board, and are, in all probability, by this time ſafely arrived at the Cape of Good Hope.

26th. Yeſterday morning a terrible fire broke out at a houſe of ill fame the bottom of Virginia-ſtreet, Ratcliffe Highway. Eleven houſes were conſumed. Five perſons are ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the flames.

Died.—3d. At Glaſgow, aged 101, Mrs. Janet Towns.

Lately. At Savannah-la-Mar, Jamaica, Flora Gale, a free black woman, aged about 120 years. This woman retained her faculties till within a few months, and could walk within three days of her death. There was not a houſe in that town when ſhe came to the pariſh; and ſhe had a perfect recollection of the earthquake in 1692, which proved fatal to Port Royal. She had a numerous progeny of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. It is remarkable that ſhe would never be baptized; and the reaſon always aſſigned was, that there might be a play at her burial.

MAY.

1ſt. Between twelve and one, a fire broke out in the warehouſe of Mr. Griffin, in Evangeliſt-court, where ſome men were boiling oil for painters' uſe. The wind being weſterly, the fire took a direction towards Ludgate-hill, and having burnt down the whole of the court, ſeveral ſtables, the back part of ſome houſes in the Broadway, at length caught the back warehouſes belonging to Mr. Kay, the upholſterer, which thence communicated to Cock-court, and alſo to Mr. Kay's houſe, fronting Ludgate-hill. Many of the back houſes being very old, and the wind blowing high, the flames raged with ſo much fury that but few of the unfortunate people had time to do more than ſave their lives. About ſix o'clock in the morning the roof of Mr. Kay's houſe fell in, ſhortly after which the flames were extinguiſhed. The damage done muſt be very great, as nearly thirty houſes, with the whole of their contents, have been entirely conſumed.—It was by great exertions the fire was prevented communicating to the warehouſes of Mr. Stock, the chymiſt. A fireman was killed by one of the engines—his hands having ſlipped while working, his head got under the handle of the engine; which falling upon his neck, broke it.

Yeſterday, in the court of king's-bench, Mr. Fox obtained a verdict for 195l. the amount of damages ſuſtained by him in defending himſelf againſt the petition of Mr. John Horne Tooke, complaining of an undue election and return for Weſtminſter; which petition a committee of the houſe of commons pronounced frivolous and vexatious.

5th. A late ball given by lord Courteney, coſt 6000 guineas. He had, among other rarities, 1000 peaches at a guinea each, 1000 pottles of cherries at five ſhillings each, 1000 pottles of ſtrawberries at five ſhillings each, and every other article in the ſame proportion.

Stockholm, April 26th. The puniſhment of Anckerſtroem, the aſſaſſin of his late majeſty, took place on the 19th, in virtue of the ſentence pronounced the night before, which declared him deprived of his rights of nobility, and of a citizen, with infamy. He was conducted, on Thurſday noon, under the eſcort of a large detachment of the garriſon, to Rittenhaus-market (the market of the equeſtrian order), and faſtened by an iron collar upon a ſcaffold during two hours, and afterward whipped with a rod of five laſhes, at a ſtake, where, under his name, with the title of *regicide* added, was tied the piſtol and the knife, the inſtruments of his crime. The ſame puniſhment was repeated on the 20th, at the hay-market; and the

21ſt, at the market of Adolphus Frederic. Yeſterday terminated his exiſtence, on a ſcaffold erected in the great ſquare. His right hand was firſt chopped off by the executioner, who immediately afterwards beheaded him, and then divided his body into four quarters, which are ſtuck up in different parts of the city. At the commencement of his puniſhment, he ſhewed much firmneſs; but his ſtrength became exhauſted from his ſufferings; and he was dragged, being incapable of walking, to the places of puniſhment and execution, amid the hiſſes and hootings of the attending multitudes, which ſeemed conſiderably to affect him.

10th. Yeſterday an attempt was made to ſet fire to the houſe of commons, which was happily rendered abortive by the diligence of the watchman of the houſe. Between eight and nine in the evening, a conſiderable quantity of ſmoke was obſerved to iſſue from a privy, on the right hand of the lobby, directly under the offices for the clerks. The watchman communicated his ſuſpicions of fire to Mrs. Bellamy, the houſe-keeper, who immediately proceeded to ſearch, and found, in a ſmall cloſet, above the privy, made for the purpoſe of turning water into the cloſets above ſtairs, a pair of old breeches, containing combuſtibles, on fire, and in part conſumed: a hole was made in the ceiling above the fire; and had not the diſcovery been made, a few minutes would have given ſucceſs to the attempt. Mrs. Bellamy, on the diſcovery, ſent word to ſir Peter Burrell, and to the ſerjeant at arms, who immediately ordered a ſearch to be made into the other parts of the houſe, and into the building in Weſtminſter-hall; but nothing further was diſcovered.

Early this morning a fire broke out in Steven's-ſtreet, Tottenham-court-road, where two children, the one of eleven, the other of two years old, were conſumed in the preſence of their father, who could yield them no aſſiſtance. The mother and another child were ſo dreadfully burnt at the ſame time, that they were carried to the Middleſex hoſpital without hopes of recovery.

Nottingham. An alarming riot took place in this town, under the pretext of lowering the high price of proviſions. It was, however, happily quelled by the vigilance of the magiſtrates, and the aid of the military, who were unavoidably called in on this occaſion. No lives were loſt. 12th.

Yeſterday, about noon, a dreadful fire broke out at Barton Stacey, near Wincheſter. Some people being at work in Mr. Moody's ſhop, ſmith and edge-tool-maker, a large flake of red-hot iron flew out of the ſhop window, and falling on ſome dry litter near a cucumber-bed, ſet it inſtantly on fire. This communicating to an adjoining mill-houſe, covered with thatch, where a horſe was at work, the whole in a few minutes was in flames. Every exertion was uſed to extricate the horſe, but in vain. The poor animal, irritated by flakes of fire falling continually round him, and frightened by the flames, was in ſo dreadful a ſtate of agitation, that he flew round with ſuch impetuoſity, that it was impoſſible to releaſe him, and he was burnt to aſhes. Theſe premiſes being ſituated at the northern extremity of the pariſh, the wind high, and blowing in a direct 16th.

a direct line with the ſtreet, carried the thatch from one houſe to another, 'till the whole village was in flames. At one inſtant twenty-ſeven houſes, thirteen barns, ten ſtables, ſeveral granaries, and four ricks of wheat, were in flames. A great number of waggons, carts, threſhed and unthreſhed corn, twenty-eight pigs, a great quantity of poultry, and all the furniture and property of great numbers of poor people were burnt. Happening in the middle of the day, only one life was loſt. Farmer Friend, at the age of ſixty, periſhed in going up ſtairs after his money. He was ſuppoſed to have about four hundred guineas in a coffer, which he ſaid he was determined to ſave, or periſh in the attempt, which was unhappily his fate. Two engines, one from Wincheſter, and another from Whitchurch, came to the aſſiſtance of the ſufferers, but not in time to prevent the ravages of the fire, which completed its devaſtation in little more than two hours. About eight or ten houſes remained uninjured, among which are the parſonage-houſe, the farm-houſe occupied by Mr. Courtney, and ſome cottages which ſtood out of the line of the wind. The principal loſs is ſuſtained by Mr. Courtney, and a very ſmall part of the property deſtroyed was inſured. The dean and chapter of Wincheſter have generouſly ſent 20 l. and a quantity of bread, for the preſent relief of the unfortunate ſufferers, who were obliged to take ſhelter in the church. Joſhua Iremonger, eſq. of Wherwell, and ſeveral other gentlemen, have alſo humanely extended their aſſiſtance toward their immediate neceſſities.

20th. A very ſingular circumſtance occurred at Kilrhyg, in Cardiganſhire, during the ſale of the property of the late Miſs Lloyd, who was lately murdered by a villain, who broke into her houſe. A gentleman became the purchaſer of a cheſt for 20 s. when, led by curioſity minutely to examine his bargain, he perceived that it had two drawers, behind one of which was ſecreted a japanned cup, containing 500 guineas, and a purſe with eighteen guineas and two crown pieces. The whole premiſes, and all the furniture, had been repeatedly ſearched previouſly to the ſale, from the knowledge that Miſs Lloyd had a conſiderable ſum of money in the houſe at the time of her death; yet about 200 l. hid in different corners was all that could be diſcovered. The gentleman, much to his honour, returned the property undiminiſhed to the adminiſtrator; and could not be prevailed upon to accept the purchaſe-money of the cheſt, as a tribute to his inflexible integrity.

21ſt. His majeſty's proclamation was iſſued, this day, againſt ſeditious meetings and publications.

22d. The fine impoſed upon the county of Eſſex, by Lord Loughborough, was lately diſcharged, by the court of exchequer, in conſequence of an affidavit of Richard Muilman Trench Chiſwell, Eſq. ſtating, "That he is an inhabitant, and a conſiderable freeholder in the county of Eſſex, and alſo an acting juſtice of the peace for that county; and that ſince the impoſing of ſuch fine, two ſufficient rooms have been made and ſet apart in the gaol, one for the male, the other for the female priſoners who are ſick, and that ſuch rooms continue ſet apart for ſuch purpoſes." Upon the reading of which, and upon the motion of counſel, praying that ſuch fine might be diſcharged; and Mr. Attorney General appearing at the time, and conſenting thereto, the court of exchequer, in conſideration thereof, ordered the ſame to be diſcharged.

23d. *Birmingham.* One of the Oxford blues having died in conſequence of wounds he received in a houſe of ill fame in this town, the populace ſwore the deſtruction of all ſuch houſes. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday night, they broke the windows of ſome of them; and on Monday morning they entered them all in different parties, deſtroyed every article of furniture, tore down the wainſcoting, &c. On Sunday night the magiſtrates read the riot act, and were, with the troops (the Oxford blues), parading the ſtreets great part of the night. Seven houſes of ill fame were completely gutted; and ſome others had their windows broken, and great part of their furniture deſtroyed. The magiſtrates having been reinforced, on Monday afternoon, by three troops of the Oxford blues, they diſpatched them, in every direction, to clear the ſtreets. The mobs had previouſly been very outrageous, pelting the ſoldiers, conſtables, &c. with ſtones and brickbats. The troops, however, galloped through the ſtreets, in a very formidable manner, purſuing the rioters through all the narrow avenues, and taking many priſoners, whom they lodged in the dungeon, which was guarded by a party of ſoldiers. This had the deſired effect; and all was quiet. Conſiderable praiſe is due to the magiſtrates, ſoldiers, and peace officers, for their activity.

25th. *Leiceſter.* This evening a tumultuous mob aſſembled here, ſimilar to that at Nottingham on the 12th, on account of the high price of proviſions. The magiſtrates ſucceeded in preventing them from committing any ſerious miſchief; until the arrival of the Oxford blues, on the third day after the commencement of the riots, reſtored perfect tranquillity to the town.

Died.—15th. At Vienna, her imperial majeſty Mary Louiſa, the empreſs dowager of Germany. Her health had been long declining, but the ſhock ſhe received at the death of the late emperor, who expired almoſt in her arms, was ſuppoſed to have haſtened her diſſolution.

Aged 108, at Jura, one of the Hebrides, Catharine Lindſay.

21ſt. At Pontefract, in her 100th year, Mrs. Mawhood, of that place.

26th. At Weſt Raiſin, in Lincolnſhire, aged 110, Anne Froſt, who had been thrice married; the laſt time in the 93d year of her age. She has left a daughter aged 90.

Lately at Wyberton, near Boſton, in Lincolnſhire, in his 100th year, Jacob Harris. He was carried to the grave by ſix men, whoſe ages taken together amounted to 470.

JUNE.

1ſt. A number of Roman catholics laſt week proceeded at Rathfriland, near Newry, to celebrate a funeral with colours flying, and every mark of triumph. This gave offence to the proteſtants of the pariſh and neighbourhood, who collected themſelves together, and went in a body to meet the catholics, calling upon them to lower their colours, and not to act in a manner

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that appeared to be inſulting to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church. The catholics refuſed; and an angry altercation took place, which at length ended in blows. A rude battle enſued, and was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but the proteſtants out-numbering the catholics, it ended in their favour. In the morning, both parties repaired to the ſcene of action, furniſhed with fire arms, and other weapons of offence, and the catholics had acquired great ſtrength in point of numbers. The battle was renewed, but in a more dangerous manner; many were killed on both ſides: the proteſtants, however, having ſpent their ammunition firſt, had much the worſt of the conteſt, as the catholics continued firing, after the proteſtants, from the circumſtance abovementioned, were defenceleſs.

5th. Some men and women ſervants, to the number of 40 and upwards, having aſſembled in the evening at the Pitt's head, Little Stanhope-ſtreet, May Fair, on the invitation of the publican who keeps it, to make merry by a dance on the king's birth-night, information was given of it to juſtice Hyde, who, headed by fifty or more conſtables, and the patroles from Hyde-park, went to the houſe, and took up every ſervant found in it. About half paſt ten at night, they were conveyed in a body to the watch-houſe in Mount-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, without making much reſiſtance. Things continued very quiet during the whole of the night; but on Tueſday morning, about eight o'clock, the mob began to aſſemble oppoſite the watch-houſe, and demanded the releaſe of thoſe who were confined. The conſtables within made faſt the door, and in a menacing tone ſhewed their piſtols to the mob, and threatened to uſe them. This only exaſperated the people without, and things were paſſing to extremities, when Mr. Conyers, a very active magiſtrate, living in Mount-ſtreet, went out, and deſired the watchmen to take away their piſtols. The mob, however, growing more riotous, ſome of the windows of the watch-houſe were broken. About eleven o'clock, Sir Sampſon Wright, Mr. Addington, Mr. Conyers, Mr. Baker, and ſome other gentlemen in the commiſſion, went to the watch-houſe, and, after ſitting ſome time, and inveſtigating the buſineſs, the ſervants were all diſmiſſed, but ſix people, among whom were the publican and fiddler, who were detained and ſent to gaol for having aſſiſted in the mob, and broken the windows. During this time, colonel Drury and a troop of horſe guards arrived, the riot act was read, and the crowd diſperſed. A party of foot-ſoldiers, and a ſecond troop of horſe, likewiſe arrived. About four o'clock in the afternoon, tranquillity being reſtored, the ſoldiers were ordered away, excepting a few who were left in the watch-houſe to guard it. About ſix in the evening, many perſons again aſſembled, and the number increaſed till about half paſt eight, when the mob began to be riotous. About nine o'clock the mob threw a volley of ſtones at the windows, and broke ſeveral. This created ſhouts of applauſe from the rabble; and ſome gentlemen's carriages going by, the ſervants waved their hats, and joined very heartily in the cry. The mob increaſed in numbers, and not only broke moſt of the windows, but ſome of the moſt deſperate of them went up to the door, and endeavoured to force it open. A little before ten o'clock they forced the watch-houſe door, when ſeveral entered the houſe, and began to demoliſh the inſide, throwing the benches and furniture into the ſtreet. The whole houſe would certainly ſoon have been down, for every window almoſt was broken, when a party of foot ſoldiers fortunately arrived, but had much difficulty to diſperſe the rabble. About a quarter paſt ten, a troop of horſe guards arrived, which kept the ſtreet about the watch-houſe pretty clear, though the people about continued very riotous. At eleven o'clock good order was in a great meaſure reſtored; but a party of the military were ſtationed there for the night, to prevent further miſchief. In Audley-ſtreet, at half after twelve, a very large mob aſſembled, and aſſailed the houſe of the conſtable, which ſuſtained very conſiderable damage. The interference of the military was here alſo thought neceſſary, and had the deſired effect.

6th. During the diſplay of fireworks on the Thames laſt night two Weſt-country barges ran foul of ſome boats, by which accident nine perſons loſt their lives. It appears the barges were laſhed together, and either from inattention or want of ſkill in the coxſwain, ran againſt one of the lighters from which the fireworks were let off; and the anchor of this veſſel dragging, ſhe drifted with the barges againſt one of the piers of Weſtminſter-bridge. To the lighter three ſmall boats were faſtened, and before the unfortunate crews of them could extricate themſelves, the ſtrength of the tide ſwung the barges round, by which circumſtance two of the boats were ſunk, and the third daſhed to pieces againſt the pier. In the boats there were about a dozen perſons, eight of whom periſhed. A waterman on board the lighter was the ninth unhappy ſufferer.

7th. At the Admiralty ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, Captain John Kimber was tried upon an indictment againſt him for the murder of a negro girl, and was honourably acquitted, two of the witneſſes on behalf of the proſecution being committed by the court to Newgate for wilful and corrupt perjury in giving their evidence againſt him.

8th. Came on the trial of Captain Donald Trail, late commander of the Neptune Botany Bay ſhip, and William Ellerington, the chief mate, indicted for the wilful murder of one of the convicts on their paſſage over; when, after a trial of three hours, they were both honourably acquitted, and a copy of their indictment was granted them. The attorney who was the occaſion of theſe trials, was ordered to be ſtruck off the roll.

9th. *Edinburgh*. In conſequence of a riotous diſpoſition in ſeveral of the inhabitants of the place, the magiſtrates thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the military, in order to prevent the ill effects which might enſue from the illegal aſſembly of the populace. Notwithſtanding which, a number of people preſented themſelves before Mr. Dundas's houſe, broke the windows, and deſtroyed and defaced the furniture, and the ornaments of the houſe. At length the ſoldiery fired upon them. One unhappy man was killed, and ſix are ſaid to be deſperately wounded. Exaſperated with the check, the rabble would then have ſet forward to Melville caſtle, Mr. Dundas's country-ſeat, but ſome horſe, which fortunately arrived from Dalkeith, prevented them.

On the 7th, towards evening, the mob attacked the Lord Provoſt's houſe, and broke the doors and windows. The family fortunately were from home. The ſignal was made for the dragoons to advance. The magiſtrates headed the ſoldiery, and directed their efforts to diſperſe the mob, which by 12 o'clock was happily effected. Two perſons have been ſecured in the affray, and lodged in the caſtle.

The riots in Mount-ſtreet have given riſe to private quarrels. The Earl of Lonſdale was ſtopt in his carriage in paſſing to his own houſe, and harſh words paſſed between him and captain Cuthbert of the life-guards. Their friends tried in vain to ſettle it amicably. A meeting took place this morning in a field near the Edgeware road; the noble lord attended by colonel Lowther, captain Cuthbert by captain Lees. It was agreed that they ſhould fire together. Lord Lonſdale's ſhot pierced the waiſtcoat, and paſſed through the frill of captain Cuthbert's ſhirt, grazing his breaſt, but not wounding him. The ſeconds then interfered, and exerted themſelves with great earneſtneſs to accommodate the matter; but the principals were both obſtinate in refuſing to make any conceſſion; and, after a converſation of near an hour, they took their ground, and again fired, but without effect. The ſeconds then inſiſted, that, as their quarrel had originated in a mutual miſconception, and neither of them would make the firſt conceſſion, they ſhould advance towards each other, ſtep for ſtep, and both declare, in the ſame breath, that they were ſorry for what had happened in Mount-ſtreet. This, after ſome further converſation, was agreed to; and thus the affair happily terminated without bloodſhed.

19th. By a late determination of the court of king's-bench, it is finally ſettled, "That, by law, no corn or grain can be ſold in any market, in this country, by any meaſure but the Wincheſter buſhel."

21ſt. Mr. James Napper Tandy was tried, laſt week, before the court of king's-bench, in Dublin, for ſending a challenge to John Toler, eſq. ſolicitor-general, and acquitted; as the jury were of opinion that the letters to Mr. Toler did not amount to a challenge.

23d. A duel was yeſterday morning fought in Hyde-park, between Mr. Frizell and Mr. Clark, both ſtudents of the law, in which the former loſt his life. Mr. Montgomery was ſecond to Mr. Frizell, and Mr. Evans to Mr. Clark. On Thurſday night theſe four gentlemen were in company at the Cecil-ſtreet coffee-houſe, where the deceaſed lodged. They drank till one in the morning, when Mr. Frizell declaring he could drink no more, Mr. Clark ſaid, with ſome warmth, it was uſing his friends very ill, but that it was not the firſt time he had behaved ſo; for that at Chatham he had quarreled with all the officers, and particularly with his friend lieutenant Hixon, of the 14th regiment; and that he had the character of a fighting man. Mr. F. replied, that he did not mean to give offence, but that, if any thing he had ſaid could be ſo conſtrued, he was ready to give Mr. C. ſatisfaction, and then went to bed. Mr. C. inſiſted, that theſe words were a direct challenge, and appealed to the other gentlemen, who declared that they did not conſider them in that light. Mr. C. however, went up to Mr. F.'s room, and inſiſted on his meeting him in five minutes. Mr. F. immediately dreſſed himſelf, and went down ſtairs, where he ſaid, before all the parties, that if Mr. Evans and Mr. Montgomery were of opinion that he had been guilty of any improper conduct, he would apologize for it to Mr. C.; but that gentleman ſaid, he would accept of no apology, and inſiſted that he ſhould meet him in Hyde-park in an hour from that time, three o'clock. It was then ſettled, that Mr. Evans and Mr. Montgomery ſhould be the ſeconds; and after theſe gentlemen had in vain endeavoured to make up the difference, Mr. Clark, accompanied by Mr. Evans, went out for piſtols. Mr. C. procured a brace, which he loaded; and obſerving that Mr. F. had not got piſtols, gave him one of his. When they got at the ground, they ſtood at the diſtance of ten yards, and toſſed up for the firſt fire, which was won by Mr. C. whoſe ball penetrated Mr. F.'s collar-bone; he fell, and, as he was falling, his piſtol went off. Mr. Montgomery, not ſuppoſing him dead, ran for a coach to convey him to a ſurgeon's, but, on his return, found that Mr. F. had expired. The coroner's inqueſt has ſince ſat on the body of Mr. F. and brought in their verdict wilful murder.

24th. About eleven o'clock, an aſſemblage of matter began to collect above the Cheviot Hills, and in leſs than half an hour exhibited one of the moſt alarming appearances, perhaps, ever ſeen in that part of the iſland. One vaſt blackneſs predominated, with an inverted whitiſh cone, affecting the ground in the form of a water-ſpout. Before twelve, ſome claps of thunder with lightning, neither ſo loud nor vivid as we have heard, gave motion to the fermenting body, and the whole diſembogued itſelf within the ſpace of nine miles circumference, the village of Millfield nearly central. The ſcene was truly alarming. Hail and ſnow covered the ground in ſome places half a foot thick; a faſt fall of rain ſucceeded, and the face of the country exhibited one vaſt deluge, Carriages upon the middle of the road were nearly waſhed away. When it became fair, the face of the country exhibited a very ſingular appearance. The ſun broke out, and the ſnow and hail, mixed with the waving corn, and the brown torrents ruſhing down the furrows, ſhewed Chriſtmas-day in the midſt of ſummer. The hailſtones were remarkably large. On Sunday, 26 hours after they fell, they were gathered as large as a boy's common-ſized marble. Much damage muſt have been done among the herbage and young ſhoots; for leaves and ſmall branches of aſh-trees lay upon the road in the ſame manner as in a morning in autumn after the froſt. The whole ſtorm continued but about an hour.

DIED.—Lately. In the Maſſachuſetts in America, aged 105, Mr. John Aldebort, a native of Poland, who boaſted a lineal deſcent from Aldebort, archbiſhop of Greſna, the firſt converter of the Poles from paganiſm to chriſtianity.

At Sawford in Worceſterſhire, aged 103, Mary Annett, a cottager.

At Yeddington, near Malton, in Yorkſhire, in his 105th year, Samuel Prudames.

At Paris, in the utmoſt poverty, the celebrated Paul Jones.—This noted deſperado appeared firſt in the cauſe of America, in April 1778, off the coaſt of Cumberland, as commander of the Ranger privateer, which fired a veſſel in the harbour of Whitehaven, with intent to burn and plunder that town, but the inhabitants extinguiſhed the flames before they reached the rigging. The privateer had previouſly taken two prizes, and ſent them to France. She afterwards landed ſome men on the weſt coaſt of Scotland, and pillaged the houſe of Lord Selkirk, near Kirkcudbright, of plate, jewels, and all the moveables that were of value, during the abſence of the family in London. The plate was returned to his lordſhip in March, 1785, by Paul Jones, free of carriage. His next appearance was off the coaſt of Ireland, Aug. 24, 1779, with one ſhip of 40 guns, one of 36, a cutter of 18, and a brig of 14. His memorable action with the brave Captain Pearſon of the Serapis, is well known. In December, 1783, he arrived in London from Paris, with diſpatches from congreſs to his excellency John Adams, eſq. He was only 22 days on his paſſage from Philadelphia to France; and, after delivering his diſpatches, ſet out at three in the morning, Dec. 5, for Paris, to proceed from thence to America. In 1788 he was at Copenhagen, and offered his ſervices to the empreſs of Ruſſia, who accepted them. What was the reſult of this acceptance we know not; but it ſhould ſeem that he failed of an equivalent reward, and perhaps of ſucceſs; and not finding employment in the deranged and uſeleſs navy of France, he ſunk into ſuch abject want, that colonel Blackden was obliged to raiſe a ſmall ſum, by way of ſubſcription, in order to bury him.

Jacob Cole, beadle of All Saints church, Derby, drowned himſelf in the mill-dam. It is ſaid, that before he completed the fatal act, in which he had been more than once prevented, he ſat down by the waterſide, and ſmoaked his pipe with the greateſt compoſure; which done, he walked deliberately into the water, and terminated a life too fatally tinctured with ſcenes of inebriety. Previous to his going in, he wrote the following words on the wall: "Jacob Cole lies in the milldam."

JULY.

Grenada, May 15th. Juſt as the evening-gun from Richmond-heights had fired, a ſlight exploſion was heard in the carenage, and almoſt immediately a large column of fire firſt burſt from the roof of the houſe belonging to Meſſrs. Stott and Tate. By the ringing of the market-bell, the alarm inſtantly became univerſal. The officers and men of the 45th regiment, with major Manningham at their head, were immediately on the ſpot; and as ſoon as poſſible afterwards detachments from the 67th regiment artillery, Carolina corps, and militia, arrived; the Truſty, Perſeus, and Fairy men of war, the Cheſterfield packet, and moſt of the merchantmen in the harbour, furniſhed officers, boats, and men. No engine, ſcarcely a pail or a bucket, was to be had; the removal of ſpecie, papers, and furniture, was therefore all that could be attended to; the two former of which were in general happily ſecured, though many, in conſequence of their perſeverance, were obliged to leap from lofty windows, at the hazard of their lives. To arreſt the progreſs of the flames was impoſſible, as Mr. Tate's houſe was to windward of almoſt the whole neighbourhood, conſiſting chiefly of wooden houſes, long baked under a tropical ſun. One houſe, about 200 yards from the ſpot where the fire began, was fortunately built of ſtone: to the wooden dwelling immediately adjoining it, major Manningham directed his chief attention, and, by his own perſonal efforts, warmly ſeconded by ſome of his officers and men, ſoon accompliſhed its deſtruction, hoping that the chaſm occaſioned by its removal might check the horrid devaſtation. This happily proved to be the caſe; but by a little veering of the wind, the flame was communicated to the other ſide of the ſtreet, though from 20 to 30 yards wide, which ſoon exhibited a picture of devaſtation equally dreadful. Its firſt attack was on the houſe of Mrs. Munro; and the havock continued ſpreading, in ſpite of blowing-up of houſes, &c. till ſtopped by the ſtone-work of the gaol, the wretched inhabitants of which had long been removed.—The chief ſufferers on Mr. Tate's ſide of the way were, himſelf, Mr. Frazer, Mr. Brett, Captain Roche, Captain Robinett, beſides many people of colour. On the other ſide, Mrs. Munro, Meſſrs. Armſtrong, Bradie, M'Burney, Moore, Daviſon, and Farrel, the king's ſtores, &c. &c. Immenſe quantities of goods were ſent on board the veſſels, and many thouſand pounds worth of rum, cotton, &c. tumbled into the ſea, which exhibited the next morning the exact but ſhocking picture of an immenſe wreck. No lives were loſt, and but few accidents happened, either to the ſoldiers or ſailors.

1ſt. Yeſterday Nathaniel Lilley, Ja. Martin, Mary Briant, Wm. Allen, and John Butcher, 5 convicts, who had made their eſcape from Botany Bay, were brought before N. Bond, eſq. at the public office, in Bow-ſtreet. The particulars of this wonderful eſcape are as follow: A Dutch ſchooner, commanded by captain Smyth, took a ſupply of proviſions to the ſettlement at Sydney Cove. A convict, named Briant, and who was married to the priſoner Mary Briant, perſuaded captain Smyth to let him have his ſix-oared boat, with an old lug-ſail, a quadrant and compaſs, for which he paid him what money he had, and ſome he collected among thoſe to whom he entruſted his deſign; for the convicts, having little uſe for the money with which their friends had ſupplied them, on ſailing from this country, had moſt of it by them. Captain Smyth gave him 100 lb. of rice, and 14 lb. of pork: they purchaſed of a convict, who was baker to the colony, 100 lb. of flour, at the rate of 2 s. 6 d. and 1 s. 6 d. per pound, which, with ten gallons of water, was all the proviſions they took on board; and, at ten at night, on the 28th of March, 1791, William Briant, with his wife and two children, the one three years and the other one year old, the other three priſoners, Samuel Bird, James Cox, and William Martin, embarked in this open boat to ſail to the iſland of Timor, which by the neareſt run is upward of 1300 miles from the place of their embarkation: but by the courſe they were forced to take, it was impoſſible for them to form an idea what diſtance they might have to run, or what dangers, independent of thoſe of the ſea, they might have to encounter; added to this, the monſoon had juſt ſet in, and the wind was contrary. Under theſe circumſtances they rather choſe to riſk their lives on the ſea, than drag out a miſerable exiſtence on an inhoſpitable ſhore. They were forced to keep along the coaſt, as much as they could, for the convenience of procuring ſupplies of freſh water; and on theſe occaſions, and when the weather was extremely tempeſtuous, they would ſometimes ſleep on ſhore, hauling their boat on the land. The ſavage natives, wherever they put on ſhore, came down, in numbers, to murder them. They now found two old muſkets, and a ſmall quantity of powder, which Captain Smyth had given them, particularly ſerviceable, by firing over the heads of theſe multitudes, on which they ran off with great precipitation; but they were always forced to keep a ſtrict watch. In lat. 26. 27. they diſcovered a ſmall uninhabited iſland: here was plenty of turtles, that proved a great relief to them; but they were very near being loſt in landing. On this iſland they dried as much turtle as they could carry, which laſted them ten days. During the firſt five weeks of their voyage they had continual rains; and being obliged to throw overboard all their wearing apparel, &c. were for that time continually wet. They were once eight days out of ſight of land, and after ſurmounting infinite hardſhips and dangers, they landed, on the 5th of June, 1791, at Cupang, on the iſland of Timor, where the Dutch have a ſettlement; having ſailed conſiderably more than 5000 miles, and been ten weeks all but one day in performing this voyage. At Cupang they informed the governor, that they had belonged to an Engliſh ſhip, which was wrecked on her paſſage to New South Wales. The governor treated them with great humanity, but at length overheard a converſation among them, by which he diſcovered that they were convicts, who had eſcaped from the colony in New South Wales. On the 29th of Auguſt, 1791, the Pandora, of twenty guns, Captain Edwards, was wrecked on a reef of rocks near New South Wales. The captain, and thoſe of the crew who were ſaved, got to Cupang in their boats; when the governor gave the captain an account of the 11 perſons he had there, and of the converſation he had overheard. The captain took them with him to Batavia, where William Briant and his eldeſt child died. The reſt were put on board a Dutch ſhip, in which Captain Edwards ſailed with them, for the Cape of Good Hope. On their paſſage to the Cape, James Cox fell overboard and was drowned, and Samuel Bird and William Martin died. At the Cape, Captain Edwards delivered the ſurvivors to captain Parker of the Gorgon, and they ſailed with him for England. In their paſſage home, the younger child of Mary Briant died. They were committed to priſon for further examination.

8th. This day James Martin, John Butcher, William Allen, Nathaniel Lilly, and Mary Briant, who eſcaped from Botany-Bay, were put to the bar, at the Old Bailey, when the court ordered them to remain on their former ſentence, until they ſhould be diſcharged by the courſe of law. By this lenient ſentence, Mary Briant and James Martin will be diſcharged in ſix months; William Allen in one year; and Nathaniel Lilley and John Butcher in two years. The reſolution diſplayed by the woman is hardly to be paralleled. At one time their anchor broke, and the ſurf was ſo great, that the men laid down their oars, in a ſtate of deſpair, and gave themſelves up as loſt; but this Amazon, taking one of their hats, cried out, "Never fear," and immediately began to exert herſelf in clearing the boat of water: her example was followed by her companions, and by great labour the boat was prevented from ſinking, until they got into a ſmoother ſea.

On laſt Sunday ſe'nnight, Lord Lauderdale, attended by the Right Hon. C. J. Fox as his ſecond, and General Arnold, with Lord Hawke as his friend, had a meeting in a field near Kilburn Wells, to terminate a miſunderſtanding which it was found impoſſible to conciliate. Lord Lauderdale received the general's fire unhurt, when his lordſhip declining to return the ſhot, the ſeconds retired for about ten minutes, and the reſult was the finiſhing of the affair. The noble earl, upon being deſired to fire, obſerved, that he did not come there to fire at the general, nor could he retract the offenſive expreſſions—if General Arnold was not ſatisfied, he might fire until he was.

9th. A new invention of making a cable, by means of a piece of machinery, juſt erected in Portſmouth-yard, the conſtruction of which is very curious, has been ſubmitted to the board of admiralty. By means of this engine, which is put in motion by ſixteen horſes, twenty men, wholly unſkilled in rope-works, will be enabled to make a cable of dimenſions for the largeſt ſhips in leſs time than two hundred men can make one according to the uſual method.

In the court of King's-bench, before Lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, an action was brought by the counteſs dowager of Cavan againſt Mr. Tatterſall, as proprietor of the Morning Poſt, for ſeveral falſe and malicious libels againſt her daughter Lady Elizabeth Lambert. After a hearing of two hours, the jury brought in a verdict of 4000 l. damages.—George Roſe, Eſq. brought an action againſt the printer of the Morning Poſt, for a libel inſerted in that paper the 13th of March laſt. The jury, which was ſpecial, gave the plaintiff a verdict, with 100 l. damages.—Another action againſt the proprietor of the Morning Poſt for the ſame paragraph, received the ſame verdict.

10th. About a quarter after one o'clock, on Saturday, Mr. Powell arrived at Shoreditch church, having walked 394 miles in five days, thirteen hours, and one quarter, being one hour and three quarters within the time ſpecified. He left York, on his return to London, at thirty-eight minutes paſt five on Wedneſday evening. On his arrival at Shoreditch church he appeared to be in perfect health, and not in the leaſt fatigued. Mr. Powell is in the 58th year of his age; and this is the fourth journey he has made between London and York.

14th. A plot, which had been in agitation for a conſiderable time paſt, to blow up the King's-Bench with gunpowder, was brought to light by one of the parties concerned. The deed was to have been put into execution yeſterday evening at ſeven o'clock. The projectors of it were priſoners in the Bench; ſix of whom are now in Newgate.

16th. A perſon of the name of Robbins, in Long-alley, Moorfields, having ſome words with his wife, in a fit of paſſion, ſnatched up a razor, and cut her throat; and immediately, with the ſame inſtrument, cut his own alſo. They both died before any aſſiſtance could be procured, leaving one child to bewail the cataſtrophe. The life of this man was attended with ſome curious particulars. About 18 years ſince he was concerned with one Sherwood, who was executed ſeveral years back, for a forgery on the ſiſter of Sherwood, at the inſtigation of Robbins, who turned evidence for the crown. Previous to this tranſaction, their ſcheme was to have built a place for the reception of penitent proſtitutes, on a plan ſimilar to that of the Magdalen; and, in order to enable them to carry on the buſineſs, the above forgery was propoſed, to the deſtruction of Sherwood. Soon after this tranſaction, Robbins married a woman with 20,000l. and who, at this preſent moment, ſells ſhrimps at Billingſgate: having ſoon run through her fortune, he left her, and cohabited with the unfortunate woman who fell a victim to his inordinate paſſions, to whom he had been married ſeveral years. At this time he has two ſurviving widows!

24th. This morning, in the hall of Doctor's Commons, his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as viſitor of All Soul's college, in Oxford, gave ſentence in the caſe of an appeal brought by JOHN WHALLEY MASTER, againſt the WARDEN and FELLOWS of the college. The appellant, who was of the blood of archbiſhop Chichelè, had been rejected at the laſt annual election in favour of Mr. Newbolt, a candidate, not claiming to be of the blood; and of this he complained to the viſitor as a violation of the ſtatutes. The college, on the other hand, juſtified their conduct, under an injunction which had been made in 1777, by archbiſhop Cornwallis, as viſitor, and co-founder of the college, with the advice of the late Sir William Blackſtone and Sir George Hay, then dean of the Arches, and at the expreſs prayer of the warden and fellows, a majority of whom at the time were actually of the conſanguinity of archbiſhop Chichelè. By this injunction the number of founder's kindred to be excluſively preferred in future was limited to ten out of forty, the whole number of fellows and ſcholars. The number of ten was compleat; but the validity of the injunction itſelf was denied in the appellant's reply. After a variety of ancient records and documents had been read, and the cauſe elaborately argued for three days, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by chief baron Eyre, and the dean of the Arches, Sir William Wynne, now ratified the injunction of his predeceſſor, " judging it to be a good " execution of the power given by " the charter of incorporation, and " a prudent and neceſſary proviſion " in reſpect of the rapid increaſe of " thoſe of the blood of the founder, " having a direct tendency to ex" clude the order of ſcholars from "the foundation, and conſequently "all probation of fellows in the "college, contrary to the plain intent of archbiſhop Chichelè." The election of Mr. Newbolt, of courſe, was confirmed.

26th. Advices are received from Earl Cornwallis, of a ceſſation of arms between him and Tippoo Sultan on the 24th of February, and of the reception of the two ſons of that prince as hoſtages. The ſons of Tippoo arrived at lord Cornwallis's camp the 27th of February. About twelve o'clock, the works of the fort of Seringapatam were crowded with an innumerable multitude of people, and the Sultan was plainly diſcovered to be amongſt them. In a few minutes afterward the young princes made their appearance; they were then conducted from the iſland to a large pavilion pitched for their reception, near Sibbald's redoubt, about a mile from the fort, where they were received by Sir John Kennaway, who attended them, accompanied by an eſcort, to head-quarters. On entering the camp, they were ſaluted with 19 guns, and the part of the line they paſſed was under arms, and the officers ſaluted. Lord Cornwallis received them in his tent, which was guarded by a battalion of ſepoys; and they were then formally delivered to his lordſhip by Gullum Aly Beg, the ſultan's vackeel, as hoſtages for the true performance of the treaty. An awful ſilence for a moment prevailed. At length Gullum Ally, approaching lord Cornwallis, much agitated, thus emphatically addreſſed his lordſhip: "Theſe children," pointing to the young princes, whom he then preſented, "were this morning the ſons of the ſultan, my maſter: their ſituation is changed, and they muſt now look up to your lordſhip as their father." The tender and affectionate manner in which his lordſhip received them, ſeemed to confirm the truth of the expreſſion. The attendants of the young princes appeared aſtoniſhed; and their countenances were highly expreſſive of the ſatisfaction they felt in the benevolence of his lordſhip. Some converſation took place between his lordſhip and the vakeels of Tippoo; in which the latter declared, that the termination of the war diffuſed happineſs throughout all ranks of people; and after ſitting a few minutes, he retired, accompanying the young princes to their tents, under an eſcort of a part of our troops, which remained with them as their guard. Before they took leave, his lordſhip preſented a gold watch to each of them, as a mark of his regard. They were dreſſed in white muſlin, and round their necks they wore ſome rows of beautiful pearls, to which were ſuſpended a paſtagon, conſiſting of an emerald and a ruby of conſiderable ſize, ſurrounded with a profuſion of brilliants.

This day alſo advices were received from Fort St. George, that the definitive treaty of peace, between Tippoo and the allied powers, was ſigned on the 19th of March.

A petition of a ſingular nature came on to be heard in the court of Chancery. The honourable Mr. Wallop, an infant, who ſued by the earl of Portſmouth, as his next friend, was petitioner; and the application to the court was for a writ *de ventre inſpiciendo*, to be directed to Mrs. Brown, to declare whether ſhe is pregnant or not. A gentleman of the name of Fellows, to whom Mr. Wallop, the petitioner, is next of kin and heir, died lately, leaving large ſums of money, by his will, to children, that he was ſuppoſed to have by Mrs. Brown, and alſo leaving the ſum of 10,000l. to any child or children that may be born of Mrs. Brown within a time to be limited after the teſtator's death. That child was to have the ſum of 10,000l. at the age of twenty-one years, and in the mean time the intereſt was to be applied towards his or her education. The petition then ſtated, that Mrs. Brown was the wife of Ulyſſes Brown, late officer in the guards, but now in the Eaſt Indies, in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company. That Mrs. Brown was a woman of bad fame; that ſhe kept five or ſix different houſes, at each of which Mr. Fellows viſited her. That ſhe gained great influence over him, and by her artifice made him believe he had ſeveral children by her, all of whom were handſomely provided for by his will. She made him believe alſo, that ſhe lodged at thoſe different houſes, by which means ſhe ſqueezed from him a great deal of money for the payment of theſe lodgings, and the maintenance of theſe children: whereas in truth and in fact ſhe had no ſuch children; but ſome of them were the children of Rebecca Wells. One at leaſt ſhe thus paſſed as one of the children which ſhe (Mrs. Brown) had had by Mr. Fellows. She was ſuppoſed to have carried on this artful plan by the aſſiſtance of a Mr. Batty, an apothecary in Great Portland-ſtreet, at whoſe houſe ſhe lodged; and by the aſſiſtance likewiſe of a Mr. Thomas Harriſon. Theſe facts, thus ſtated in the petition, were ſupported by ſeveral affidavits. There was a ſupplemental petition much to the ſame effect as the former, and ſupported alſo by affidavits. The chief baron gave the judgment of the court by ſaying, "Let the writ be made out, and let it remain in the office for fourteen days; and if, within that time, Mrs. Brown chuſes to ſubmit to an examination by two midwives to be named by the petitioner to inſpect her, and examine whether ſhe is pregnant, by ſuch an examination as they ſhall think neceſſary, then the writ is not to go till further orders. Otherwiſe let the writ iſſue."

27th. *Lanerk.* Mr. David Dale, of this place, in the courſe of ſix years, has reared a village on the banks of the Clyde, containing 2000 perſons, and erected five cotton-mills, each of which contains 6000 ſpindles. The various proviſions which this extraordinary man has made for the health of the children employed by him, is highly praiſe-worthy. They have, every day, ſome hours allotted them for exerciſe in the fields; and their looks beſpeak health and vigour. Theſe hours of relaxation the boys enjoy in ſucceſſion. Their apartments are likewiſe clean and well aired, and ten ſchool-maſters are daily employed in their tuition.

28th. A warrant has juſt received the royal ſignature, for iſſuing from the treaſury the ſum of 2000l. to the truſtees of the Proteſtant diſſenting meeting-houſe at Birmingham, as a full compenſation for the loſſes and damages ſuſtained by the deſtruction of that edifice during the late riots there.

31ſt. This day Mr. Dudley Adams had the honour of ſhewing to his majeſty a pair of the moſt magnificent globes ever executed in this country: on the celeſtial globe are inſerted 5864 ſtars of ſeven different magnitudes, on a beautiful enamelled ground; each magnitude is diſtinguiſhed by gold, ſilver, and different coloured foils. The terreſtrial globe is very accurately laid down, and beautifully illumined; they were mounted in gold and ſilver, and are intended as a preſent from the king to the emperor of China.

Died.—6th. At Degbeth, near Birmingham, in his 103d year, John Roberts, who followed his employment until within a few weeks of his death.

AUGUST.

1ſt. The Gazette of laſt night contains a notice from the ſecretary of ſtate's office, for the home department, that his majeſty has, in purſuance of an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, cauſed to be eſtabliſhed ſeven different public offices, and at each of them hath appointed three fit and able perſons, being juſtices of the peace for the county of Middleſex and county of Surry reſpectively, to execute the office of a juſtice of the peace in the ſaid offices, together with ſuch other juſtices for the ſaid counties reſpectively, as may think proper to attend; that is to ſay,

In Queen's-ſquare, Weſtminſter:—Cranley Thomas Kerby, eſq. ſerjeant at law; Henry James Pye, and James Petit Andrews, eſqrs.

Great Marlborough-ſtreet:—Nathaniel Conant, John Scott, and Philip Neave, eſqrs.

Hatton-garden:—Richard Clark, alderman of London; William Blamire, and Aaron Graham, eſqrs.

Worſhip-ſtreet, Shoreditch:—John Floud, Patrick Colquhoun, and William Gaſcoigne, eſqrs.

Lambeth-ſtreet, Whitechapel:—William Wickham, and Rice Davies, eſqrs. and the Rev. Henry Reynett.

High-ſtreet, Shadwell:—George Story, Richard Ford, and John Staples, eſqrs.

Union-ſtreet, Southwark:—Gideon Fournier, Benjamin Robertſon, and Jonathan Stonard, eſqrs.

The above act to take place on the 21ſt inſtant.

2d. The farmers of Wiltſhire, who attend the markets of Devizes, Warminſter, and Saliſbury, have had ſeveral public meetings, at thoſe places, to take into conſideration the ſtatutes of the 22d and 23d of Charles II. for aſcertaining the meaſures of corn; and have, in conſequence, entered into a ſubſcription for the proſecution of all perſons who ſhall in future buy or ſell corn, in thoſe markets, by any other meaſure than the Wincheſter buſhel, to the conſtant uſe of which the ſubſcribers bound themſelves from and after the 1ſt inſtant.

Sheffield. A dreadful accident happened on Friday at the ſteam-wheel, in Green-lane: John Smith, an iron-founder, imprudently ventured too near the interior works to examine them, when the cogs of one of the wheels caught hold of him, and a ſhocking, though happily for the ſufferer, an inſtantaneous death was the conſequence. A coroner's inqueſt was taken, and the jury brought in their verdict accidental death; they alſo levied a fine of 5 l. upon the proprietors, intended to operate as a caution to owners of ſuch works how they admit perſons to inſpect them without a guide.

3d. *Birmingham.* About 2 o'clock this morning a fire was diſcovered in the upper ſtory of the warehouſe of Mr. Green, druggiſt, in New-ſtreet. Notwithſtanding the immediate aſſiſtance of the neighbours and others, and the ſpeedy arrival of four engines, it burnt for ſome time with great rapidity, when, by the exploſion of about 20 lbs. of gunpowder, which was in one of the chambers, the roof was blown off, and the upper parts of the walls thrown down. This proved a fortunate circumſtance for the preſervation of the premiſes, as the engines could not play with full effect upon the flames; and by half paſt four the fire was entirely extinguiſhed.

4th. According to the report of the committtee of the houſe of commons, the total number of debtors now or lately in the different gaols of the kingdom, appear to be 1957—1251 are on meſne proceſs, (viz. no judgment obtained), and about 100 more for crown debts.—326 on demands under 20 l.—392 ditto from 20 l. to 50 l.—215 ditto from 50 l. to 100 l.—Many of them have large families, ſome five, others ſix, and others ten children. Of 570 in the King's-bench, 340 have wives and children. The committee ſtate, that as far as the numbers, from the returns, could be aſcertained, thoſe priſoners have 1300 wives and 4088 children; and by much the greater part of them are ſtated to be manufacturers, labourers, ſeamen, dealers, and other perſons of ſimilar deſcriptions.

Liverpool. Yeſterday, about one o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at a bake-houſe, the top of William-ſtreet. The family conſiſted of an old man, two boys, and two lodgers, one of whom eſcaped over the top of the houſe out of the garret-window; the other dropped from the ſame window into the ſtreet: the old man and two boys unfortunately periſhed. By the exertions of ſome gentlemen, and the aſſiſtance of the firemen, the fire was got under without communicating to the adjoining premiſes.

5th. *Dublin.* A ſpectacle truly melancholy occurred laſt week at our quarter ſeſſions—a father proſecuting his own ſon, on the vagrant act, in order to have him tranſported out of the country. The poor man came forward, in the face of the court, blending his accuſations with bitter tears. He declared that the conduct of his ſon had, for years paſt, almoſt broken his heart; for that he had no other mode of livelihood but vagrancy and plunder; that he was lately tried for a robbery, but acquitted through the lenity of the proſecutor; and that he proſecuted him now, to ſave his aged eyes the miſerable ſpectacle of ſeeing his own ſon hanged. The unfeeling wretch in the dock ſhewed not the leaſt ſorrow for his conduct, nor made the ſlighteſt promiſe of amendment.

10th. Mr. Powell ſtarted at Brighton to walk a mile, which he performed in nine minutes, and ran it back again in five minutes and 52 ſeconds, which was eight ſeconds within the time allowed. This exertion was for the ſum of 15 guineas, excluſive of which a handſome collection was made immediately after the wager was decided.

15th. *Oxford.* This day, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the great bell at St. Mary's church rung out, which was a ſignal that the proceſſion of the funeral of our late much-honoured lord and chancellor, earl Guildford, was arrived in the environs of Oxford. The officers of the univerſity, and the whole body of reſident ſtudents, were previouſly aſſembled in Magdalen college, in order to pay ſome tribute to the memory of their deceaſed chancellor. They joined the proceſſion at Magdalen-bridge in the following order, viz.

The univerſity marſhall and bellman.

The virger, his ſilver rod covered with crape.

The eſquire and yeoman beadles, with their gold and ſilver ſtaves covered with crape.

THE VICE CHANCELLOR.

The biſhops of Oxford and Cheſter, followed by the heads of houſes, two and two.

The doctors in divinity, law, phyſic, &c. &c. and the profeſſors in the ſeveral ſciences, two and two.

The proctors in their habits; followed by

All other members of the univerſity then reſident, in mourning.

They paraded on foot before the hearſe up the High-ſtreet to Carfax, from thence down to the Cornmarket to St. Gyles's-church, at the town's-end, in a moſt ſolemn manner; here they halted, and opening to the right and left, the hearſe and other carriages paſſed through, the whole univerſity being uncovered. The carriages of many gentlemen of the univerſity attended the proceſſion empty, and the bells at all the churches, colleges, and halls, tolled during the ceremony, which was truly ſolemn and affecting.

17th. *Windſor.* This morning, ſoon after five o'clock, their majeſties and the princeſſes ſet out for Weymouth.

Weymouth. Their majeſties and the princeſſes arrived here, in perfect health, a little before ſix o'clock in the afternoon.

15th. *Dublin.* Mr. Knight, who apprehended James Napper Tandy, eſq. by virtue of the lord lieutenant's proclamation, offering a reward of 50l. applied lately for the reward, and was refuſed. He has ſince been tried, before the Recorder, for the aſſault on Mr. Tandy; when he threw himſelf on the mercy of the court; and Mr. Tandy and his counſel recommending a lenient puniſhment, he was fined ſixpence, and ordered to be impriſoned three days.

23d. A boy, two years and a half old, ſon of Mr. Yearſley, ſilk-dyer, George-ſtreet, Blackfriars-road, caught hold of a bottle of vitriol, drank of the ſame, and expired the next morning in the greateſt agonies.

24th. This morning, at 2 o'clock, a fire broke out in the Birmingham theatre, which in three hours reduced that elegant and extenſive ſtructure to a mere ſhell. Not an atom within the walls eſcaped the fury of the flames; and the admired front, executed by Wyatt, at the expence of near 4,000l. is nearly demoliſhed. The Shakeſpeare tavern adjoining is materially injured.

25th. This morning, about two o'clock, a fire broke out at a coach painter's in Little Titchfield-ſtreet; a watchman gave notice on the firſt appearance of the fire. The engines nſtantly poured in; but notwithſtanding the utmoſt activity, two children periſhed in the flames, and two houſes were reduced to aſhes.

27th. *Sunderland.* Much damage has been done in this neighbourhood by a dreadful ſtorm, accompanied by rain, &c.; ſeveral houſes were unroofed, chimnies were thrown down, and many perſons in conſequence killed. Several ſhips in the harbour broke from their moorings, and after daſhing againſt each other, many were driven mere wrecks to ſea, others foundered on the coaſt, and ſeveral keels ſunk, with their unfortunate crews, in the preſence of hundreds, who, from the violence of the ſtorm, were unable to afford them relief. On Tueſday and Wedneſday near twenty bodies were picked up on the ſhore.

DIED.—3d. At his ſeat at Cromford, in Derbyſhire, Sir Richard Arkwright, knt.; who, by uncommon genius and perſevering induſtry, improved and perfected a ſyſtem of machinery for ſpinning, that had been in vain attempted by many of the firſt mechanics of the laſt and preſent centuries; which, by giving perpetual employment to many thouſand families, has increaſed the population, and been productive of great commercial advantage to this country. He has died immenſely rich. His real and perſonal property is eſtimated at little ſhort of half a million. From the humble ſtation of a barber at a village near Mancheſter, he gradually roſe in the acquiſition of this vaſt wealth by the accidental purchaſe of a ſingle piece of mechaniſm, called the ſpinning-jenny, the invention of an ingenious carpenter, who, as report ſays, offered it for ſale from mere neceſſity.

Lately, at Redruth, in Cornwall, aged 101, Mrs. Joan Harrington.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. The number of addreſſes preſented to his majeſty, to return thanks for the late proclamation againſt ſeditious writings, amount to 341; including almoſt all the counties, corporations, boroughs, cities, and towns in Great Britain.

5th. *Portſmouth.* The Scourge ſloop brought in a ſmall capture to Spithead, and ſent a boat on ſhore with two midſhipmen to a return, as it is technically called. As the boat was making back, the water was ſo rough as to overſet it, by which melancholy accident all were loſt except two, who floated, by the help of oars, for ſix or ſeven hours, when they were picked up by a veſſel, which fortunately paſſed near enough to obſerve their diſaſtrous ſituation. About half an hour before this providential delivery, the two midſhipmen, who had ſupported themſelves by ſome buoyant part belonging to the boat, entirely exhauſted, relinquiſhed their hold, and were ſeen no more.

Lately, at Chicheſter, John Upton, a day labourer, murdered his wife and ſon, after having beaten them in a moſt ſhocking manner, and then hanged himſelf. The coroner's verdict was lunacy.

Two important philoſophical diſcoveries have been lately made; the one by a Frenchman, and the other by an Italian, at Bologna. The firſt is, the power of light to render the vitriolic acid altogether harmleſs to the human body; inſomuch that a man may waſh his hands in a ſubſtance that would otherwiſe reduce them to a cinder, with this ſole precaution, of ſetting the baſon in the rays of the ſun. The Italian's diſcovery conſiſts in proving, experimentally, that animal motion depends on electric fire; for a muſcle being cut, and the parts ſeparated, the motion of the one part produces a correſpondent motion in the other, when a ſubſtance that is a conductor of the electric fluid is interpoſed between them; but no ſuch motion is produced when a non-conductor is interpoſed.

10th. By the Scorpion ſloop of war, captain Hollowell, arrived at Portſmouth, there is intelligence that a dreadful hurricane happened at Antigua on the firſt of Auguſt. Several plantations were entirely deſtroyed, and a great number of negroes, with their huts, &c. waſhed away. Several merchant veſſels in Engliſh harbour were greatly damaged. The hurricane, it is ſaid, was nearly general throughout the Weſt India iſlands.

The loſs of the ſhip Britannia, Captain Woodyear, is thus related in a letter, dated Baſſeterre, Aug. 1. "At eight o'clock yeſterday morning ſhe ſtruck on the Bar. The crew conſiſted of about 30 people. At ten ſhe began to go to pieces, when the unhappy people on board made a raft, on which ſeven of them, and two women (wives of invalids going home), and a child, ventured to endeavour to get on ſhore; but their efforts were in vain; for a violent ſea ſeparated them from the ſhip, and daſhed the raft to pieces, four men alone being ſaved. The ſhip ſoon broke to pieces, and the ſituation of the captain and the reſt of the paſſengers and crew, was at this time indeſcribably pitiful. Captain Woodyear, Mrs. Moore, and four of the men, were the only perſons remaining on the wreck, all the others being either waſhed off, or endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming. The captain did every thing in his power to ſave poor Mrs. Moore; but at length was ſo exhauſted, he was not able to prevent her falling a prey to the devouring waves. A boat was ſeveral times endeavoured to be got off to their aſſiſtance, but in vain. About three o'clock, the captain was ſo entirely ſpent that he was compelled to leave the wreck; when picked up, he was nearly dead, and every endeavour to reſtore him to life proved ineffectual. The others that were with him were drowned about the ſame moment, except one man, who very fortunately got on ſhore, though in a very languid ſtate. It is impoſſible for us to deſcribe this melancholy ſcene as it deſerves. Suffice it to ſay, Captain Woodyear did every thing in his power to preſerve his people on the wreck; he ſacrificed his own life to ſave theirs; he might have got on ſhore with his brother, Mr. Joſ. M. Woodyear (who was going home with him as paſſenger in the morning), but he obſerved that not only his quitting would diſpirit his people, but that he could not think of leaving the poor women in ſo perilous a ſituation. The caſe of the unfortunate Mrs. Moore was truly pitiful. She was ſeen from the ſhore by her friends with her youngeſt child in her lap, wringing her hands in the utmoſt agony of deſpair, without having it in their power to render her the leaſt aſſiſtance; her other ſon and her brother (Mr. Stephen Duport, who belonged to the ſhip) in the like melancholy ſituation; in ſhort the ſcene was ſo dreadful, that the tears of the people on ſhore ſpoke their ſenſibility on the truly diſtreſſing occaſion. To increaſe its horror, the brothers of the unfortunate captain were among the ſpectators: to paint their agonizing feeling on the deplorable ſituation of their brother, we think utterly impoſſible. The captain's nephew, young Sherman Percival, ſaved himſelf by jumping from the ſhip, and ſwimming on ſhore, as did ſeveral of the hands. Of the whole on board, nine alone live to relate the melancholy tale. This morning preſented a dreadful ſcene indeed, the beach being covered with dead bodies that had been caſt on ſhore in the night, and others floating near the ſhore; 22 bodies (including thoſe of the captain, Mrs. Moore, her two ſons, and her brother) have been picked up."

12th. *Southampton.* One Ayland, a fiſherman of Hamble, a village about ſeven miles from Southampton, was fiſhing for lobſters on the coaſt of France on Thurſday laſt, and had taken in about half his cargo, when he eſpied two boats full of men, ſeemingly in great diſtreſs; on which he bore down, and received them on board. They had ſwam to their boats to get away from the coaſt, and many of them were much bruiſed and wounded by being pelted with ſtones from others on ſhore. They begged the fiſherman to land them ſomewhere in England, to prevent their being murdered; which he promiſed to do, and offered them ſubſiſtence till he had completed his lading. They repreſented the danger of being intercepted, if he did not immediately proceed to ſea, and offered him any ſum he ſhould aſk to land them as ſoon as poſſible. He waved his own intereſt, ſet ſail, and landed them at the above village; but with a ſpirit of humanity, which does honour to human nature, he abſolutely refuſed any reward whatever, though he had not completed his fiſhing, which is the maintenance of his family.—We conſider this matter truly laudable, and therefore record it as a teſtimony of rectitude highly deſerving public notice.

17th. A court martial commenced on board the Duke, in Portſmouth harbour, on Wedneſday the 12th inſt, on a charge of mutiny on the 28th of April, 1787, on board his Majeſty's armed veſſel Bounty, for running away with the ſhip, and deſerting his Majeſty's ſervice, againſt Joſeph Coleman, Charles Norman, Thomas Mackintoſh, Peter Haywood, Iſaac Morris, John Milward, William Muſpratt, Thomas Birkett, Thomas Elliſon, and Michael Byrn. The evidence for the proſecution cloſed on Friday night the 14th inſt. and the court indulged the priſoners till Monday to give in their defence, and on Tueſday took the whole into their conſideration; when they were pleaſed to paſs ſentence of death on Haywood, Morris, Millward, Muſpratt, Birkett, and Elliſon, the two firſt of whom the court recommended to mercy. Coleman, Norman, Mackintoſh, and Byrn, were acquitted and diſcharged.

Lewes. Upwards of 500 unfortunate emigrants were laſt week landed on our coaſt, who have had the fury of the elements to contend with, after eſcaping that of their countrymen. The Brighton packets, heavily laden with them, were

driven

driven by the winds far eaſtward of their uſual track, and with difficulty made Haſtings, Pevenſey, and Eaſtbourne. At the former place, on Wedneſday morning, 76, all eccleſiaſtics, came on ſhore, among whom were the biſhop of Auvranches, the dean of Rouen, and ſeveral other dignitaries. The biſhop with great difficulty eſcaped from Auvranches by the aſſiſtance of one of his grand vicars, who, with domeſtics, accompanied him to Rouen, where they were for ſome days concealed. The populace having diſcovered them, they were again obliged to travel on foot, in diſguiſe, to Dieppe. They arrived in the night, took refuge a few hours in an hotel; and, at the time appointed for the departure of the packet, ran to the ſea-ſide, and, it providentially being high water, were enabled to get out of the reach of the rabble, who in one minute after purſued them to the ſhore.

21ſt. The royal party lately rode to Dorcheſter, to ſurvey the new county gaol; when a farmer, who had been confined for ſeven years for a debt incurred by a lawyer's bill, on his knees preſented a petition, ſtating the particulars to his majeſty. His majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to pay the money (220 l.), and the man was immediately liberated.—His name is Pitfield.

22d. As a young man, named Thomas Forſter, ſon of an eminent gardener of Mickleton, in Glouceſterſhire, was walking in their own garden, he ſaw an adder: he laid hold of a garden-rake, and ſtruck it; upon which, with a ſudden ſpring, it faſtened round his left arm, bit him upon the pit of the ſtomach, and then dropped off. The place bitten began ſwelling immediately, with an uncommon degree of pain, which baffled every effort of an experienced ſurgeon for the ſpace of ſix hours, when the young man died in the moſt excruciating and tormenting agony.

This being the day on which the autumnal equinox occured, ſome Welſh bards, reſident in London, aſſembled in congreſs on Primroſe Hill, according to ancient uſage, which requires that it ſhould be in the eye of public obſervation, in the open air, in a conſpicuous place, and whilſt the ſun is above the horizon. The wonted ceremonies were obſerved. A circle of ſtones formed, in the middle of which was the *Maen Gorfedd*, or altar, on which a naked ſword being placed, all the bards aſſiſted to ſheathe it. This ceremony was attended with a proclamation, the ſubſtance of which was, that the bards of the iſland of Britain (for ſuch is their ancient title) were the heralds and miniſters of peace, and never bore a naked weapon in the preſence of any one; nor was it lawful for any perſon to bear one, on any pretence, in their preſence. On this occaſion the bards appeared in the inſignia of their various orders. The preſiding bards were David Samwell, of the primitive, and claimant of the ovation order; William Owen, of the ovation and primitive orders; Edward Jones, of the ovation, and claimant of the primitive order; and Edward Williams, of the primitive and druidic orders. The bardic traditions, and ſeveral odes, were recited. Two of the odes, one by David Samwell, on the bardic diſcipline, the other by Edward Williams, on the bardic mythology, were in Engliſh; and the firſt that were ever in this language recited at a congreſs of ancient Britiſh bards.

Died.—At Deritend, Birmingham, aged 120, Mrs. Johnſon.

Lately, near Waterford, aged 120, Wm. Troy. A ſhort time before his death, he could read the ſmalleſt print without ſpectacles, and daily walked about his farm without ſupport.

Aged 107, Mr. Hammond, of Senern Hall, in Shropſhire.

30th. At Greenham Heath, Berks, in the 107th year of her age, Elizabeth Dowling.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. At a court of common-council, it was moved, that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty on the ſucceſsful termination of the war againſt Tippoo Sultan, which was agreed to; the freedom of the city was voted to marquis Cornwallis in a gold box, value one hundred guineas, and to general Medows in a gold box value eighty guineas; and the thanks of the city were voted to the officers and ſoldiers of the army.

Laſt night, at about a quarter paſt ten o'clock, a fire broke out at the houſe of Mr. Cooper, a woollen-draper, in Shoemaker-row, Aldgate, late Maſkall's, which being a wooden building, the flames were ſo rapid that in the courſe of an hour they extended to eleven of the ſame deſcription in Shoemaker-row, and a ſmall court, which ran at the back of it, including three in the front of Aldgate. Happily no lives were loſt.

3d. *Oxford.* This day the inſtallation of the duke of Portland, who was on the 27th ult. elected chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, took place at his grace's ſeat at Bulſtrode. The vice-chancellor, attended by the chief dignitaries of the ſeveral colleges, all habited in the full robes of their reſpective orders, went in proceſſion in ten carriages from Oxford. They ſlept in High Wycombe the preceding night, and arrived at Bulſtrode about half paſt one on Wedneſday, when the ceremony immediately commenced; at the concluſion of which they ſat down to a moſt ſumptuous banquet, which was prepared on the occaſion in the great picture-gallery; and about nine o'clock departed for Wycombe, on their return to Oxford. His grace was attended in this ſolemn ceremony by lords Malmeſbury and Stormont, the right honourable Edmund Burke, the honourable W. Windham, and many other perſons of diſtinction.

7th. The daily meſſenger, diſpatched from the ſecretary of ſtate's office, with letters to his majeſty at Windſor, was ſtopped near Langley Broom by three footpads, who took from him the box containing the diſpatches, and his money, &c.—The ſame men afterwards robbed a gentleman in a poſt-chaiſe of a hundred guineas, a gold watch, &c.—Some light dragoons, who received information of the robberies, went in purſuit of the thieves, but were not ſucceſsful. They found, however, a quantity of the papers ſcattered about the heath.

In digging for the ſewers, the workmen ſtill find veſtiges of the ravages made by the fire in the year of Chriſt 59, when the Britons deſtroyed the city of London, then a Roman colony under the government of Nero. A *ſtratum* of aſhes and burnt corn is frequently found, and ſometimes pieces of Nero's coin among it.

9th. One M'Gregor, a painter in Kelſo, undertook, for a trifling wager, to fell a bullock with his fiſt at three blows, which he performed at the ſecond. What makes it the more extraordinary, he is a very ſlender man, and not above five feet ſeven inches high.

14th. *Maidſtone.* Laſt night, between twelve and one o'clock, a deſperate effort was made by the felons confined in our town gaol, in order to effect their eſcape; but by the activity and reſolution of Mr. Watſon, the keeper, and his aſſiſtants, they were prevented from putting their deſign in execution, although ſeveral of them had got upon the wall, and rope-ladders were affixed on the other ſide of it. The implements with which the priſoners got off their irons were conveyed to them by a child of two years of age; the mother of this child, being the wife of one of the offenders, had ſewed them up in its cloaths, previous to her leaving it with its father.

19th. A riot took place at Newgate. The perſons who were ſome time ago removed from the king's bench (in conſequence of having attempted to effect their eſcape) to Newgate, had ſome diſagreements among themſelves, which proceeded ſo far as to induce ſome among them to draw their knives, and ſeveral were very much wounded. Pitt, the door-keeper on the debtor's ſide, accompanied by two of his men, went in, in order to quell the tumult, when Pitt was ſo deſperately cut over the head, as to render the immediate aſſiſtance of a ſurgeon neceſſary; his ſafety is not yet certain. His attendants were alſo much cut.

Exeter. Early this morning the poſt-boy, carrying the mail from Aſhburton to Exeter, was robbed near Chudleigh, by a ſingle man.

22d. *Sheffield.* The retreat of the duke of Brunſwick was this day celebrated here. Bonfires were made, cannon diſcharged, and flags, with the mottos, *Republic of France —Liberty,* &c. hoiſted. Entertainments were alſo given, and ſeveral ſheep were boiled and roaſted whole.

23d. *Derby.* This borough has followed the laudable example of many other boroughs, in taking off the tolls on grain, &c. coming into or paſſing through the ſaid town.

25th. The Union packet of Dover was this day loſt off Calais. The time of high tide had been ſuffered to paſs, through ſome unexpected delay, and the veſſel ſtruck in coming out of the port. In endeavouring to turn to windward, ſhe miſſed ſtays, and a freſh gale blowing at the moment, ſhe was driven back, and daſhed with great violence againſt the extremity of the ſouthern pier. This accident was perceived from the veſſels in the harbour; but the ſea ran too high to ſend any boats to her aſſiſtance. The people on board were more than 40 minutes in a fearful ſituation, as they could not be drawn aſhore without running the hazard of being cruſhed between the veſſel and the pier. At length, from the repeated ſhocks, her broadſide gave way, and ſhe inſtantly filled and ſunk. The crew and paſſengers, amongſt whom were four Engliſh gentlemen and ſeveral ladies, were all ſaved. It is 105 years ſince a ſimilar circumſtance has occurred. The ſame company embarked next morning at Calais, on board the Pitt, captain Sharp, and underwent a ſecond ſhipwreck, being driven on ſhore at the North-head, in a violent gale, but no perſon was loſt.

29th. *Portſmouth.* This day Thomas Burkett, John Milward, and Thomas Elliſon, three of the ſeamen who had mutinied on board the Bounty armed ſhip, in the South Sea, were executed on board the Brunſwick man of war. Peter Haywood, midſhipman, and James Morriſon, boatſwain's-mate, had been pardoned, and liberated on the 27th, in purſuance of the earneſt requeſt of the court-martial that tried them; and William Muſpratt was reſpited during pleaſure.

Yarmouth. A number of perſons aſſembled in our market, with the intention of producing a riot upon the dearneſs of proviſions. When the tumult commenced, plunder was not ſo much the object as the deſire of deſtroying what was expoſed to ſale. No ſooner were meaſures employed for preventing the outrage, than the rioters diſcovered a determination to ſupport their deſign by violence. A blow, aimed at the mayor's head, was warded off by the ſpirited interference of Mr. J. Young, captain of the Walſingham Eaſt Indiaman, who afterwards ſeized and ſecured another rioter in the act of collaring the chief magiſtrate. By the ſpirited exertions of a party of gentlemen, who had aſſembled at the town-hall, at the requeſt of the mayor, the priſoners were not only detained, but a number of the moſt active in this attrocious attempt were alſo ſeized. A party of horſe were called forth; who, with the gentlemen of the town, continued upon guard during the night and the following day. Three of the rioters were committed to take their trials for capital offences.

The inſurrections which had taken place among the ſailors employed in the coal trade at Shields, and thoſe at Ipſwich, have been ſettled by the temperate interference of the reſpective magiſtrates.

DIED.—28th. At Auſthorpe, in Yorkſhire, John Smeaton, eſquire, F.R.S. the celebrated civil engineer. He died of a paralytic ſeizure.

Lately, in Skiddy's alms-houſe at Cork, aged 103, Catherine Parr, great grand-daughter of old Parr.

In his 104th year, at Berkſwell, near Coventry, William Fulford, Jerſey-comber.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. Accounts from Sierra Leone, of the moſt flattering nature, are received at the company's houſe in Lawrence Pountney-lane. They were brought by the Duke of Savoy, a ſhip chartered to carry out ſtores to the ſettlement. The ſickneſs, which had been fatal to ſo many at the commencement of the rains, had entirely ceaſed, and trade and plantation were making rapid progreſs. Thoſe, on the contrary, who are intereſted in the reſult of the enterpriſe to Bulam, will be concerned to hear that that plan is entirely defeated, The principal part of the coloniſts have been maſſacred by the natives; and thoſe who remained alive took refuge among their countrymen at Sierra Leone, Mr. Dalrymple, their governor, is returned to England by the veſſel which brought this intelligence. The government at Sierra Leone received the unfortunate adventurers with much humanity, and a veſſel is fitting out there to bring them back to this country.

Bulam is an iſland at the mouth of the Gambia, upon which the natives of the oppoſite ſhore have, from time immemorial, made their annual plantations of rice. Conſidering, therefore, the arrival of the new ſettlers as an unjuſt intruſion upon their natural rights, a diſpute aroſe, which has exhibited the above melancholy iſſue.

2d. This afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out, occaſioned by ſome boys playing off ſquibs, in a houſe occupied by William China, and others, the property of Jonathan Watſon, eſq. near the town of Holbeach, in the county of Lincoln, which burnt down the ſame, with a barn adjoining. There was a large quantity of wool and locks in the barn and granary adjoining the other end of the houſe; but by the vigilance and activity of many of the inhabitants of the town, the wool and granary, and houſehold goods, belonging to the tenants, were ſaved. The two fire-engines belonging to the town played with great force, but the rapidity of the flames baffled their operations.

5th. At Nuneaton, in the ſhop of Mr. Roberts, grocer, a number of ſerpents, rockets, and other fireworks had been provided for ſale; in the courſe of the evening a ſerpent was miſchievouſly thrown therein, which falling and burſting among a number of others, a general exploſion was the conſequence, which it is feared will have very fatal effects. Mr. Roberts has totally loſt one of his eyes; Mrs. Roberts lies dangerouſly ill; one if not two of their unfortunate children are ſince dead, and the ſervant-maid was moſt dreadfully ſcorched. The ſhop-windows were forced into the ſtreet, and the houſe in other reſpects much damaged.

7th. *Leiceſter.* In removing the walls and rubbiſh of the old town gaol (which originally was a part of, and lately joined, St. John's hoſpital) a diſcovery was made of ſome mutilated arches of ſtone, of high antiquity, by the ſimplicity of their formation. Theſe fragments ran in a line parallel with each other, due eaſt from the ſtreet, which, with a fine Saxon arch at the weſt end, doubtleſs once formed the nave of a ſmall church. It was viſible alſo that it had originally one, if not two, ſide ailes. The beautiful arch at the weſt end has been long obſcured by the wall which bounds the ſtreet: it ſpann'd the paſſage which led into the hoſpital, and appeared of an age with that pure Saxon remains, St. Mary's chancel.

10th. Some excellent regulations have been adopted by the court of aldermen, to keep the drovers of cattle in order, and to prevent the many cruelties daily practiſed. Every drover now wears a numbered badge, on the penalty of 20s. to which alſo every perſon not licenſed as a drover is liable, on driving or aſſiſting in driving cattle, if ten or more are in the flock. No goads are to be uſed of more than a quarter of an inch long, nor are the cattle to be ſtruck on or below the hock, on the like penalty.

15th. A ſpirit of riot broke out at Dundee, near 1000 people having aſſembled, and after burning in effigy two gentlemen who were obnoxious to them, proceeded to their houſes, broke the windows, pulled down the rails of their gardens, and demoliſhed ſome of the furniture of their houſes. They then demanded the keys of the belfry from the magiſtrates, and ſet all the bells a-ringing, having in the mean time *planted the* TREE OF LIBERTY *in the market-place*, and burned, as a bonfire, upwards of fifty oil and porter caſks. After this they diſperſed quietly, and there has been no diſturbance ſince.

A lady of beauty and accompliſhments, who had lived with a gentleman in Upper Gower-ſtreet, from ſome difference ſubſiſting between them, was, by his deſire, about to leave him. Her cloaths were packed up, and they had taken leave of each other on Thurſday night, the one previous to the day on which ſhe was to quit his houſe. Her ſervant left the chamber about 10 o'clock, when the lady was ſuppoſed to have retired to reſt. The gentleman came home about two hours after, and was informed the lady was in bed, when he went to another apartment.—In the morning, about 9 o'clock, on the ſervant's knocking at the door, and receiving no anſwer, it was forced open, when a moſt dreadful ſpectacle preſented itſelf—the unfortunate lady was found dead in the bed, having diſcharged a blunderbuſs through her heart; a piſtol was found lying near the bed, which in her dying agonies ſhe had thrown off. This victim of deſperation, report ſays, had left another gentleman, by whom ſhe was a mother, and had lived with Mr. —— only a few months, induced to the connexion from his ſuperior fortune.

19th. As ſome labourers were digging among the old remains of a nunnery, ſtanding near Nuneaton, they diſcovered a floor of ſmall quarries, curiouſly painted with blue, green, white, and yellow; the figures repreſented were birds, lions, flowers, harps, creſcents, ſtars, circles containing the 12 aſtronomical ſigns of the Zodiac, and other devices in heraldry. About two feet below the floor, they found ſeveral ſtone coffins, in which were the larger bones and ſculls, entire, of ſome diſtinguiſhed perſons, who, probably, had lain there at leaſt 500 years.

20th. About five o'clock in the afternoon, a moſt violent tempeſt (ſuch as has not been known for ſeveral years, came on at Whitehaven. The wind was from the ſouth-weſt, and raged with alarming fury till about nine; in which time an abundance of rain fell, and a great deal of lightning was ſeen, particularly towards the cloſe. The roofs of ſeveral houſes were injured, and many chimnies were blown down; the falling of the ſlates, bricks, &c. and the cracking noiſe on all ſides, which was heard through the howling of the ſtorm, increaſed the terrors of the night, and rendered it dangerous to be in the ſtreets. In the midſt of this awful ſcene, the bellman gave notice of aſſiſtance being wanted at the harbour: the tide, which, in the uſual courſe, had ebbed half an hour, ſuddenly returned, and continued to flow for an hour, riſing to the height of three feet perpendicular at the end of the Old Quay; the waves ran mountain-high, and breaking among the ſhips (of which there was a great number in port) forced ſeveral from their moorings, and did conſiderable damage to ſome of them. All was horror and confuſion for the ſpace of two hours and more; and many people, in their exertions to ſecure the veſſels, were frequently in imminent danger of being waſhed off the Tongues, over many parts of which the water made a free paſſage. Happily, no lives were loſt; and the damage ſuſtained, though conſiderable, is much leſs than might have been expected. Early the next morning, but ſome hours after the violence of the tempeſt had ſubſided, though it ſtill continued to blow hard, a boat laden with potatoes, and navigated by two men, arrived from Garlieſtown, from whence ſhe had been driven by the fury of the elements, and providentially conducted through paths of undeſcribable horror, where the ſkill of the pilot could be of no avail.

23d. *Macclesfield.* A dreadful accident has happened at a cotton manufactory belonging to Meſſ. Clayton and Gaſkill, in this town. A great part of the roof of that extenſive building fell in, while all the hands were at work, owing to the timber's drawing from the walls. A great number of perſons were buried in the ruins. Several perſons have been taken out dead, and many alive, but greatly bruiſed. It is ſuppoſed that about 50 or 60 men, women, and children, were under the roof at the inſtant when it fell in. Only 16 were found. The cries of thoſe buried were exceedingly diſtreſſing. One man and a child were found with their heads ſevered from their bodies.

25th. Between five and ſix this morning, a terrible fire broke out in the houſe of Charles Schreiber, eſq. in the occupation of Mrs. Warden, on Forty-hill, Enfield, which in three hours time deſtroyed the whole building, with the greateſt part of the furniture. The family providentially eſcaped unhurt.

26th. This day was tried before the judges of the court of king's bench and a ſpecial jury, an indictment againſt the Rev. Richard Burgh, Thomas Townly M'Can, James Davis, John Cummings, and John Bourne. The indictment charged the priſoners with a conſpiracy to demoliſh the walls of the king's bench priſon; and for that purpoſe introducing a large quantity of gun-powder near them. After Lord Kenyon had ſummed up the evidence, the jury withdrew, and remained for a quarter of an hour, and then returned, finding all the defendants—*guilty*. The defendants then immediately retired, and were of courſe conducted to Newgate.

The following proceeding took place this evening, with reſpect to a debating ſociety, at the houſe formerly the King's Arms tavern, in Cornhill. A queſtion had been propoſed for diſcuſſion, which related to the enmity ſhewn by ſome princes to the French conſtitution, and to that which others were ſaid, in the terms of the queſtion, to feel, though they did not diſcover it. The topic had been debated once before; and this evening, agreeably to certain printed invitations, three or four hundred perſons aſſembled to the adjourned diſcuſſion of it. They found, however, the ſtairs of the apartment occupied by conſtables, who denied them admiſſion. This was not done without ſome tumult; and though the company were prevented from paſſing through one paſſage of the tavern which leads into Cornhill, a conſiderable crowd collected in ſeveral parts of Change Alley. At length, about nine o'clock, the lord mayor, attended by the city marſhals, arrived, and admoniſhed the crowd to depart. This advice was obeyed peaceably, though ſlowly; and about ten the ſtreet was cleared.

29th. The court of common-council voted their unanimous thanks to the lord mayor, for his conduct in ſuppreſſing the ſeditious debating ſociety on Monday evening laſt. Some reſolutions were then paſſed with the ſame unanimity, declaring the ſteady determination of the common-council to ſupport "the SACRED CONSTITUTION," and to ſuppreſs all unlawful and ſeditious aſſemblies within the city.—(*See the Appendix.*)

The ſame day the attorney-general moved the court for a writ of Habeas Corpus, to be directed to the warden of the Fleet-priſon, commanding him to bring into court the bodies of Patrick Wm. Duffin, and Thomas Lloyd. In ſupport of his motion, he ſtated, that the charge againſt theſe two perſons was, that they had ſtuck upon the door of the Fleet-priſon, the following inflammatory hand-bill, viz. "This houſe to let. Peaceable poſſeſſion will be given by the preſent tenants on or before the 1ſt of January 1793, being the commencement of the firſt year of liberty in this country. The republic of France having rooted out tyranny, Baſtiles are no longer neceſſary in Europe."—It was granted.

Dublin. The court of exchequer has given its final determination in the cauſe of Mr. Tandy againſt the lord-lieutenant, and ordered the proceedings to be quaſhed.

The ſame day, the court of common-pleas heard council in reply to the motion of the attorney-general to quaſh the proceſs iſſued againſt lord Fitzgibbon, as one of his majeſty's privy-council, ſigning a proclamation iſſued againſt Mr. Tandy, on an addreſs of the houſe of commons for a breach of privilege. The court ordered the proceedings to be quaſhed.

There is but one European who has ever penetrated China as far as Pekin; and that European is an Engliſhman, who now reſides in the vicinity of Bromley, in Kent. The ſtory is as follows:—This gentleman had ſo long reſided at Canton, in the character of a factor, that he was a perfect maſter of the Chineſe language, and entirely converſant with, and aſſimilated to, the manners of the country. Having formed a ſtrict intimacy with ſome Chineſe merchants who made an annual viſit to Pekin, it was agreed among them that he ſhould accompany them to the imperial reſidence as a Chineſe. He accordingly did ſo, and proceeded with them to the metropolis without any obſtacle or interruption. The very firſt morning after his arrival at Pekin, he was diſturbed by a noiſe at the door of his apartment, and the abrupt entrance of ſome Chineſe ſoldiers. They ſhewed him the merchants his friends, hanging on a gallows before his window; and, without ſaying a word to him, they placed him in a kind of litter, brought for the purpoſe, with a ſingle aperture at the top for light and air; and in this ſituation, accompanied by a guard, he was conveyed back to Canton with more haſte than he came. He was treated with no other ſeverity.

Died.—28th. At Kirkcudbright, Scotland, at the great age of 120, William Marſhall, tinker. This miracle of longevity retained his ſenſes almoſt to the laſt hour of his life. He remembered diſtinctly to have ſeen king William's fleet, when on their way to Ireland, riding at anchor in the Solway Firth, cloſe by the Bay of Kirkcudbright, and the tranſports lying in the harbour. He was preſent at the ſiege of Derry, where having loſt his uncle, who commanded a king's frigate, he returned home, enliſted in the Dutch ſervice, went to Holland, and ſoon after deſerted and came back to his native country. Naturally of a wandering and unſettled turn of mind, he could never remain long in any particular place. Hence he took up the occupation of a tinker, headed a large body of lawleſs banditti, and frequently traverſed the kingdom from one end to the other.

But it is to be obſerved to his credit, that of all the thieviſh wandering geniuſes, who during the weakneſs of the eſtabliſhed government led forth their various gangs to plunder, and to alarm the country, he was by far the moſt honourable of his profeſſion.

DECEMBER.

2d. *Cuckney, near Mansfield.* The weaving factory of Gorton was this day burnt to the ground. The fire was diſcovered about five o'clock in the morning; and owing to the oil, and other combuſtible matter contained in the works, after a conflagration of three hours only, the whole was conſumed. The loſs is eſtimated at 18,000l. but it was happily inſured in the Sun and Royal Exchange fire-offices for the whole amount.

4th. A court of lieutenancy of the London militia was held at Guildhall; preſent the lord-mayor, aldermen Sainſbury, Croſby, Newnham, Picket, Curtis, Macaulay, Sir Watkin Lewes, colonel; aldermen Anderſon; the two ſheriffs. The court came to a determination, that one company ſhall be conſtantly kept on duty at the Artillery-houſe, night and day, to be ready at a moment's notice, in caſe any diſturbance ſhould happen in the city; they likewiſe came to a reſolution to ſwear in forty of their men as extra conſtables.

5th. Yeſterday there was a very numerous and reſpectable meeting of the merchants, bankers, traders, and others, of London, at Merchant-Taylors Hall; when a declaration expreſſive of their determination to ſupport our preſent happy conſtitution was unanimouſly agreed to; and ordered to be left for ſignature.—*(See the Appendix.)*

6th. Several hundreds of men are employed about the walls of the Tower. The ſtones, which were upon ſundry parts of Tower-hill, have been collected, together with quantities of earth, into old puncheons, uſed in forming barricadoes. The gates are ſhut at nine o'clock, two hours ſooner than uſual. A ſtranger is with difficulty admitted in the day time, and no perſons but officers and ſentinels are ſuffered to appear upon the ramparts.

10th. On Saturday, an information was tried in the court of King's-bench, againſt Mr. Sampſon Perry, printer of a late morning paper, called 'The Argus,' for a libel, inſinuating, that the houſe of commons were not the real repreſentatives of the people, and that therefore the laws were not enacted by their own conſent.—The neceſſary evidence being adduced, Lord Kenyon declared it to be a very flagitious libel; and the jury brought in their verdict *guilty*. In the London Gazette preceding this trial, a reward of 100 pounds was offered for the apprehending of Mr. Perry.

Mancheſter. In conſequence of the loyal and conſtitutional movements which have taken place at Mancheſter, for the purpoſe of forming aſſociations on the plan of thoſe in London and other parts of the kingdom, a tumult has ariſen among the populace; which, however, has happily been terminated with little miſchief. A great crowd aſſembled around the Herald office, ſome of the windows of which they broke, and diſperſed; the next night they met ſtronger, and paraded the ſtreets, ſinging and ſhouting, *God ſave the king!* They then proceeded to the object of their late reſentment, and again broke the windows. They afterwards went to the houſe of Mr. Walker, where they alſo demoliſhed ſome of the windows; here, however, they were reſiſted by Mr. W. who firing upon them, they diſperſed. Two men in this affair are ſaid to be wounded. The next day ſome friends of Mr. Walker waited upon the committee eſtabliſhed for protection of property, &c. who ſent a deputation to promiſe him ſupport, if he deſiſted from the uſe of fire-arms; adviſing him at the ſame time, as the moſt prudent ſtep, to leave town in a few days, as the mob were ſeriouſly clamorous for his perſon. No other violence, however, than the breaking of the windows of the houſe of Meſſrs. Faulkner and Walker was committed.

11th. A man was brought before the magiſtrate at the police-office, Shadwell, who had been apprehended near Wellcloſe-ſquare as an impoſtor, by ſome gentlemen, in the act of begging. It appeared that the man went into a cook's ſhop to buy ſome pig, but quarrelled about the price, and left the ſhop; when he was followed by a Mr. Gray, who ſoon after obſerved him tie up one of his hands, and go into another ſhop, where he begged, and received one penny; upon which Mr. Gray had him taken into cuſtody, to be conveyed before a magiſtrate. He refuſed, however, to comply, and a ſcuffle enſued; during which five or ſix ſhillings dropped from him, which occaſioned ſuſpicion. They ſearched him, and found wrapped up in diſtinct rags, and concealed in his breeches, a great number of farthings, halfpence, ſixpences, ſhillings, and half-guineas, and in one rag fifty-two guineas, beſides a Plymouth bank bill of 56ol. The amount of all the money found upon him was ſix hundred and thirty-one pounds ten ſhillings and fourpence farthing; for which the magiſtrate gave him a receipt, committed him as a rogue and vagrant, and lodged the money with a banker, to be produced at the ſeſſions.

15th. A memoir, on the important ſubject of preſerving water in long voyages, was lately read before the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. It appears from experiments made by Dr. Trotter, who ſerved under Admiral Roddam, and Mr. Raikes, maſter cooper, on the victualling premiſes at Portſmouth, that caſks fired in the making, till a thin cruſt of charry matter is formed over the whole internal ſurface of the ſtaves, will preſerve the water put into them perfectly ſweet for years. The heads of the caſks muſt alſo be charred, and great care is to be taken, in fitting the heads, that as few chips may be made as poſſible, for every freſh ſpot is liable to taint the water. The caſks finiſhed in this way are equally uſeful for ſpirits of all kinds, wines, and malt liquors; and, what has been long a deſideratum in the arts, the caſks, when emptied, do not become muſty.

19th. Yeſterday came on before Lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, at Guildhall, the trial of Thomas Paine, for writing and publiſhing a certain ſeditious pamphlet, under the title of 'The Second Part of the Rights of Man.' The jury gave in their verdict *guilty*.—(*For ſome account of this trial, ſee the Appendix.*)

24th. The grand mineral collection of J. R. Forſter, part of which was in Paris, but the greater part in London, the king of Spain has bought for 150,000 livres. In this collection were many ſpecimens, particularly of Hungarian minerals, that are probably to be met with in no other. The king of Spain has alſo bought ſeveral ſmall collections, of inferior importance, at Paris. M. Yſquierdo, who has the ſuperintendance of the muſeum at Madrid, is extremely anxious for the increaſe of its ſtores, ſo that it will ſoon become, perhaps, one of the beſt in Europe.

DIED.—8th. At Long Dalmahoy, in Scotland, aged 108, William Ritchie.

12th. At Beverley, in Yorkſhire, in her 101ſt year, Mrs. Wilberforce.

28th. Aged 103, Mrs. Clarke, one of the poor women of Snowden's hoſpital, in Stamford.

BIRTHS for the Year 1792.

Jan. 4. Lady Strathaven, a ſon and heir.

—. Counteſs of Winterton, a ſon.

6. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

11. Counteſs of Hillſborough, a ſon.

16. At Paris, counteſs of Cholmondeley, a ſon and heir.

Feb. 4. Marchioneſs of Worceſter, a ſon and heir.

9. Lady Caroline Campbell, a ſon.

14. Lady Eleonora Dundas, a ſon.

—. Marchioneſs of Tweedale, a daughter.

17. Lady of the hon. John Thomas Townſhend, a daughter.

17. Lady Auguſta Lowther, a daughter.

25. Counteſs of Aylesford, a ſon.

Mar. 3. Lady of the hon. William Elphinſtone, a daughter.

14. Lady George Auguſta Henry Cavendiſh, a daughter.

15. Lady of the hon. and rev. Jacob Marſham, a daughter.

16. Lady of the hon. G. H. Nevile, a ſon.

—. Hon. Mrs. Pole, a daughter.

18. Lady of ſir Stafford Northcote, bart. a ſon and heir.

28. Her Catholic majeſty, a prince.

31. Counteſs of Caithneſs, a daughter.

April 2. Lady of Sir Alexander Monro, a daughter.

—. Queen of Naples, a prince, baptiſed Alberto Gaetano, &c.

12. Lady Anne Lambton, a ſon and heir.

13. Lady Anne Wombwell, a ſon.

May 1. Lady Forbes, a daughter.

19. Lady of Sir Tho. Whichcote, bart. a ſon.

22. Lady of the hon. Lewis Watſon, a ſon.

June 3. Counteſs of Sutherland, a ſon, at Paris.

Lately, Lady North, a ſon.

10. Lady of Lord Fitzgibbon, a ſon and heir.

18. Counteſs of Darnley, a daughter.

July 6. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a daughter.

12. Lady Porcheſter, a ſon.

13. Lady of Sir W. Conyngham, bart. a ſon.

—. Lady Elizabeth Douglas, a ſon and heir.

18. Lady of Sir George Douglas, bart. a ſon and heir.

22. Lady of colonel Sir Hugh Dalrymple, bt. a daughter.

30. Ducheſs of Dorſet, a daughter.

Aug. 9. Lady of N. W. Wraxall, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

Lately, Lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.

18. Lady John Ruſſell, a ſon.

19. Lady of Sir Geo. Collier, a ſon.

20. Counteſs of Mountcaſhell, a ſon and heir.

Sep. 30. Ducheſs of Montroſe, a daughter.

—. Lady of Sir Henry Harpur, bart. a ſon and heir.

Oct. 2. Lady Boſton, a daughter.

4. Lady Anne Fitzroy, a daughter.

5. Lady Frances Leſlie, a ſon.

7. Lady Mary Anne Sturt, a daughter.

8. Lady of William Baker, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

13. Lady of Richard Aldworth Neville, eſq. a daughter.

21. Lady Valletort, a daughter.

29. Lady of Sir William Foulis, bart. a daughter.

Nov. 3. Lady of Thomas Wyndham, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

8. Lady Charlotte Curzon, a ſon.

24. Princeſs Frederica, conſort of Prince Frederic, hereditary prince of Denmark, a ſon.

—. Lady of Sir John Ingelby, bart. a ſon.

26. Marchioneſs of Blandford, a daughter.

Dec. 5. Hereditary princeſs of Orange, a ſon.

8. Lady of Sir Richard Pepper Arden, knt. maſter the rolls, a ſon.

12. Lady of Sir William Miller, bart. a ſon.

15. Ducheſs of Northumberland, a ſon.

—. Lady of George Sumner, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

—. Lady Elizabeth Fane, a daughter.

27. Marchioneſs of Worceſter, a ſon.

31. Viſcounteſs Molyneux, a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1792.

Jan. 1. Viſcount Molyneux, to the hon. Miſs Elizabeth Craven.

3. George Frederick Ryves, eſq. of the royal navy, to Miſs Catharine Elizabeth Arundel, daughter of the hon. James Everard Arundel.

7. Hon. William Hay, brother to the earl of Errol, to Miſs Jane Bell, daughter of the late Matthew Bell, eſq. colonel of the Northumberland militia.

Lately, right hon. Robert Hobart, to Mrs. Adderley, relict of the late Thomas Adderley, eſq.

9. Robert Heron, eſq. to Miſs Amelia Mann, daughter of Sir Horace Mann, bart.

10. Sir Frederick Eden, bart.

to Miſs Smith, of Bond-ſtreet.

11. Viſcount Killmorey, to Miſs Cotton, daughter of Sir Robert Saluſbury Cotton, bart.

Lately, H. C. Gumbleton, eſq. captain in the 13th regiment of dragoons, to the hon. Miſs Sarah Maſſey.

Lately, hon. George Maſſey, to Miſs Elizabeth Scanlan, daughter of Michael Scanlan, eſq. of Ballinaha, in the county of Limerick.

18. George Gipps, eſq. M. P. for Canterbury, to Miſs Lawrence, daughter of the late Dr. Lawrence.

21. Richard Walpole, eſq. ſon of the hon. Richard Walpole, to Miſs Eliza Hammet, daughter of Sir Benjamin Hammet, knt.

27. George Fludyer, eſq. M.P. to lady Mary Fane.

Feb. 4. Sir Henry Harpur, bart. to Miſs Hawkins.

23. Sir John Rous, bart. to Miſs Whitaker.

Mar. 2. James Crawford, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir Alexander Crawford, bart. to Miſs Gage, ſiſter of viſcount Gage.

4. Marquis of Abercorn, to lady Cecilia Hamilton.

8. Honoarable Auguſtus Butler, to Miſs Danvers, ſole daughter and heireſs of Sir John Danvers, bart.

9. Rich. Johnſon, eſq. M.P. to Miſs Courtenay, daughter of John Courtenay, eſq. M. P.

11. Lord Maſſey, to Miſs Margaret Barton, daughter of William Barton, eſq. of the Grove, in the county of Tipperary.

11. Viſcount Cliffden, to lady Carol. Spencer, daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

—. Viſcount Perceval, to Miſs Wynn, daughter of the late col. Wynn.

13. Hon. and rev. John Ellis Agar, to Miſs Flower, ſiſter of viſcount Aſhbrook.

April 9. Edward Coke, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Colhoun, daughter of William Colhoun, eſq. of Wrotham, Norfolk.

—. Earl of Albemarle, to the hon. Miſs Sophia Southwell.

—. John King, eſq. one of the under ſecretaries of ſtate, to Miſs Moſs, daughter of the biſhop of Bath and Wells.

17. John Edward Madocks, eſq. of Vale Maſcall, Kent, to the hon. Miſs Craven.

—. The hon. F. Weſt, to Miſs Michell, daughter of the late Richard Michell, eſq. of Culham-court, Berks.

—. Sir James Suttie, bart. to Miſs Catharine Iſabella Hamilton, daughter of James Hamilton, eſq.

21. Tho. Swymmers Champneys, eſq. only ſon of Sir Thomas Champneys, baronet, to Miſs C. Moſtyn, daughter of Sir Roger Moſtyn, bart. M. P.

May 2. Lord Audley, to Mrs. Moorhouſe.

5. Rev. Sir William Henry

Clarke, bart. to Miſs Cartwright, daughter of the late Thomas Cartwright, eſq. of Aynho, in Northamptonſhire.

11. Hon. Thomas Capel, to Lady Carolina Paget.

—. George Smith, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Frances Mary Moſley, daughter of ſir John Parker Moſley, bt.

14. Lawrence Palk, eſq. to lady Elizabeth Vaughan.

Lately, William Weldon, eſq. to Miſs Lucy Cuffe, niece to viſcount Dyſart.

June 3. James Nicholas Duntze, eſq. ſon of Sir John Duntze, bart. to Miſs Jane Harriet Cockburn, daughter of Sir James Cockburn, bart.

4. Hon. William Aſheton Harbord, to lady Caroline Hobart.

5. Richard Dobbs, eſq. of Caſtle Dobbs, in the county of Antrim, to miſs Nichola Obins, daughter of Michael Obins, eſq. and niece to viſcount Goſford.

12. Francis Ferrand Foljambe, eſq. to lady Mary Arabella Lumley.

14. Henry Harford, eſq. to Miſs Pigou, daughter of Frederic Pigou, eſq.

—. Rev. Roger Frankland, ſon of the late admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, to the hon. Miſs Catherine Colvill, daughter of John lord Colvill, of Culroſs.

23. Henry William Martin, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Martin, bart. to Miſs Powell, only daughter of Thomas Powell, eſq. of Tottenham.

July 4. John Coher, eſq. to the hon. Miſs Marſham.

6. Lady Ramſay, relict of ſir George Ramſay, bart. to lieut. Duncan Campbell, of the guards.

10. Sir John Scott, bart. to Miſs Harriet Graham, daughter of William Graham, jun. eſq. of Garthmore.

18. Lord Grenville to the hon. Miſs Pitt, daughter of Lord Camelford.

21. Earl of Inchiquin to Miſs Palmer, niece to the late Sir Joſhua Reynolds.

22. Lord Rob. Stephen Fitzgerald, to Miſs Fielding, daughter of C. Fielding, eſq. and niece of the earl of Winchelſea.

26. Joſeph Foſter Barham, eſq. to lady Caroline Tufton.

28. Rev. George Bridgman, to lady Louiſa Iſabella Boyle.

Aug. 4. Henry Coulſon, eſq. to Elizabeth lady dowager Tracton.

13. Lord Carberry to Miſs Suſannah Watſon.

14. Hon. Auguſtus Phipps, to Miſs Maria Thelluſſon, daughter of Peter Thelluſſon, eſq.

22. Cullen Smith, eſq. to the hon. Miſs Caroline Eardley.

Sep. 23. Earl of Shrewſbury, to Miſs Hoey, of Dublin.

Oct. 12. Viſcount Mountſtuart, to lady Elizabeth Crichton.

15. Lord Glentworth, biſhop

of Limerick, to the widow of the late general Crump.

22. Lord Cranſton, to Miſs Montolieu.

30. Hon. Veſey Knox, to Miſs Giſborne, daughter of the late General Giſborne.

Nov. 2. Captain James Millard, of the 56th regiment, to lady Riverſdale.

28. Sir Walter Blount, bart. to Miſs Anne Riddell, daughter of the late T. Riddell, eſq. of Swinburne-caſtle, Northumberland.

29. Captain Parſlow, of the king's own regiment of dragoons, to Miſs Wolff, daughter of Sir Jacob Wolff, bart.

30. Hon. John Rawdon, to Miſs F. Hall, ſiſter to John Wharton, eſq. M.P.

Dec. 6. Sir Rob. Humphrey Mackworth, bt. to Miſs Miers, of Richmond.

11. James Bell, eſq. of Bromſgrove, to the hon. Louiſa Fitzroy.

13. Hon. Geo. Pelham, to Miſs Mary Rycroft, daughter of the late Sir Richard Rycroft, bart.

—. Charles Wolſeley, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir William Wolſeley, bart. to Miſs Mary Clifford, daughter of the late hon. Thomas Clifford.

24. Hon. Chriſtopher Hely Hutchinſon, brother to lord Donoughmore, to Miſs Bond, daughter of James Bond, eſq. of Dublin.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1792.

Jan. 7. Hon. Henry Welſley, to be ſecretary of legation at the court of Stockholm.

23. John Wentworth, eſq. to be lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia.

30. Hon. Henry Skeffington, to be governor of Cork.

Feb. 11. Lieutenant-general T. Clarke, to be colonel of the 30th regiment of foot.

—. Major-general James Stuart, to be colonel of the 31ſt regiment of foot.

—. William Downes, eſq. to be one of the judges of the court of King's-bench in Ireland.

15. Marquis Townſhend, to be lord-lieutenant of Norfolk.

25. Earl of Morton, to be chamberlain to the queen's houſehold.

—. Earl of Ailesbury, to be treaſurer to the ſame.

March 3. Rev. Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, to be biſhop of Norwich.

Thomas Lawrence, eſq. to be principal painter in ordinary to his majeſty.

12. Lord Charles Fitzgerald, to be muſter-maſter-general in Ireland.

31. Rev. Dr. Archibald Davidſon, to be dean of the order of the thiſtle, and of the chapel royal, in Scotland.

April 10. Rev. Peter Peckard, D. D. to be dean of Peterborough.

28. Major-general Ralph Abercrombie, to be colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

—. Major-general O'Hara, to be lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar.

May 1. Rev. Thomas Jackſon, D. D. to be canon reſidentiary of St. Paul's.

—. Rev. Wm. Cole, A. M. to be prebendary of Weſtminſter.

2. Lord Macartney, to be a privy-counſellor.

5. Rev. Dr. Spencer Madan, to be biſhop of Briſtol.

12. Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald, to be miniſter plenipotentiary to the Swiſs cantons.

15. Joſeph lord Milton, to be viſcount Milton and earl of Dorcheſter.

22. Lord Macartney, to be ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China.

—. Sir George Leonard Staunton, bart. to be ſecretary of embaſſy to the emperor of China.

26. Sir Lucius Pepys, bart. to be phyſician in ordinary to the king.

June 1. William Lindſay, eſq. to be ſecretary of the embaſſy to the moſt Chriſtian king.

9. Earl Howe, to be vice admiral of Great Britain.

12. Edward lord Thurlow, to be baron Thurlow of Thurlow, in Suffolk, with remainder to Edward and Thomas Thurlow, eſqrs. ſons of the late biſhop of Durham, and to the Rev. Edward South Thurlow, one of the prebendaries of Norwich.

15. Lord chief baron Eyre, to be a privy-counſellor.

—. Lord chief baron Eyre, Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt, and Mr. juſtice Wilſon, to be lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal.

20. Miſs Mary Verney, daughter and heireſs of John Verney, ſon of Ralph Verney, baron Verney and viſcount Fermanagh (afterward earl Verney,) to be baroneſs Fermanagh of Ireland.

20. Dame Mary Cavendiſh, wife of the right hon. Sir Henry Cavendiſh, bart. to be baroneſs Waterpark, of Ireland.

July 7. Admiral Sir Rich. King, knt. to be a baronet.

—. Hon. Auguſtus Phipps, to be a commiſſioner of exciſe.

—. Right hon. James Stirling, lord provoſt of Edinburgh, to be a baronet.

21. Henrietta Laura Pulteney, daughter of William Pulteney, eſq. to be baroneſs Bath.

26. William earl of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham, to be earl of Mansfield in the county of Middleſex, with remainder to David viſcount Stormont.

Aug. 1. Captain Eraſmus Gower, to be a knight.

—. Rev. Charles Moſs, A. M. to be prebendary of Weſtminſter.

8. George lord Macartney, to be viſcount Macartney of Ireland.

11. Lieutenant-General George Morriſon, to be colonel of the 4th regiment of foot.

—. Major-general George Garth, to be colonel of the 17th regiment of foot.

15. Earl Cornwallis, to be marquis Cornwallis.

—. Lieutenant-general William Auguſtus Pitt, lieutenant-general John Vaughan, major-general William Medows, major-general Robert Abercromby, to be knights of the Bath.

18. Earl of Elgin, to be envoy extraordinary at Bruſſels.

—. Right hon. William Pitt, to be conſtable of Dover Caſtle, and warden of the Cinque Ports.

24. Lieutenant-general Fawcitt, to be colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoon guards.

25. Major-general Hamilton, to be colonel of the 15th regiment of foot.

25. George Nayler, eſq. to be genealogiſt and blanc courſier herald of the moſt honourable order of the Bath.

Sept. 11. Rev. Dr. William Buller, to be biſhop of Exeter.

—. Duke of Portland, to be chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford.

25. Lawrence Harman Harman, eſq. to be baron Oxmantown in Ireland.

Oct. 2. John Shore, eſq, the ſucceſſor to marquis Cornwallis in the government of Bengal, to be a baronet.

—. John Hopkins, eſq, lord-mayor of London, and Benjamin Tebbs, eſq. to be knights.

6. Earl Forteſcue, to be colonel of the North Devon militia.

26. John earl Poulett, to be lord lieutenant of the county of Somerſet.

30. Sir Charles Gould, knt. to be a baronet, and permitted to take the name of Morgan.

Nov. 17. Ninian Hume, eſq. to be lieutenant-governor of Grenada,

27. Sir Hercules Langriſh, bart. to be a privy counſellor of Ireland.

Dec. 8. Earl of Harrington, to be colonel of the 1ſt regiment of life-guards.

—. Lord Cathcart, to be colonel of the 29th regiment of foot.

DEATHS for the Year 1792.

Jan. 2. At her houſe in Stratford-place, after ſuffering a ſevere long illneſs, the dowager-viſcounteſs Galway. Her ladyſhip was the daughter of —— Villa Real, eſq. of Yorkſhire and Nottinghamſhire; and was married to William, ſecond viſcount Galway, 1747, by whom ſhe had three ſons (now dead), Robert, the preſent viſcount (to whom her jointure of 1500l. a year devolves), and two daughters, Elizabeth, married, 1775, to ſir F. Sykes, bart. and Charlotte, married, 1784, to A. B. Burnet, eſq,

At his ſeat at Maiden Bradley, Wilts, aged 84, the moſt noble Edward duke of Somerſet, baron Seymour, a baronet, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. He ſucceeded his father in 1757. Dying without iſſue, he is ſucceeded in titles and eſtate by his next brother, lord Webb Seymour, of Farley-houſe, in the county of Somerſet.

15. At his ſeat at Stanford-hall, in the county of Leiceſter, after a ſhort illneſs, aged 26, Sir Thomas Cave, bart. M. P. for that county. He was the fifth of that family from its baronetcy, in 1641, and the twenty-fifth in lineal deſcent from Jourdayne de Cave, who, in the third year of William the Conqueror, had many large poſſeſſions aſſigned him as marks of royal favour.

16. Rear admiral John Hale.

17. At Bath, the right reverend George Horne, biſhop of Norwich.

22. At his ſeat in the county of Forfar, Scotland, the right hon. George Carnegy, earl of Northeſk, and lord Roſehill, admiral of the white ſquadron. His lordſhip married Anne, daughter to the earl of Leven, by whom, who died in 1779, he had iſſue David, the late lord Roſehill, born 1753, and died in France, March 1788; William, the preſent lord Roſehill, a captain of the navy, who married, Jan. 1789, Miſs Ricketts, daughter of Henry

Ricketts, eſq. of Longwood, Hants; Elizabeth, married, in Auguſt 1776, to James lord Hope.

28th. In Sloane-ſtreet, lady Gordon, widow of the late Sir John James Gordon, of Park in Scotland.

Miſs Penelope Cheſhire, ſiſter to the counteſs of Fauconberg.

At Edinburgh, lady Dunbar, relict of Sir James Dunbar, of Mochrum.

31. At Edinburgh, Sir Alex. Hay, bart. knight of the military order of St. George, and a colonel in the Ruſſian ſervice.

Lately, at Grimſthorp, near Pocklington, in the county of York, Sir Norton Robinſon, bart. of Newby, in that county. He was grandſon of William the firſt baronet of his family, and ſucceeded his brother Sir William in 1770. He was great nephew of Tancred Robinſon, M. D. of London, and ſon of Sir Tancred, lord mayor of York 1718, and rear admiral of the blue.

Feb. 1. At Liſbon, the honourable lieut. William Forbes, youngeſt ſon of lord Forbes.

Frederick George Byron, eſq. nephew to lord Byron.

3. At Bath, major general Sir Henry Calder, bart. colonel of the 30th regiment, and lieutenant governor of Gibraltar. He married, firſt, Elizabeth, youngeſt daughter and co-heireſs of Auguſtin Earle, eſq. of Haydon hall, in Norfolk; ſecondly, Miſs Oſborn, daughter of admiral Oſborn, by whom he has left an infant ſon.

5. At his houſe in Great Ormond-ſtreet, where he had lived 37 years, and in the 83d year of his age, the right hon. Sir John Eardley Wilmot, knt. late chief juſtice of the court of Common Pleas, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

7. At Prague, in Bohemia, Frances-Maria counteſs Taaffe, wife of Francis count Taaffe, ſecond ſon of Nicholas lord viſcount Taaffe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and eldeſt daughter of the late John lord Bellew.

14. At Schaumburgh, Victoria Charlotte, dowager margravine of Brandenburgh Bareith.

21. Lady Eſdaile, wife of Sir James Eſdaile, knt.

At Vienna, aged 58, Jean Joſeph de Khevenhuller Metſch, count of the holy Roman empire, chamberlain to his imperial majeſty, &c. &c.

22. At Newcaſtle, the hon. Geo. Hewitt, of the 31ſt regiment of foot, youngeſt ſon of the late lord viſcount Lifford, formerly lord chancellor of Ireland.

23. Sir Joſhua Reynolds.

26. Rear admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, bart.

Lately, at Nice, the hon. John Foſter, eldeſt ſon of the ſpeaker of the Iriſh houſe of commons, and M. P. in that parliament for the borough of Dunleer.

The hon. Sophia Wykham, relict of W. Humphry Wykham, eſq. and ſiſter of lord viſcount Wenman. She was the daughter of Sir Philip, ſixth viſcount, by Sophia, eldeſt daughter and coheir of James Herbert, eſq. of Tythorpe, in the county of Oxford, and was born in 1743, and married, in 1768, to W. H. Wykham, eſq. of Swancliffe, in the county of Oxford, who died not long ago, by whom ſhe had two ſons and two daughters. Sophia, the eldeſt daughter, died on her return from Liſbon, July 4, 1790.

March. 1. His imperial majeſty Leopold II. emperor of Germany.

10. At his houſe in South Audley-ſtreet, after a ſevere illneſs, which he bore with the utmoſt fortitude, aged 79, the right hon. John earl of Bute, viſcount and baron Mountſtuart, knight of the garter, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, a baronet, ranger of Richmond park, chancellor of the univerſity of Aberdeen, and preſident of the ſociety of antiquaries of Scotland.

11. In Davies-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, Sir William Codrington bart.

14. Right hon. Alexander Gordon, of Rockville, one of the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland.

18. At Tunbridge-wells, Lucy viſcounteſs Torrington, ſiſter to the preſent earl of Cork and Orrery. She was born May 27, 1744, and married to the preſent viſcount Torrington July 10, 1765, by whom ſhe has left living iſſue one ſon and three daughters, two of whom are lady John Ruſſel and lady Bridgeman.

29. At Stockholm, by the hands of an aſſaſſin, Guſtavus III. king of Sweden.

April. 3. In Charles-ſtreet, Sir George Pocock, K. B. one of the vice preſidents of the Marine Society.

10. At her houſe in Curzon-ſtreet, May-fair, in her 87th year, Suſannah counteſs-dowager Fane, relict of Charles the laſt viſcount Fane, of the kingdom of Ireland, who died in 1766. Her ladyſhip was the daughter of John Marriot, eſq. of Sturſton-hall, in the county of Suffolk; and was firſt married to Sir William Juxon, bart. of Little Compton, in the county of Glouceſter. She married lord Fane in 1749.

11. Sir Abraham Pitches, knt.

13. Lieutenant general Lancelot Baugh.

At his ſeat at Radley, Berks, aged 74, the Rev. Sir James Stonhouſe, LL. D. bart. rector of Clapham, Surrey. He was the youngeſt ſon of the late Sir John Stonhouſe, bart. comptroller of the houſehold in 1712, who married to his ſecond wife one of the daughters of Sir Robert Daſhwood, bart. of Kirtlington, in the county of Oxford, by whom he had three ſons and ſix daughters. The three ſons, John, William, and James, ſucceeded to the title, and all died unmarried. The eſtate devolves, firſt, to lady Rivers, the heireſs of the eldeſt of the daughters, for her life, and next to capt. Bowyer and his heirs, an officer in the navy, the ſecond ſon of the ſecond daughter, who was wife to Sir W. Bowyer, bart. The title goes to the Rev. James Stonhouſe, M. D.

Hon. general George Cary.

18. At the Black Rock, near Dublin, John Bourke, earl of Mayo, lord viſcount Naas. His lordſhip was married to the hon. lady Mary Leeſon, daughter of the late and ſiſter to the preſent earl of Milltown. Dying without iſſue, he is ſucceeded in the earldom of Mayo, and in his eſtate, by his next brother, the moſt rev. and hon. Dr. Joſeph Deane Bourke, archbiſhop of Tuam, who is married to the only ſiſter of the earl of Clanwilliam, and has a numerous iſſue.

In Bedford-ſquare, the dowager lady Cooke.

In Berkeley-ſquare, the right rev. Chriſtopher Wilſon, biſhop of Briſtol, canon reſidentiary of St. Paul's, prebendary of Finſbury, and rector of Barnes in Surrey.

23. Lady Iſabella Keith, daughter of the earl of Kintore.

30. At his houſe on Turnham-green, aged 71, the moſt noble George Johnſtone, marquis and earl

of Annandale, earl of Hartfield, viſcount Annan, and lord Johnſtone of Lockwood, Lochmaben, and Moffat, in Annandale. His lordſhip ſucceeded his brother James, the ſecond marquis, in 1745, but has been ever ſince declared a lunatic, by commiſſioners appointed for that enquiry.

In Hertford-ſtreet, May-fair, the right hon. John Montagu, fourth earl of Sandwich, viſcount Hinchinbrook, a governor of the Charter-houſe, the oldeſt of the elder brethren of the Trinity-houſe, of which he had enjoyed the honour and the patronage nearly 43 years. He was alſo the oldeſt general in the army, and recorder of Huntingdon and Godmancheſter, F. R. and A. SS.

Lately. At Vienna, after a long illneſs, count Zinzendorff, a privy-counſellor, and preſident of the royal council of appeal.—Alſo, at the ſame time and place, baron Kienmayor, vice-preſident of the ſame tribunal.

General David Græme.

May. 15. At Vienna, her imperial majeſty, Mary Louiſa, empreſs dowager of Germany.

17. The hon. and rev. Gerald de Courcy, brother to lord Kinſale.

Sir Noah Thomas, knt. F. R. S.

Lately the hon. Richard Gore, brother to the earl of Arran.

21. At Fortroſe, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, bart.

24. The right hon. George Brydges Rodney, baron Rodney, of Stoke, in the county of Somerſet, a baronet, knight of the Bath, vice-admiral of England, admiral of the white, and once governor of Greenwich-hoſpital. He was born in 1718; and was married, firſt, to the ſiſter of the earl of Northampton; ſecondly, to the daughter of John Clies, eſq. with whom he had not reſided for ſome years. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtates by his ſon George, who married, April 10, 1781, Martha, daughter of the right hon. alderman Harley, and has iſſue.

29. In Bruton-ſtreet, Sir Wm. Stanley, bart.

30. In St. James's-place, hon. Mrs. Cartwright.

June 4. Aged 69, Cæſar Conſtantine François, count of Hoenſbrock, biſhop and prince of Liege. He ſucceeded to the biſhoprick July 21, 1784.

Counteſs dowager of Mount Caſhel.

6. At his ſeat at Packenham-hall, in Ireland, Edward-Michael Packenham, baron Longford, born in 1743, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, lieutenant in the navy 1761, maſter and commander 1765, poſt-captain 1766; in which year he alſo ſucceeded to the title. In 1765 he was elected knight of the ſhire for Longford; member of the privy council in Ireland 1777.

10. At her ſeat at Templeogue, in Ireland, Henrietta counteſs-dowager of Clanbraſſil. She was the third daughter of the firſt earl of Portland, and was married at the Hague, Oct. 15, 1728, to James firſt earl of Clanbraſſil, by whom ſhe had iſſue four ſons and three daughters, of whom only one ſon and one daughter have ſurvived her ladyſhip, viz. James, the ſecond and preſent earl of Clanbraſſil, born Auguſt 13, 1729; and lady Anne, born in May, 1730, to whom the princeſs of Orange ſtood god-mother, and who married, Dec. 11, 1752, the hon. Rob. Jocelyn, now earl of Roden.

18. At Shillinglee park, the counteſs of Winterton.

20. In George-ſtreet, lady Glentworth.

26. Near Hieres, in the ſouth of France, the hon. Mrs. Graham, daughter of the late, and ſiſter of the preſent lord Cathcart.

29. In Spring-gardens, after a long and ſevere illneſs, Elizabeth counteſs-dowager of Berkeley, formerly lady of honour to the princeſs of Wales. Her ladyſhip was one of the three daughters of Mr. Drax, of Dorſetſhire, all of whom were in an eminent degree the favourite belles of their day; and was married to the late earl of Berkeley, of Berkeley-caſtle, May 7, 1744. Of her ſiſters, one married the late Sir William Hanham, of Dean's-court, Dorſetſhire; the other, firſt, Wm. Cracroft, eſq. and afterwards, in 1777, lord Caſtlehaven, and died in 1789. The children of the late counteſs-dowager of Berkeley by her firſt huſband, who died in 1755, are the preſent earl, the hon. capt. George Berkeley, the counteſs of Granard, and the margravine of Anſpach. By her ſecond marriage with Lord Nugent, of Ireland, ſhe has left two daughters only, the preſent marchioneſs of Buckingham, and lady Louiſa, married to Eliab Hervey, eſq. of Chigwell, Eſſex.

July 3. The reigning duke of Brunſwick-Lunenburg, brother-in-law to the king, having married, Jan. 16, 1764, the princeſs Auguſta, his majeſty's ſiſter, by whom he has left three ſons and three daughters.

5. Sir Robert Strange, knt.

10. At Bretton-Hall, near Wakefield, Sir Thomas Blackett, bart.

11. Lady Aſtley.

12. Lady of Sir John Henniker.

19. Rev. Sir Charles Miller, bart.

24. Lady of Sir Hanſon Berney, bart.

27. At Sunbury, hon. Lucy Howe, youngeſt ſiſter of the late lord Chedworth.

30. Lady of the honourable William Henry Irby.

Aug. 2. Mrs. Mary Poyntz, couſin to counteſs dowager Spencer.

3. Sir Richard Arkwright, knt.

4. In Hertford-ſtreet, May-fair, the right hon. John Burgoyne, a privy counſellor, lieutenant-general in the army, colonel of the 4th regiment of foot, M. P.

5. In Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet, the right hon. Frederick North, earl of Guildford, lord North, lord warden and admiral of the Cinque-Ports, governor of Dover-caſtle, lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of Somerſetſhire, chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, recorder of Glouceſter and Taunton, an elder brother of the Trinity-houſe, preſident of the Foundling-hoſpital and of the Aſylum, a governor of the Turkey company and of the Charter-houſe, K. G. and LL. D. He was born April 13, 1732; and married, May 20, 1756, Miſs Anne Speke, an heireſs of the antient family of Dillington, in Somerſetſhire, by whom he has left two ſons, and three daughters; the eldeſt ſon, George-Auguſtus, born Sept. 11, 1757, and married Sept. 30, 1785, to Miſs Hobart, ſucceeds to the earldom and eſtates. The late earl ſucceeded his father Auguſt 4, 1790. His lordſhip ſucceeded Mr. Charles Townſhend, as chancellor of the exchequer; and in 1770, on the reſignation

tion of the duke of Grafton, was made firſt lord of the treaſury, in which office he continued until the cloſe of the American war.

10. At his ſeat at Teddington, in the county of Glouceſter, in his 74th year, Thomas-Charles Leigh, lord viſcount Tracey. He was the only ſurviving child of Thomas-Charles, the fifth viſcount, by Elizabeth daughter of Sir Wm. Keyde, bart. of Ebbrington, in the ſaid county, by whom he had William, who died before his father; Jane, married to Capel Hanbury, eſq. of Pont Pool, in the county of Monmouth, by whom ſhe had John, the late member for that county, who died in 1784, and two daughters, now living, Henrietta and Frances; ſhe died in 1787; and Thomas-Charles, this laſt viſcount, who, in 1756, ſucceeded his father, having married Henrietta, daughter of Peter Bathurſt, eſq. of Clarendon-park, by lady Selina Shirley, daughter of the earl of Ferrers, but by whom he has left no iſſue. His lordſhip is ſucceeded in title and eſtates by John, warden of All Souls college, Oxford, his half-brother, by his lordſhip's father, the fifth viſcount, married ſecondly, to Frances daughter of ſir John Packington, bart. of Worceſterſhire, and had iſſue the preſent viſcount, Frances, bed-chamber-woman to the queen, and ſeveral other children.

14. At Exeter, the right rev. John Roſs, D. D. and F. R. S. biſhop of Exeter, and vicar of Frome.

16. At Axwell-Park, the lady of Sir Thomas Clavering, bart.

Rear admiral John Leveſon Gower.

17. Lieutenant general Richard Burton Phillipſon, M. P.

Sept. 6. At Putney, lady Caroline Egerton, ſiſter to the duke of Bridgwater.

7. In Park-ſtreet, Dublin, in an advanced age, Thomas Nugent earl of Weſtmeath, viſcount and baron Delvin, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, K. P. He was the firſt earl of Weſtmeath of the Proteſtant religion, the 6th of his family who had enjoyed the dignity, and the 17th baron Delvin in ſucceſſion. His lordſhip was the eldeſt ſon of John the fifth earl, by his wife the lady Margaret Molza, daughter of the count de Molza, of the duchy of Modena, in Italy; and ſucceeded his father, who died at the age of 83, in 1754.

At Raby-caſtle, Durham, Henry Vane, 2d earl of Darlington, and viſcount Barnard, governor of the caſtle of Carliſle, lord-lieutenant and vice-admiral of the county of Durham, and colonel of the Durham militia. He is ſucceeded by his ſon, William-Henry Vane, viſcount Barnard, M.P. for Winchelſea, in the county of Suſſex. His lordſhip ſucceeded his father, Henry, the firſt earl, in 1758, having been, at the inſtallation of the duke of Newcaſtle, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, 1749, admitted M. A. of that univerſity; elected repreſentative in parliament for Downton, Wilts, which, on his father's ſucceeding to the title, he vacated, and was choſen one of the knights for the county of Durham; of which county he was declared lord lieutenant and vice-admiral in 1758; conſtituted maſter of the jewel-office and governor of Carliſle 1763. He was an alderman of Durham city, and colonel of the militia of the ſaid county. He roſe in the army to the command of a company in the 2d or Coldſtream regiment of foot-guards, with the rank of colonel of foot, but reſigned his commiſſion in 1752. He married, 1757, Margaret, ſiſter of ſir Wm. Lowther, bart. and by her had two daughters, Grace, born 1757, who died at 14 days old, and Elizabeth, born 1759, died 1765, and a ſon, Henry, born 1766, his ſucceſſor, who married, Sept. 17, 1787, lady Catherine, daughter of the preſent duke of Bolton.

20. Sir John Davie, bart.

23. John Manners, eſq. of Grantham-Grange, Lincolnſhire, ſon of the late lord William Manners.

24. Sir Fitzwilliam Barrington, bart.

Oct. 1. Honourable lieutenant colonel William Cuffe.

3. Lady Abdy, relict of Sir Anthony Thomas Abdy, bart.

10. At Teſton, in Kent, the lady of Sir Cha. Middleton, bart.

At Liege, in Germany, Conſtantine-John Phipps, lord Mulgrave in England and Ireland, and F. R. S. The Engliſh peerage is extinct; that of Ireland deſcends to his eldeſt brother, the hon. Henry Phipps, lieutenant-colonel in the army, captain in the firſt regiment of foot-guards, and M. P. for Scarborough, his brother having obtained it for him when he quitted his poſt of paymaſter. His lordſhip was born in 1746; ſucceeded to his Iriſh title in 1775; and was created an Engliſh peer June 17, 1790. He married, June 20, 1787, Anne-Elizabeth, youngeſt daughter of Nathaniel Cholmondeley, eſq. of Houſham, in the county of York, one of the richeſt heireſſes in that county, who died in child-bed in 1788, leaving a daughter. His great-grandfather, Conſtantine Phipps, was, 1714, lord chancellor of Ireland, died in 1723, and left an only ſon, William, who, in 1718, married Catherine, daughter of James earl of Angleſea, by whom he had Conſtantine, created lord Mulgrave in 1767, and one daughter, Catherine. Conſtantine, the firſt lord, who died in 1775, married Lepel, eldeſt daughter of John Lord Hervey, who died in 1780, by whom he had iſſue Conſtantine John, the late lord, Charles, captain in the royal navy, deceaſed, Henry, Edmund, Auguſtus, and a daughter, Henrietta Maria, married in 1776 to Charles viſcount Dillon.

Princeſs Maria Clotilda, daughter of his Sicilian majeſty.

13. Sir Robert Howell Vaughan, bart.

—. Hon. George Byng, only ſon of viſcount Torrington.

14. Margaret, lady of Sir Roger Moſtyn, bart.

15. At Edinburgh, Lady Frances Leſlie.

19. Sir Robert Preſton, bart.

23. At Winchfield, Hants, the right hon. Lady Geo. Beauclerk.

24. Lady of Sir Arthur Clarke, bart.

29. Mary, widow of Sir Francis Head, bart.

Nov. 14. At her ſeat at Melbury, in the county of Dorſet, in her 71ſt year, Elizabeth, counteſs-dowager of Ilcheſter. She was the only daughter of col. Horner, who took the name of Strangeways for a large eſtate which deſcended to her, and on account of which her huſband, the late earl Stephen, who died 1776, took alſo that name. Her ladyſhip was married in the year 1736, and had iſſue three ſons and ſix daughters: Henry-Thomas, earl of Stanhope, born 1747; and his two brothers, born 1751 and 1761; Suſannah-Sarah-Louiſa, born 1741, married

William O'Brien, eſq.; Charlotte-Elizabeth, born 1743, died 1755; Juliana-Judith, born 1745, died 1749; Lucy, born 1748, married Stephen, brother to lord Digby; Chriſtian-Henrietta-Caroline, born 1749-50, married Sir John Dyke Ackland, bart.; and Lady Frances-Duriel, born 1755, married Mr. Quin, of Ireland, 1777.

15. At his ſeat near Andover, Hants, aged 93, Sir Sidney Medows, brother to Mr. Medows of Richmond-park, and uncle to General Medows and to Evelyn and Pierpoint Medows, eſqrs. He was knight marſhal of the Marſhalſea-court in Southwark.

16. Sir Edward James, bart.

28. Philip Thickneſſe, eſq. father of Lord Audley.

Dec. 2. At his houſe in Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, in his 69th year, the right hon. Joſeph Yorke, Lord Dover, baron of Dover-court, in the county of Kent; third ſon of Philip, firſt earl of Hardwicke, lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and brother to the late earl; a general of his majeſty's forces, colonel of the firſt regiment of life-guards, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, and knight of the moſt honourable order of the Bath. He was born July 4, 1724; created a peer Sept. 19, 1788; married, June 22, 1783, the baroneſs dowager de Boetzelier, of Holland, by whom he had no iſſue. In the early part of life his lordſhip entered into the military department, and was a captain of a company in the firſt regiment of foot-guards, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and aid-de-camp to the late duke of Cumberland at the battle of Fontenoy, in 1745. In 1755 he was appointed colonel of the 5th regiment, or royal Iriſh; in 1758 he was raiſed to the rank of major-general; in 1760 to that of lieutenant-general; and in 1777 to that of general. His lordſhip accompanied the late earl of Albemarle as ſecretary to the embaſſy in 1749, and in 1751 was nominated miniſter plenipotentiary to the States General. In 1761 he was conſtituted ambaſſador-extraordinary to that republic; having been the ſame year appointed one of the three commiſſioners, on the part of Great Britain, to the congreſs of Augſburgh, for a general pacification. He was the ſame year elected a knight of the Bath, and ſworn in one of the privy-council. In 1789 he received the command of the firſt troop of life guards. The title, by his lordſhip's death, becomes extinct.

4. Sir William Fordyce, knt. M. D.

6. Wm. Daniel Maſter, eſq. uncle to viſcount Torrington.

Sir David Dalrymple, of Hales, bart. Lord Hales, one of the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland.

10. Sir David Williams, bart.

11. Sir Archer Croft, bart.

14. In Hart-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, lady Anne Mackworth, aunt to the marquis of Abercorn.

15. Admiral Hugh Pigot.

17. The infant ſon of the marquis of Blandford.

18. At Culzean-caſtle, in Scotland, David earl of Caſſilis.

28. In Privy Gardens, the honorable Frederic Robinſon, uncle of Lords Borringdon and Grantham, and brother-in-law of lord Malmeſbury.

At Prague, after a very ſhort illneſs,

neſs, in his 90th year, prince Francis Ulricus von Kinſky, field-marſhal of the imperial and royal armies, and proprietor of the regiment of Kinſky.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council for the Year* 1792.

Berkſhire. John Blagrave, of Calcot-place, eſq.

Bedfordſhire. Sir John Buchanan Riddell, of Sunden, bart.

Bucks. William Pigott, of Dodderſhall, eſq.

Cumberland. Edward Haſell, of Dalemain, eſq.

Cheſhire. Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale-royal, eſq.

Cambridge and *Huntingdon.* Richard Greaves Townley, of Fulburne, eſq.

Devonſhire. Edward Colsford, of Clyſt St. Mary, eſq.

Dorſetſhire. Mark Davis, of Holneſt, eſq.

Derbyſhire. Hugh Bateman, of Hartington-hall, eſq.

Eſſex. Zachariah Button, of Stifford, eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. John Embury, of Twining, eſq.

Hertfordſhire. James Bourchier, of Little Berkhampſtead, eſq.

Herefordſhire. Richard Chambers, of Whitburne, eſq.

Kent. Henry Streatfield, of Chiddingſtone, eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. Richard Spooner Jaques, of Burbage, eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Chriſtopher Neville, of Wellinggore, eſq.

Monmouthſhire. David Tanner, of Monmouth, eſq.

Northumberland. Ralph William Grey, of Backworth, eſq.

Northamptonſhire. Sam. Rudge, of Tanſor, eſq.

Norfolk. Anthony Hamond, of Weſt Acre, eſq.

Nottinghamſhire. Edward Thornton Gould, of Mansfield Woodhouſe, eſq.

Oxfordſhire. Thomas Willets, of Caverſham, eſq.

Rutlandſhire. James Tiptaft, of Braunſton, eſq.

Shropſhire. Thomas Compſon, of Hopton Wafers, eſq.

Somerſetſhire. Thomas Samuel Joliffe, of Kilmerſdon, eſq.

Staffordſhire. Simon Debank, of Leek, eſq.

Suffolk. Alexander Adair, of Flixton, eſq.

County of *Southampton.* Thomas Robins, of Pilewell, eſq.

Surrey. William Woodroffe, of Poylepark, eſq.

Suſſex. Edmund Woods, of Shopwick, eſq.

Warwickſhire. Joſeph Oughton, of Sutton Coldfield, eſq.

Worceſterſhire. Fleetwood Packhurſt, of Ripple, eſq.

Wiltſhire. Mathew Humphreys, of Chippenham, eſq.

Yorkſhire. Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. George Morgan, of Abercothy, eſq.

Pembroke. Jo. Matthias, of Llangwarren, eſq.

Cardigan. William Lewis, of Llannercheiron, eſq.

Glamorgan. John Lewellyn, of Yniſygergwn, eſq.

Brecon. William Morgan James, of Pool-hall, eſq.

Radnor. John Lewis, of Harpton, eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. Hugh Price, of Wern, eſq.

Carnarvon. Edward Lloyd, of Ty mawr, eſq.

Merioneth. Edward Corbet, of Unyſmaen Gwyn, eſq.

Montgomery. Robert Clifton, of Aberbechan, eſq.

Denbigh. Thomas Jones, of Llantiſillio, eſq.

Flint. E. Morgan, of Golden-grove, eſq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of* Wales, *in Council, for the Year* 1792.

County of Cornwall. Davies Yiddy, of Tredres, eſq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Account of the Funeral of Sir Joſhua Reynolds; *with a Character of him.*

ON Saturday the 3d of March, at half an hour after three o'clock, was interred the body of Sir Joſhua Reynolds, knt. LL. D. in the univerſities of Oxford and Dublin, principal painter to his majeſty, preſident of the royal academy of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, fellow of the royal ſociety, fellow of the ſociety of antiquaries, and member of the imperial academy at Florence. He was interred in the vaſt crypt of the cathedral church of St. Paul, next to the body of Dr. Newton, late biſhop of Briſtol, himſelf an eminent critic in poetry and painting, and cloſe by the tomb of the celebrated and learned Sir Chriſtopher Wren, the architect of that great edifice. The body was conveyed, on the preceding night, to the royal academy, according to the expreſs orders of his majeſty, by a condeſcenſion highly honourable to the memory of Sir Joſhua Reynolds, and gratifying to the wiſhes of that ſociety of eminent artiſts. It lay that night, and until the beginning of the funeral proceſſion, in ſtate, in the model-room of the academy. The company who attended the funeral aſſembled in the library and council-chamber; the royal academy in the exhibition-room. The company conſiſted of a great number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the kingdom, who were emulous in their deſire of paying the laſt honours to the remains of him whoſe life had been diſtinguiſhed by the exertion of the higheſt talents, and the exerciſe of every virtue that can make a man reſpected and beloved. Many more were prevented by illneſs, and unexpected and unavoidable occaſions, which they much regretted, from attending. Never was a public ſolemnity conducted with more order, decorum, and dignity. The proceſſion ſet out at half an hour after twelve o'clock. The hearſe arrived at the great weſtern gate of St. Paul's about a quarter after two, and was there met by the dignitaries of the church, and by the gentlemen of the choir, who chaunted the proper pſalms, whilſt the proceſſion moved to the entrance of the choir, where was performed, in a ſuperior manner, the full choir evening ſervice, together with the fine anthem of Dr. Green, "Lord, let me know my end;" the body remaining, during the whole time, in the centre of the choir. The chief mourner and gentlemen of the academy, as of the family, were placed by the body; the chief mourner in a chair at the head, the two attendants at the feet; the pall-bearers and executors in the ſeats on the decanal ſide; the other noblemen and gentlemen on the cantorial ſide. The biſhop of London honoured this ſolemnity with his attendance, as did alſo the Lord Mayor; who both appeared in their official ſeats. The ſheriffs and ſeveral of the aldermen were alſo preſent. After the ſervice, the body was conveyed into the crypt, and placed immediately beneath the perforated braſs-plate under the centre of the dome. Dr. Jefferies, canon-reſidentiary, with the other canons, and the whole choir, came under the dome; the grave-digger attending in the middle with a ſhovel of mould, which, at the proper time, was thrown through the apertures of the plate, on the coffin. The funeral ſervice was chaunted, and accompanied on the organ in a grand and affecting manner. When the ſervice was ended, the chief mourners and executors went into the crypt, and attended the corpſe to the grave, in the ſouth aile of the choir, which was dug under the pavement. Great credit is due to the Lord Mayor, through whoſe directions no carriage was ſuffered to be in the ſtreets after 10 o'clock. His lordſhip and the ſheriffs honoured the proceſſion by coming to Somerſet-place, where an officer's guard of thirty men was placed at the great court-gate. After the proceſſion had paſſed through Temple-bar, the gates were ſhut, by order of the Lord Mayor, to prevent any interruption from carriages paſſing to or from the city. The ſpectators, both in the church and in the ſtreets, were innumerable. The ſhops were ſhut, the windows of every houſe were filled; and the people in the ſtreets, who ſeemed to ſhare in the general ſorrow, beheld the whole with reſpect and ſilence. The order of the proceſſion was as follows:

The City-Marſhals.
The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.
The Undertaker and ten Conductors, on horſeback.
A lid with plumes of feathers.
The hearſe with ſix horſes.

Ten Pall-bearers; viz.
Duke of Dorſet, Lord High Steward of his Majeſty's Houſehold;
Duke of Leeds;
Duke of Portland;
Marquis Townſhend;
Marquis of Abercorn;
Earl of Carliſle;
Earl of Inchiquin;
Earl of Upper Oſſory;
Lord Viſcount Palmerſton;
Lord Elliot.

Robert Lovell Gwatkin, Eſq. Chief Mourner.
Two attendants of the family.
Right Hon. Edmund Burke,
Edmond Malone, Eſq.
Philip Metcalfe, Eſq. } Executors.
The Royal Academicians and Students.
Lord Archbiſhop of York, Marquis of Buckingham.
Earl of Fife, Earl of Carysfort.
Lord St. Aſaph, Lord Biſhop of London.
Lord Forteſcue, Lord Somers.
Lord Lucan, the Dean of Norwich.
Right Hon. William Windham, Sir Abraham Hume, Bart.
Sir George Beaumont, Bart, Sir Thomas Dundas, Bart.
Sir Charles Bunbury, Bart. Sir William Forbes, Bart.
Dr. George Fordyce, Dr. Aſh.
Dr. Brockleſby, Dr. Blagden.
Sir W. Scott, M. P. Geo. Roſe, Eſq. M. P.
Jn. Rolle, Eſq. M. P. W. Weddel, Eſq. M. P.
Reginald Pole Carew, Eſq. M. P.
Matthew Montagu, Eſq. M. P. Richard Payne Knight, Eſq. M. P.
Dudley North, Eſq, M. P. Ch. Townley, Eſq.
Abel Moyſey, Eſq. Jn. Cleveland, Eſq. M.P.
Jn.-Tho. Batt, Eſq. Welbore Ellis Agar, Eſq.
Col. Gwyn, Capt. Pole.
Richard Clarke, Eſq. —— Drew, Eſq.
Edward Jerningham, Eſq. Dr. Laurence.
William Seward, Eſq. James Martin, Eſq.

Bennet Langton, Eſq. James Boſwell, Eſq.
Richard Burke, Eſq. Thomas Coutts, Eſq.
William Vachel, Eſq.
John Julius Angerſtein, Eſq. Edward Gwatkin, Eſq.
Charles Burney, Eſq. John Hunter, Eſq.
William Cruikſhank, Eſq. —— Home, Eſq.
John-Philip Kemble, Eſq. Joſ. Hickey, Eſq.
Mr. Alderman Boydell, John Devaynes, Eſq.
Mr. Poggi, Mr. Breda.

The company were conveyed in forty-two mourning-coaches; and forty-nine coaches, belonging to the nobility and gentry, attended empty.

The following perſons were prevented from attending by illneſs, or attendance on election-committees in the houſe of commons: Marquis Del Campo, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador; the Ruſſian Ambaſſador; the duke of Devonſhire, the earl of Aylesfort, the earl of Leiceſter, Earl Spencer, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Mount-Edgecumbe, Viſcount Falmouth, the biſhop of Durham, Lord Sheffield, Lord Macartney, Lord Bayham, right hon. Charles Fox, Sir Henry Englefield, bart. the hon. Edward, John, and William Eliot.

Sir Joſeph Banks, bart. preſident of the royal ſociety, though unavoidably detained by his attendance at a board of longitude to a late hour, was ſo deſirous of ſhewing his regard and eſteem for his late friend, that he endeavoured to join the proceſſion at two o'clock, but was prevented by the order which the Lord Mayor had given reſpecting the gate of Temple-bar.

The following members of the Literary Club, of which Sir Joſhua Reynolds was the founder, in 1764, paid the laſt tribute of reſpect by attending his remains to the grave, though, in conſequence of ſome of them being obliged to fulfil particular duties, they could not walk in a body: Right Hon. Edmund Burke, Sir William Scott, Right Hon. William Windham, Bennet Langton, Eſq. James Boſwell, Eſq. Lord Oſſory, Lord Palmerſton, Lord Lucan, Dr. Fordyce, Lord Eliot, Edmond Malone, Eſq.

It is remarkable that the funeral of this illuſtrious painter was honoured by the attendance of one knight of the thiſtle, two knights of St. Patrick, three knights of the garter, three dukes, and four lord-lieutenants of Ireland.

"His illneſs (ſaid the account of his death inſerted in the public papers, and generally attributed to the elegant pen of Mr. Burke) had been long, but borne with a mild and cheerful fortitude, without the leaſt mixture of any thing irritable or querulous, agreeably to the placid and even tenour of his whole life. He had from the beginning of his malady a diſtinct view of his diſſolution, which he contemplated with that entire compoſure which nothing but the innocence, integrity, and uſefulneſs of his life, and an unaffected ſubmiſſion to the will of Providence, could beſtow. In this ſituation he had every conſolation from family tenderneſs, which his tenderneſs to his family had always merited.

"Sir Joſhua Reynolds was, on very many accounts, one of the moſt memorable men of his time:—he was the firſt Engliſhman who added the praiſe of the elegant arts to the other glories of his country. In taſte, in grace, in facility, in happy invention, and in the richneſs and harmony of colouring, he was equal to the great maſters of the renowned ages. In portrait he went beyond them; for he communicated to that deſcription of the art in which Engliſh artiſts are the moſt engaged, a variety, a fancy, and a dignity derived from the higher branches, which even thoſe who profeſſed them in a ſuperior manner, did not always preſerve when they delineated individual nature. His portraits remind the ſpectator of the invention of hiſtory, and the amenity of landſcape. In painting portraits, he appears not to be raiſed upon that platform, but to deſcend to it from a higher ſphere. His paintings illuſtrate his leſſons, and his leſſons ſeem to be derived from his paintings.

"He poſſeſſed the theory as perfectly as the practice of his art. To be ſuch a painter, he was a profound and penetrating philoſopher.

"In full happineſs of foreign and domeſtic fame, admired by the expert in art, and by the learned in ſcience, courted by the great, careſſed by ſovereign powers, and celebrated by diſtinguiſhed poets, his native humility, modeſty, and candour never forſook him, even on ſurpriſe or provocation; nor was the leaſt degree of arrogance or aſſumption viſible to the moſt ſcrutinizing eye, in any part of his conduct or diſcourſe.

"His talents of every kind—powerful from nature, and not meanly cultivated in letters—his ſocial virtues in all the relations and all the habitudes of life, rendered him the center of a very great and unparalleled variety of agreeable ſocieties, which will be diſſipated by his death. He had too much merit not to excite ſome jealouſy, too much innocence to provoke any enmity. The loſs of no man of his time can be felt with more ſincere, general, and unmixed ſorrow.

Hail! and Farewell!"

Unanimous Opinion of the Judges upon the ſeveral Queſtions put to them upon the ſecond Reading of the Bill to remove Doubts reſpecting the Functions of Juries in Caſes of Libel, April 27, 1792, *as delivered by the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer.*

My Lords,

THE judges have taken the queſtions, ſeven in number, which your lordſhips have been pleaſed to propoſe to them, into their conſideration; they have conferred together, and have agreed upon anſwers, which I am now to ſubmit to your lordſhips.

Your lordſhips firſt queſtion is:

> "On the trial of an information or indictment for a libel, is the criminality or innocence of the paper ſet forth in ſuch information and indictment, as the libel, matter of fact, or matter of law, where no evidence is given for the defendant?"

Preliminary to all which we have to offer to your lordſhips, we ſtate, as a fundamental principle, that the general criminal law of England is the law of libel; and that the very few particularities which occur in legal proceedings upon libel are not peculiar to the proceedings upon libel, but do or may occur in all caſes, where the *corpus delicti* is ſpecially ſtated upon the record; the caſe of an indictment for publiſhing a forged promiſſory note may be put as a pregnant inſtance.

The matter of your lordſhips firſt queſtion has no particular application to libel.

We anſwer, That the criminality

or innocence of *any act done* (which includes any paper written) is the reſult of the judgment which the law pronounces upon that act, and therefore muſt be in all caſes, and under all circumſtances, matter of law and not matter of fact; and this, as well where evidence is given, as where it is not given for the defendant: the effect of evidence given for the defendant, as to this queſtion, being nothing more than to introduce facts or circumſtances into the caſe, which the proſecutor had left out, upon which it will ſtill be for the law to pronounce whether the act done be criminal or innocent.

Your lordſhips ſecond queſtion is:

> "Is the truth or falſehood of the written or printed paper material, or to be left to the jury, on the trial of an indictment or information for a libel; and does it make any difference in this reſpect, whether the epithet *(falſe)* be or be not uſed in the indictment or information?"

The queſtion conſiſts of two branches.

Our anſwer to the firſt branch of this queſtion is, that the truth or falſehood of a written or printed paper is not material, or to be left to a jury upon the trial of an indictment or information for a libel.

We conſider this doctrine as ſo firmly ſettled, and ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the maintenance of the king's peace, and the good order of ſociety, that it cannot now be drawn into debate.

If it be aſked, why the word "*falſe*" is to be found in indictments or informations for libel? we anſwer, that we find it in the ancient forms of our legal proceedings, and therefore that it is retained; but that it hath in all times been the duty of judges, when they come to the proof, to ſeparate the ſubſtance of the crime from the formality with which it is attended, and too frequently loaded, and to confine the proof to the ſubſtance.

The epithet "*falſe*" is not applied to the propoſitions contained in the paper, but to the aggregate criminal reſult — libel. We ſay, *falſus libellus*, as we ſay *falſus proditur* in high treaſon.

In point of ſubſtance, the alteration in the deſcription of the offence would hardly be felt, if the epithet were *verus* inſtead of *falſus*.

In the action for libel, the plaintiff is not put to prove the matter of the libel to be falſe, which is deciſive to ſhew that the falſehood is not part of the ſubſtance of the complaint; and though the defendant may inſiſt in his defence, and may prove, that the matter of the libel is true, it is not done in the way of contradicting what is aſſerted by the plaintiff, for then it might be done under the general iſſue: whereas, if the defendant means to inſiſt that the matter of the libel is true, he muſt plead it by way of juſtification. As between him and the plaintiff, ſeeking to recover damages for the private injury, the truth of the matter of the libel is a bar to the action for damages; the crime, and conſequently the *falſus libellus*, remaining ſtill in full force againſt him.

The ſecond branch of the queſtion is: Does it make any difference in this reſpect, *i. e.* in reſpect of the materiality of the truth or falſehood, or its being to be left to the jury, whether the epithet "*falſe*" be or be not uſed in the indictment or information?

Our anſwer will be very ſhort. It can make no difference in this reſpect. We are not called upon to give any opinion, and we deſire to be underſtood not to give any opinion as to the difference in any other reſpect which the omiſſion of a formal epithet, in an indictment or information, may make.

> Your lordſhips third queſtion is; "Upon the trial of an indictment for a libel, the publication being clearly proved, and the innocence of the paper being as clearly manifeſt, is it competent and legal for the judge to direct or recommend to the jury to give a verdict for the defendant?"

We anſwer, that, upon the trial of an indictment for a libel, the publication being clearly proved, and the innocence of the paper being as clearly manifeſt, it is competent and legal for the judge to direct or recommend to the jury to give a verdict for the defendant.

But we add, that no caſe has occurred in which it would have been, in ſound diſcretion, fit for a judge, ſitting at *Niſi Prius,* to have given ſuch a direction or recommendation to the jury.

It is a term in the queſtion, that the innocence ſhall be clearly manifeſt. This muſt be in the opinion of the judge: but the ableſt judges have been ſometimes decidedly of an opinion which has, upon further inveſtigation, been diſcovered to be erroneous; and it is to be conſidered that the effect of ſuch a direction or recommendation would be *unneceſſarily* to exclude all further diſcuſſion of the matter of law in the court from which the record of *Niſi Prius* was ſent, in courts of error, and before your lordſhips in the *dernier* reſort.

Very clear indeed, therefore, ought to be the caſe in which ſuch a direction or recommendation ſhall be given. In a criminal caſe, which is in any degree doubtful, it muſt be a very great relief to a judge and jury, and a great eaſe to them in the adminiſtration of criminal juſtice, to have the means of obtaining a better and fuller inveſtigation of the doubt, upon the ſolution of which a right verdict, or a right judgment, is to depend.

A ſpecial verdict would in many caſes be the only means, where the offence is deſcribed by ſome one or two technical terms comprehending the whole offence, the law and the fact combined: ſuch as the words, "feloniouſly did ſteal." The combination muſt be decompoſed by a ſpecial verdict, ſeparating the facts from the legal qualities aſcribed to them, and preſenting them in detail to the eye of the judge, to enable him to declare, whether the legal quality aſcribed to them be well aſcribed to them or not.

There may be a ſpecial verdict in caſes where doubts ariſe on the matter of law, but it is not *neceſſary* in all caſes. In ſome criminal proceedings (the proceedings in libel, and the publication of forged papers, for inſtance) ſome of the facts are detailed in the indictment, and, if the doubt in law ſhould happen to ariſe out of the fact ſo detailed, we ſay it is upon the record. The queſtion might have been diſcuſſed upon demurrer, without going to a jury at all; and after verdict it may be diſcuſſed on a motion in arreſt of judgment. In ſuch caſes a ſpecial verdict

verdict is not neceſſary; the verdict "guilty" will have the effect of a ſpecial verdict without the expence and delay of it, eſtabliſhing all the facts, and leaving the queſtion of law open to diſcuſſion.

There are three ſituations in which a defendant, charged with a libel, may ſtand before a judge and jury in a court of *Niſi Prius.* Firſt, the matter of law may be doubtful; in that caſe there ought to be a ſpecial verdict, or a verdict which ſhall operate as a ſpecial verdict. Secondly, the caſe may, in the opinion of the judge, be clear againſt the defendant. If the verdict is ſpecial, in form or in effect, he has no reaſon to complain; his caſe comes before the court from which the record is ſent, without the prejudice of an authority againſt him. The third ſituation is, that the opinion of the judge may be clear in favour of the defendant. In that caſe, whenever it ſhall happen, we have offered it as our opinion, that it will be competent and legal for the judge to direct an acquittal.

Your lordſhips fourth queſtion is:

> "Is a witneſs, produced before a jury in a trial as above by the plaintiff, for the purpoſe of proving a criminal intention of the writer, or by the defendant to rebut the imputation, admiſſible to be heard as a competent witneſs in ſuch trial before the jury?"

This queſtion is put ſo generally, that we find it impoſſible to give a direct anſwer to it.

The criminal intention charged upon the defendant in legal proceedings on libel is generally matter of form, requiring no proof on the part of the proſecutor, and admitting of no proof on the part of the defendant to rebut it.

The crime conſiſts in publiſhing a libel; a criminal intention in the writer is no part of the definition of the crime of libel at the common law. "He who *ſcattereth firebrands, arrows,* and *death,*" (which, if not an accurate definition, is a very intelligent deſcription of a libel) is *ea ratione* criminal; it is not incumbent on the proſecutor to prove his intent, and on his part he ſhall not be heard to ſay, "*Am I not in ſport?*" But inaſmuch as a criminal intention *may* conduce to the proof of the publication of all libels; and inaſmuch as that criminal intention is of the ſubſtance of the crime of libel in ſome caſes by ſtatute; caſes may be put, where a witneſs is competent and admiſſible to prove the criminal intention on the part of the proſecutor; and it may be ſtated as a general rule, that in all caſes, where a witneſs is competent and admiſſible to prove the criminal intention, a witneſs will alſo be competent and admiſſible to rebut the imputation.

Your lordſhips fifth queſtion is;

> "Whether, upon the trial of an indictment, for ſending a threatening letter, the meaning of the letter ſet forth in the indictment be matter of law or of fact?"

We find ourſelves embarraſſed by the terms in which this queſtion is propoſed to us.

We find no difficulty in anſwering, that the expoſition of the words of the letter, ſet forth in an indictment for ſending a threatening letter, would belong to the court, either on a demurrer, or in an arreſt of judgment; and we have no difficulty in going a ſtep further, and ſaying, that if the jury, upon the trial of ſuch an indictment, were to find a letter according to its tenor, it would be for the court to expound the letter.

And whether the letter (the ſenſe of it being thus aſcertained) be a threatening letter within the meaning of the law, is anſwered by our anſwer to the firſt queſtion. This we ſtate diſtinctly to be matter of law; it is the judgment of the law, pronouncing whether the paper be criminal or innocent.

But your lordſhips aſk us, "Whether the ſenſe of the letter be matter of law or of fact?"

We find a difficulty in ſeparating the ſenſe of the letter from the letter; the paper without the ſenſe is not a letter.

Whether there exiſts ſuch a letter is doubtleſs matter of fact; as much as, whether it was ſent to the proſecutor of the indictment.

It is alſo matter of fact, whether an act of parliament, public or private, exiſts. And the ſame may be ſaid of every other writing, from records of the higheſt nature down to any ſcrap of paper wherein words are written which can be qualified with crime or civil obligation.

This goes no way towards aſcertaining what belongs to a jury in an indictment for ſending a threatening letter, to which we apprehend your lordſhips queſtion was intended to point.

The exiſtence of a public act of parliament, your lordſhips know, is not ſubmitted to a jury at all; private acts and records may be *ſub modo* other inſtruments and papers are; but all, without exception, are expounded by the judges, and the legal effect of them declared by the judges.

This does not reſt merely on the authority of lawyers; in the nature of things it muſt be, that the judges muſt expound or recollect the ſenſe of the paper, in order to their declaring the operation of it in law.

The ſenſe of a threatening letter, or of any other words reduced into writing, is nothing more than the meaning which the words do, according to the common acceptation of words, import, and which every reader will put upon them. Judges are in this reſpect but readers. They muſt read and underſtand before they can pronounce upon criminality or innocence, which it belongs to them to do. It is a neceſſary and inſeparable incident to their juriſdiction. If they could reſort to a jury to interpret for them in the firſt inſtance, who ſhall interpret the interpretation, which, like the threatening letter, will be but words upon a paper?

We ſhall not be underſtood to be ſpeaking of that ſenſe of a paper which is to be collected from matter *dehors* the paper, which, in legal proceedings, muſt be ſtated by way of averment; which would be to be eſtabliſhed in point of fact, before the judges could proceed to conſtrue a paper. On a demurrer, or on motion in arreſt of judgment, theſe averments would ſtand confeſſed upon the record. If the general iſſue is pleaded, they are to be found by the jury. Judges have no means of knowing matters of fact *dehors* the paper, but by the confeſſion of the party, or the finding of the jury; but they can collect the intrinſic ſenſe and meaning of a paper in the ſame manner as other readers do; and they can reſort to grammars and gloſſaries, if they want ſuch aſſiſtance.

Theſe principles lead to the ſame concluſion for juries as for judges, in all points belonging to threatening letters, or to any other ſeries of words reduced into writing, which fall within the province of juries. For inſtance, upon a general iſſue on an indictment for ſending a threatening letter, a jury is to enquire, whether ſuch a paper as the paper charged in the indictment exiſts. They muſt read, or hear read, and underſtand, the paper charged, and the paper produced to them in evidence, in order to their finding that the paper charged does exiſt. The jury cannot know that they are the ſame papers, without comparing both the words and the ſenſe; but, when the jury have read and ſufficiently underſtood, the paper charged and the paper produced, ſo as to be enabled to pronounce that they are the ſame papers; when the averments have been examined, and found to be true; when the context (if there be a context not ſet forth) has been ſeen and underſtood, and found not to alter the ſenſe of the paper produced, and to put a different ſenſe upon it than that which the paper charged imports; and when the ſending of the ſuppoſed threatening letter is found as charged; then all inquiry before the jury ends; the reſt is matter of legal concluſion.

Your lordſhips ſixth queſtion is: "Whether, on the trial of an indictment for high treaſon, the criminality or innocence of letters or papers as ſet forth as overt acts of treaſon, or produc[illegible]s evidence of an overt act of treaſon, be matter of law or of fact?"

We have ſaid, in our anſwer to the firſt queſtion, that in all caſes, and under all circumſtances, the criminality or innocence of an act done is matter of law and not of fact.

We find nothing in the two caſes now put, which ſhould lead us to narrow the generality of that propoſition, or to except either of thoſe caſes out of it.

But, that we may not be miſunderſtood, we add, that this opinion does not go to the length of taking from the jury the application of the evidence to the overt act of which it is evidence. It only tends to fix the legal character of it in the only way in which it can be fixed. And we take this occaſion alſo to obſerve, that we have offered no opinion to your lordſhips which will have the effect of taking matter of law out of a general iſſue, or out of a general verdict.

We know that it is often ſo combined with both, as to be inſeparable from them; and we diſclaim the folly of endeavouring to prove that a jury, who can find a general verdict, cannot take upon themſelves to deal with matter of law ariſing in a general iſſue, and to hazard a verdict made up of the fact, and of the matter of law, according to their conception of the law, againſt all direction by the judge.

Our aim has been to trace the boundary line between matter of law and fact, as diſtinctly as we could. We believe that this is all that is neceſſary to be known. We have found jurors in general deſirous of keeping within their province, which is to examine into matter of fact, and cordially diſpoſed to take their directions in matter of law from thoſe whoſe education and habits enable them to declare the law, and to whom the law and conſtitution of the country have committed that important truſt.

> Your lordſhips laſt queſtion is: "Whether, if a judge on a trial, on an indictment or information for a libel, ſhall give his opinion on the law to the jury, and leave that opinion, together with the evidence of the publication, and the application of the inuendoes to perſons and things, to the jury, ſuch directions would be according to law?"

If we do not miſunderſtand this queſtion, it is ſubſtantially anſwered in our anſwer to the third queſtion.

We mean to anſwer this queſtion in the affirmative; but, that we may be clearly underſtood, we deſire to be permitted in our anſwer to ſubſtitute the words "declare the law," inſtead of "give his opinion of the law," and the word "declaration" inſtead of "opinion," when the word "opinion" occurs again in the queſtion: our anſwer will then ſtand thus:

"If a judge on a trial on an indictment or information for a libel ſhall declare the law to the jury, and leave that declaration, together with the evidence of the publication, and the application of innuendoes to perſons and things, to the jury, ſuch direction would be according to law."

If by the words, "leave that opinion to the jury," is meant in any manner to refer to the jury the conſideration of what the law is, in any view of the particular caſe in evidence, we are of opinion, that ſuch a direction would not be according to law; conceiving the law to be, that the judge is to declare to the jury what the law is; and conceiving that it is the duty of the jury, if they will find a general verdict upon the whole matter in iſſue, *to compound that verdict of the fact as it appears in evidence before them, and of the law as it is declared to them by the judge.*

We prefaced our anſwers with ſtating, that the general criminal law of England was the law of libel. We conclude what we have to offer to your lordſhips with ſtating, that the line marked out by the law for the conduct of a jury giving a general verdict, has an univerſal application to general verdicts on general iſſues, in all caſes civil and criminal; for we cannot diſtinguiſh between the office and authority of a jury in civil and criminal caſes, whatever difference there may be as to their reſponſibility. We deſire to put your lordſhips in mind, that it hath been the modern policy to bring almoſt all queſtions, upon men's deareſt and moſt valuable rights, to be decided on a general iſſue; and it will be for your lordſhips conſideration whether the line we have pointed out, which we take to be eſtabliſhed in law and in reaſon, is not a great and eſſential ſecurity to the life, liberty and property, of all the king's ſubjects, from the higheſt to the loweſt.

Particulars of what happened on Board the American *Snow* Elinora,

nora, *while at the* Sandwich Islands.

Mohee, lat. 19, N. long. 168, E.

"ON or about the 30th of January, 1790, we anchored under Ladrone Mount, and commenced a trade with the natives for hogs, fruit, limes, fiſh, &c.; but, not liking the ſituation, we weighed anchor, and went two miles further up, into a bay, and came to an anchor about four o'clock P. M.

"At eleven or twelve o'clock, midnight, ſome of the natives ſwam off, and cut away the cutter from a-ſtern; at one P. M. we diſcovered that ſhe was miſſing, and immediately called all hands aft on the quarter-deck, and found none miſſing, except the man who was in her, as boat-keeper. We then hoiſted the ſmall boat out to go in ſearch of her, but found, on lowering her into the water, ſhe leaked in ſuch a manner as obliged us to hoiſt her in again, which rendered it impoſſible to ſearch that night.

"On the preceding evening an old man requeſted to ſleep on board, which was granted; but after miſſing the boat we put him in irons. When daylight approached, no canoes came off as uſual, which confirmed our ſuſpicions, that they had cut the boat adrift. The women on board wiſhed to go on ſhore; Captain Metcalfe told them they might go when they thought proper. They all immediately leaped into the water, and ſwam to the ſhore, at leaſt three miles diſtance. The old man alſo requeſted leave to go, but leave was not granted him.

"In the afternoon two or three canoes came alongſide, with preſents from the chief, conſiſting of hogs and fruit; but they were not accepted. The laſt that came we ordered immediately away; but they paid little attention to it, until we fired, by order of the captain, five or ſix muſquet ſhots at them, which killed and wounded three or four.

"Towards night a man ſwam from the ſhore to the cable, with a knife in his hand, and afterwards ſwam under the ſhip's counter, where we ſaw him with the knife; he had once or twice dived under water, and ſtarted a piece of copper off the ſhip's bottom, imagining, could he get the copper off, the ſhip would ſink; Captain Metcalfe fired a piſtol at him from the cabin window, but miſſed him; three or four of the people jumped into the boat and caught him. After bringing him on board, Captain Metcalfe fully determined to hang him, ordering a rope to be rove at the fore-yard arm, and the rope greaſed; but, by the perſuaſion of Mr. Chambers and myſelf, he concluded to ſave his life, and keep him priſoner.

"The next day we obſerved four or five thouſand people to come down oppoſite the ſhip, all armed with ſlings, ſpears, and arrows; at ten o'clock we hauled the ſhip within a quarter of a mile of the ſhore, and fired round and grape ſhot at them, and diſlodged them all from the village. At twelve o'clock I went on ſhore with the boat and ſix men, ſet fire to the village and Morai (a place of worſhip), and alſo fired upon the natives, ſome of whom were ſeen very near, but, by the conſtant firing from the ſhip, they did not attempt to attack us. I then came on board, and took ſome ſmall water caſks to fill with water; but after landing (that attention not being paid to firing as before), the natives came down in great numbers, throwing their ſpears and ſtones, which obliged us to go on board again, our object unaccompliſhed. They then all went up the ſummit of a hill, thinking the ſhot from the ſhip could not reach them there; but we fired two guns with ſuch good aim, that they were ſoon convinced of their error, and immediately fled to the mountain and low ditches, where it was impoſſible for our ſhot to touch them; we then deſiſted from firing, hove up the anchors, and went further up the bay in hopes of compleating our water. Towards evening we again came to an anchor, and on the next morning two or three canoes came off, who were well treated, ſo that more came off, and engaged to bring us water. Nothing more material happened: we completed our water, and the captain purchaſed a ſmall boy and girl for two axes and a few beads.

"After continuing here three or four days, we weighed anchor, and ſtood from the iſland. We had been under way about an hour and a half, with a light breeze, when the natives came in a canoe along ſide, and informed us that the chief of the people who had ſtolen the boat lived behind a point to the northward. We then hauled our wind, went round the point, and came to anchor. The next day a canoe came along ſide with one of their chiefs; when he came on board, we began to expoſtulate with him, in order to recover our boat and the man. He told us that, for a reward, he would bring both of them.

"Captain Metcalfe offered him a muſquet, eight cartridges, one bar of iron, and a piece of Bengal cloth for the man; and the ſame for the boat; which he agreed to. The next morning he again came on board, and ſaid if we would ſend our boat on ſhore, or near the ſhore, he would bring the man. I immediately, by order of Captain Metcalfe, armed the boat and went near the ſhore, but after waiting an hour, paying attention to their proceedings, and their not bringing the man, I returned on board. The chief then came off a ſecond time, and ſaid, if the boat went again, we might depend upon getting the man. I armed the boat, and again went towards the ſhore, where after waiting half an hour, they ſent a man, who ſwam to the boat, with the *thigh bones* of the man who was boat-keeper when they ſtole the boat. I received them and came on board, ſhewed them to captain Metcalfe, and threw them into the ſea. A few minutes afterwards the ſame chief came on board for the reward; it was given, and he was alſo told that if he brought the boat, the reward ſhould be given for that alſo; for he inſiſted that it was not hurt. He then told us the manner in which they killed the boat-keeper, as follows: that after cutting away the faſt, and ſhe had drifted a diſtance from the ſhip, they got into her, and found the man aſleep, but he immediately awoke, and ſeeing them, drew his knife upon them; they, however, overpowered him, and took the knife from him, cut his head off, and took him on ſhore, and the next night burnt him for a ſacrifice to their gods.

"We judged, the night they ſtole the boat they killed the man, and the next day burnt him (as the mountains ſeemed to be one continued blaze), which is their cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, but were not then poſitive of the above.

"After relating the ſtory, he deſired of the captain that the natives might come and trade as uſual. Leave being granted, he went on ſhore, and juſt at ſun-ſet he came off agian, in a large double canoe, with twenty-five women; but the captain, ſuſpecting they had ſome deſign in the night to take the veſſel, would not permit them to come on board. The day following, the canoes, as uſual at the other iſlands, came along-ſide with hogs, fruit, limes, &c.

"The above chief had told them they might come and trade without moleſtation.

"At 10 A. M. the chief came along-ſide, with two others, and had in their canoe the keel of the boat which they had ſtolen; after he came, he called and wanted the reward which was promiſed. Capt. Metcalfe was informed of his being along-ſide, and of his having the boat's keel; he then came on deck and ſaw it, and being then perfectly convinced of the man's being killed, and the boat broken, made this expreſſion—that, "I will now give the reward they little expect."

"Mr. Chambers and myſelf endeavoured to perſuade the captain to entice the three chiefs on board, and afterwards to hang them on the fore-yard, in view of the whole iſland; which might perhaps be a ſufficient warning for them in future never to attempt diſtreſſing any ſhips who might touch at their iſlands. But our perſuaſions were of no effect, he was fully determined to take the following means of puniſhing them: firſt, to decoy thoſe canoes which were on the larboard to come on the ſtarboard ſide, then to ſtation one man to each port-lanyard, and others down to the guns between decks, whilſt others on the quarter deck were ſtationed to the ſwivels, and four braſs guns, and, when all were ready, to fire immediately into the canoes all at one command.

"The guns that were below had in each of them 100 muſket balls, and 50 langrade nails. There were ſeven of the above guns, each containing the like quantity. The four guns on the quarter deck had in them 50 balls each, ſome of the ſwivels and others had 10 balls.

"Mr. Chambers and myſelf ſtrongly inſiſted that this puniſhment was too ſevere, and only butchering a number of innocent women and children. But he replied, we were going to attempt taking the command of the ſhip from him, and that the orders ſhould be obeyed; and immediately ordered every man to his ſtation.

"The men wiſhed to fire into the canoes, as the man whom they had killed was a Manilla man, and the crew were all Portugueſe or Manilla men.

"After the people were all ſtationed, he gave orders to fire—and the whole broad-ſide was aimed direct into the canoes.—To attempt to deſcribe the horrible ſcene that enſued, is too much for my pen. The water along-ſide continued of a crimſon colour for at leaſt ten minutes; ſome were ſinking, others lying half out of their canoes, without arms or legs; while others lay in their canoes weltering in their blood. Although the appearance was ſo horrid, the people after firing wiſhed to get into the boat, and uſe boarding-ſpikes to kill thoſe in the water; but by ſeverely puniſhing two or three, they deſiſted from their dreadful purpoſe.

"Some perſons on board ſaid they had counted the canoes before we fired, the number of which were two hundred and twelve; but I did not think they were above one hundred and ſeventy, or eighty. The number killed, we then imagined, exceeded one hundred, and as many more wounded; but, ſome weeks after they told us the number miſſing on the iſland were eighty, and 115 were wounded, the greater part dead, and dying faſt. This information they gave us at the iſland of Owyhee, about fifteen leagues to windward; and we judged it to be true, as canoes are daily paſſing from iſland to iſland. After our firing ceaſed, we weighed anchor, and ſtood for the iſland of Owyhee.

"I have ſent you this account, as thoſe who are acquainted with the circumſtance think captain Metcalfe much to blame; and that, ſhould any veſſels go to thoſe iſlands from America, they might be particularly cautious, and not pay too much attention to the friendſhip profeſſed by theſe iſlanders.

P. S. "They cut off a ſchooner about ſix weeks after, which belonged to captain Metcalfe, and ſailed with him from China, and murdered all the people."

Some Account of the late Conſpiracy in Sweden, *and of* J. Ankarſtrom, *the Regicide.*

IMMEDIATELY after the king, on the maſquerade given at the Opera-houſe at Stockholm, the night betwixt the 16th and 17th of March, this year, had been ſhot through the back with a piſtol by a maſque (who after this horrid deed ſucceeded to conceal himſelf in the crowd) every neceſſary ſtep and meaſure was taken in order to detect the culprit. Suſpicions fell on Ankarſtrom, in conſequence of the depoſitions made by a gunſmith and a cutler; the former of theſe having depoſed that the piſtols that had been found the enſuing morning at the ſaid place, on the floor, and then exhibited to him, as well as to the whole body of gunſmiths and cutlers (ſummoned to give any information they could with reſpect to theſe weapons) were the ſame piſtols that he ſome time ago had repaired for one Captain Ankarſtrom, who at the time brought them to him, and fetched them away; and the cutler having depoſed, that this was the identical dagger (likewiſe found, and ſhown to him and others) which he about the ſame time had made on the requiſition of the ſame Ankarſtrom—upon theſe grounds orders iſſued for the immediate apprehenſion of this with-ſo-much-reaſon ſuſpected Ankarſtrom, who, when the commander of the guards, that were come to ſecure his perſon, acquainted him with his errand, ſurrendered his perſon, acknowledged himſelf guilty, and expreſſed his regret at not having ſucceeded to kill the king on the ſpot—to uſe his own words, "in liberating the world and his country from ſuch a monſter and a tyrant." This free avowal being reported to the then ſitting regency, farther orders were given for an immediate inqueſt of this affair, and for the trial of Ankarſtrom, who with others, likewiſe apprehended on ſuſpicions, grounded on the former's confeſſion, of being more or leſs concerned in this regicide, were brought before the high court of judicature; which court, on proceeding to the examination of Ankarſtrom, received the following, and without the leaſt compulſion, delivered confeſſion, viz. "That he, Ankarſtrom, and Count Horn, after having conceived and eſtabliſhed a kind of reciprocal friendſhip and confidence, had to one another diſcloſed their minds and ſentiments reſpecting the political ſituation of the kingdom, with which they both were diſcontented; and agreed, that an aſſaſſination of the king was the only means and expedient for effecting a change in the preſent government: that Ankarſtrom, prompted by perſonal revenge againſt the king for an indictment of *crimen læſæ majeſtatis*, carried on on behalf of the crown againſt him, and in conſequence of which he laſt year had been condemned to twenty years impriſonment, had offered himſelf to ſerve as an inſtrument for this purpoſe: that after this Horn and Ankarſtrom conceived a plan for carrying off the king by force during the night, when ſleeping at his villa of Haga, and to conceal him: that, in order to explore the ſituation, and poſſibility of executing this plan, Horn and Ankarſtrom, in the beginning of January laſt, walked round and through the park, environs, and woods of Haga; but finding it too well guarded, and conſequently too dangerous an enterprize, they entirely relinquiſhed this ſcheme: that count Ribbing, who, by his friend Count Horn, was informed not only of all that had preceded, but likewiſe of Ankarſtrom's intention to aſſaſſinate the king, acceded to this aſſociation, and fixed a meeting with theſe two perſons at the eſtate of Horn, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from Stockholm, called Hufrudſtad, where they agreed and reſolved as follows—that the king ſhould be aſſaſſinated by Ankarſtrom, either with piſtols or a dagger, at an opportunity when the murderer could find means to hide himſelf in a great croud; and for this reaſon the play or the maſquerade was choſen, in preference to any other opportunity. Agreeably to this, Horn and Ankarſtrom went to the play the 16th of January, where they had taken places near the box of the king, in order that the murderer (who was provided with two loaded piſtols) might find an eaſy opportunity to fire at the king when he came through the covered walk, which he generally paſſed going to the play; and that Ankarſtrom, after having fired, might run down the back-ſtairs, and eſcape. But the king not going this evening through the above-mentioned walk to the play, Ankarſtrom found himſelf thwarted in his deſign; he reſolved therefore to avail himſelf of the opportunity of the next play, which was to be given two days after, but was this time, by the ſame event as before, fruſtrated in his attempt.

Baffled in their ſanguine wiſhes, the conſpirators met again, and agreed to try the next opportunity, which was a maſquerade, to be given the night between the 19th and 20th of January; where Ankarſtrom went, but not finding a ſufficient crowd of people there, he alſo deferred the execution of his criminal intent. The following day Ankarſtrom and Ribbing ſet out for the diet at Gefle, where the former, intending to commit the murder, always carried a pair of charged piſtols about him, in hopes to meet the king, as he frequently did, walking incognito. After the diet they returned to Stockholm, and it was again determined to make another trial on the 2d of March, when another maſquerade was to be given; but by the ſame reaſons as at the preceding, the aſſaſſin was prevented from the gratification of his purpoſe. A third maſquerade, which was to have been given the 9th, was put off till the 16th, on account of the rigour of the ſeaſon during theſe days. Previous to the maſquerade announced for the 16th, the conſpirators aſſembled at the chateau of count Horn, where count Ribbing imparted to them, that Liljehorn, lieutenant-colonel in the army, and major in the king's guards, had been informed by him of the whole, and that he had promiſed, that the regiment under his command, as well as the battalions of artillery then at Stockholm, and the regiment of the late queen dowager, ſhould aſſiſt in caſe a revolution could be brought about;—that the count Ribbing alſo had imparted this ſecret to general-major Pechlin, who had likewiſe promiſed his aſſiſtance in bringing about the intended revolution after the king's death. For theſe reaſons, and that of fear in particular that the ſecret now imparted to ſo many might be betrayed, count Ribbing further urged the neceſſity of the king's ſpeedy aſſaſſination, in which they all agreed. The next day they met at count Ribbing's lodgings, where they mentioned to one another the dreſſes each of them was to wear at the maſquerade, and Ribbing promiſed to engage as many as he could get there, for the ſake of enlarging the crowd. Pechlin, whom they met afterwards, promiſed the ſame. Every meaſure was now taken that the attempt ſhould not fail—Ankarſtrom, accompanied by Horn, went home to charge his piſtols (according to his own confeſſion), with one round ball, one ſquare ditto, eleven ſmall ſhot, and ſeven nails. This being performed, they both dreſſed, and went together to the opera-houſe, the former armed with the above-mentioned piſtols and a dagger. The king not being arrived, entered the ſaloon ſome time after, holding his grand equerry, baron Eſſen, by the arm, and walked forwards to the middle of the theatre, where he ſtopped. Ankarſtrom, obſerving when the king entered the room, ſlid betwixt him and his company, and followed him at a ſmall diſtance, and as ſoon as the king had ſtopped choſe his ſtation behind a ſcene, towards which the king turned his back, and diſcharged one of his piſtols ſo near that the end of it touched the king's domino. Having fired his piſtol, and ſeeing that the king did not fall from the contents, Ankarſtrom drew his dagger in order to ſtab the king, but was ſeized with a kind of trembling, which made him drop not only the piſtol, but alſo the dagger, on the ground; after which he walked away to conceal himſelf amongſt the crowd, crying that a fire was broke out, in which he was joined by ſeveral voices. All now being performed, he ſought for an opportunity to rid himſelf of the other piſtol (the contents of which were intended for himſelf, but his courage failed him), without being perceived. In this he alſo ſucceeded before the general ſearch came on; for as ſoon as the king was wounded the doors were ſhut, ſo that nobody could get away, and every-body was obliged to unmaſk, and to be ſearched, and to write his name before he got out. Ankarſtrom, after having undergone this ceremony, went quietly home, where he ſtayed the next morning till he was taken into cuſtody. After having, without any compunction ſoever, confeſſed his crime, and being by ſeveral convincing proofs found guilty, he was condemned to the higheſt and moſt ignominious puniſhment of his country, that of ſtanding on the pillory for three days in three different ſquares, and to be publicly flogged by the ſcavenger's ſervant on every ſquare, and after that to be carried out of town, to loſe his right-hand cut off by the ſcavenger, and laſtly, to be beheaded by the common executioner, and his body divided into four parts, put upon wheels, to remain till it was deſtroyed;—the right-hand to be put upon one wheel by itſelf.

As to the other perſons more or leſs concerned in the above-mentioned regicide, their names are, Bjelike, baron; Ehrenſward, baron; Hartmanſtorff, major in the artillery; Jacob Von Engeſtrom, counſellor of the chancery; his brother Jean Von Engeſtrom; and ſeveral others leſs notorious.

Baron Bjelike took poiſon as he ſaw the guards arrive to arreſt him, and expired a ſhort time after: Horn hanged himſelf when under arreſt; and another took poiſon.

Ankarſtrom, on the firſt day of his ſtanding in the pillory, harangued the people, and bore the whipping with great fortitude. The ſucceeding whippings affected him very much. The clergyman who attended him declared, that he expreſſed the deepeſt contrition for the horrible crime for which he ſuffered, and felt the keeneſt pangs of remorſe, imploring the pardon of his ſovereign and of the ſtate, and deprecating the vengeance of the Almighty, which he had ſo juſtly incurred by the violation of one of the moſt ſacred laws of God and of man.

Paper circulated at Stockholm, *as the Confeſſion of* Ankarſtrom.

NOTWITHSTANDING I was aſked, at my firſt examination in the chamber of the police, if I had written or was privy to the anonymous letter which was ſent to the king the evening preceding the unfortunate maſquerade, and which was to this effect:—" I am certainly diſſatisfied with your government; I cannot however, approve of the ſhocking plan which is to-night to be put into execution againſt you at the maſquerade. I therefore beg of you not to go thither: it was intended to have been executed laſt week; but as the maſquerade was then poſtponed, it is reſolved upon for to-night"—I denied, as well in the chamber of police, as afterwards before the Swediſh court of juſtice (Swea Hofratt), having had any accomplice in that ſhocking action. But when I was laſt Monday evening taken before counſellor Liliesſparre (lieutenant of police) to be again examined, I was informed that the perſon who had written the letter was arreſted. I was then alſo ſhewn ſome letters from me to count Horn; a cutlaſs which the count had borrowed; and ſome other things which he had diſcovered to the counſellor, which I now forget, all which I recognized.

cognized. I was afterwards informed that the count was in confinement, and found by my letters that his property had been ſearched, all which led me to belive that he had acknowledged the whole buſineſs; if it is not ſo, it was however all diſcovered by the infamous writer of the anonymous letter; I ſay *infamous*, for if he had been honourable he would have diſſuaded us from ſuch a ſtep, and without force he need not have diſcovered it. For all theſe reaſons I found my denial would be of no ſervice, and only cauſe a torment to my ſoul. I therefore ſhall plainly give my reaſons for undertaking this ſhocking action.

In the year 1789, when the infamous paſquinades were permitted to be publiſhed againſt the army and the officers, the violence the king uſed againſt the members of the diet, and his other ſubjects, muſt certainly have awakened the feelings of every one who was not rendered callous by ſelf-intereſt; ſo that many of them could not ſilently ſuffer ſuch ſteps to be taken; upon which the *act of ſafety* followed, which altered every article in the form of government of 1772, which hindered the king from doing whatever he pleaſed in the adminiſtration of the kingdom. Notwithſtanding the king at every diet had got money from his ſubjects, beſides the income of the crown; which is paid by them, an enormous debt was brought forward, which he had incurred; and finally he went to the hall of the nobles, with a view of getting the grant for the payment of this debt agreed to, as he had ſeen before that the marſhal of the diet, notwithſtanding all the infamous ſteps he had taken, could not induce the nobility to agree to any grant for an unlimited time; and although he came to the hall with a conſiderable mob of blackguards, who had been treated with ſtrong liquors at all the public-houſes at his expence, and who filled the ſtreets and ſquares of the city with noiſe and riot, ruſhing into the houſe when the king came, ſo that it was with the greateſt difficulty they were prevented from getting into the hall itſelf, the affair was anſwered with more *Noes* than *Yeas*, in conſequence of which many deſired it might be put to the vote; but it was looked upon by the court party as granted. Afterwards ſome of the members of the diet were confined in different caſtles, without any one's knowing for what reaſon. As to thoſe who were releaſed, it was to be looked upon as a favour conferred on the nobility and themſelves. All this, and much more, was done, after one of the greateſt faults the king could commit, and which was entirely againſt the conſtitution, viz. commencing a war without the conſent of the ſtates, and without ſufficient reaſons. Theſe things could not fail to cauſe great uneaſineſs and ſhocking ſenſations againſt the perſon who had practiſed them, in every one's breaſt who had the leaſt conſideration, and who felt for the ſafety and liberty of his fellow-citizens; eſpecially when rendered more ſhocking by coming from a king who is reſpected, eſteemed, and of conſequence only on account of the *nation* by whom he is maintained; for a king is in himſelf only a ſinner, like every one elſe, but has got the confidence of the nation to reſpect the laws, liberty, and ſafety; and, of courſe, to take care that affairs are properly conducted when the nation itſelf is not aſſembled (in diet).

Againſt

Againſt this invaſion of all the duties of a king, nothing but ſhocking reflections occurred to me, and my heart was entirely alienated from the king, which alienation was ſtrengthened and increaſed by ſeeing ſo many thouſand men go to be murdered or die, my fellow citizens oppreſſed with intolerable grants and taxes, and the people ruined by paper money — all to gain what was called from the throne *a glorious peace*. Journies into foreign parts were undertaken, which coſt many tons of gold; and loans were made to as large, if not larger, amount. When we were by theſe means brought into the moſt unfortunate ſituation, a diet was proclaimed only three weeks before its commencement; ſo that elections and journies were obliged to be made in the greateſt haſte, without any adequate neceſſity. Beſides which, the king took all poſſible ſteps to prevent well-informed civil officers from attending the diet, which was appointed to be held at a diſtant place, that it might be expenſive and inconvenient for the members to get thither; and to requite the citizens of Stockholm for their indefatigable trouble and expence during the war; alſo to increaſe the expenditure, which was very great, by which means the debts of the ſtate would be increaſed.

In conſequence of all this, I was obliged to make the following reflections: Can he be the king of the country, who is able to break the oath he took to the people, to obſerve, to govern by, and comply with, the conſtitution he ſettled in 1772, which the king himſelf had drawn up, and which the nation received without alteration, and who can deprive the people of their ſafety? No; I am convinced that, by all laws both human and divine, a murderer, a man who is perjured, and a violator of the laws, can never be our king; for, as ſoon as the king has broken his oath and promiſe in one inſtance, the whole compact ceaſes, when a compact has been made: the people, on the other ſide, have ſworn, that if the king governs according to the conſtitution, they will regard and receive him as their king, and will be loyal to him. In one ſection of the conſtitution of 1772, there are words to the following purport: "whoever endeavours to change or overthrow this fundamental law, ſhall be looked on as an enemy to the country." In conſequence of which the king declared himſelf an enemy to his country and people, when the act of ſafety was iſſued, and he governed according to that and not according to the conſtituion; in conſequence of which he is their enemy; and as it is the duty of every man in ſociety to defend his fellow citizens from ſuch as endeavour to commit violence upon his neighbour or his property, and when there is no opportunity to arreſt or accuſe, every man has a right to put a ſtop to violence; upon theſe ſhocking reflections I reſolved ſhortly after Chriſtmas to kill the king, for I could not depend upon any body, nor lay any plan, as it would have been dangerous. I, however, reflected much whether the king might not by fair means be brought to govern according to law and with tenderneſs; but the reaſons againſt that were, that to effect this a number of people and a plan was neceſſary, which would have cauſed a diſcovery, and put us all in a ſimilar unfortunate ſituation as the Finland officers were in, without doing any good. The king was more than gracious to individuals; but if any thing was required or inſiſted on which was indiſpenſable for the public good, he was angry, as every thing was to be according to his will and pleaſure, if it were ever ſo prejudicial, which I judged to be the caſe from what had happened in 1789. I therefore thought it beſt to riſk my life for the public good; for living a miſerable life ten years more or leſs, is nothing when compared to making a whole nation happy. My own misfortunes, which happened at the end of the year 1790 and 1791, together with theſe ſenſations and thoughts for the public good, determined me rather to die than live a miſerable life, and ſee my native country daily threatened with new misfortunes by an unrighteous deſpot, who thought only of himſelf. This rendered my otherwiſe tender heart inſenſible to the horror of this dreadful action.

Minutes (relative to the Sentences of the other Conſpirators) taken at the Palace of Drottningholm, Auguſt 15, 1792, *before his Royal Highneſs the Duke of* Sudermania, *in preſence of his Excellency the Lord High Steward, Count* Wachtmeiſter; *his Excellency the Lord High Chancellor, Baron* Sparre; *the Preſident, Baron* Kurck; *the Preſident, Baron* Ruuth; *the Preſident, Baron* Reuterholm; *Counſellor* Ulner, *Counſellor* Rogberg.

AFTER the expedition of juſtice had been graciouſly admitted, two copies of minutes of the 4th inſtant were read; after which the ſecretary of reviſion, Iſerhielm, delivered the different complaints and petitions for pardon, which had been ſubmiſſively conveyed to his majeſty, by the perſons who were accuſed of participation and foreknowledge of the horrid aſſaſſination of his late moſt ſacred majeſty Guſtavus the Third; alſo for neglecting to diſcover whatever had any connexion with it, and had come to their knowledge; namely, the former chamberlain and major count Claes Fredericſon Horn, and the captain count Adolf Ludvig Ribbing, ſentenced by the warrant of the Swediſh court of king's-bench (Svea Hof Ratt) to have forfeited their nobility, to be declared infamous, to loſe their right hands, and to be beheaded and quartered: the former lieutenant-colonel, Carl Pontus Liljehorn, and the former lieutenant and baron Carl Frederic Ehrenſvard, to loſe their nobility, and Liljehorn his knighthood; alſo both condemned to be declared infamous, their eſtates confiſcated, and to be beheaded: the former counſellor of chancery, and knight of the polar ſtar, Jacob Von Engerſtrom, to loſe his nobility, knighthood, and poſt, and to be confined in ſome caſtle during the remainder of his life: the former major Chriſtopher Von Hartmanſdorff to loſe his majority, and be confined one year in a caſtle: the ſecretary of protocoll, Johan Von Engerſtrom, to be diſcharged from the ſervice of the king and nation. The court of king's-bench has not been able to adjudge the juſtice of peace Nordell guilty. With reſpect to major-general Pechlin, his caſe is referred to futurity, if it can be diſcovered; and he to be ſent to the caſtle of Marſtrand, to be detained priſoner there, and exhorted by the clergy to an open confeſſion.

Burgo-

Burgomaſter Fagerſtrom (the counſel for the proſecution) has preferred a complaint as to what concerns ſecretary Von Engerſtrom and juſtice Nordell: and with reſpect to the former counts Horn and Ribbing, the former lieutenant-colonel Liljehorn, and the former lieutenant baron Ehrenſvard; the ſupreme court of juſtice has ſubmiſſively adviſed that the ſentence of the court of king's-bench (Svea Hof Ratt) may, as grounded in law, be approved; neither can the ſupreme court, in ſo atrocious a crime, adviſe any favour to be ſhewn Horn, Ribbing, and Liljehorn; but as to Ehrensvard, the ſupreme court ſubmits, whether he may not receive ſome mercy.

Concerning the former counſellor of chancery Von Engerſtrom, the ſupreme court has ſubmiſſively adviſed, that the ſentence of the court of king's-bench may be approved as follows, that he may be deprived of his poſt, and confined three years in ſome caſtle, leaving it to his majeſty whether any more favour, with reſpect to him, can take place.

The ſupreme court has alſo humbly ſubmitted, whether major Von Hartmanſdorff may receive ſome favour: it alſo humbly adviſes, that ſecretary Von Engerſtrom, in conſequence of his alledged complaint, may gain that alteration in the ſentence of the court of king's bench, ſo that he may be ſuſpended from his poſt of ſecretary of protocoll, its ſalary and advantages, for one year, by which the complaint of the counſel for the proſecution will drop; nor has the ſupreme court found that the counſel for the proſecution has adduced reaſons ſufficient to cauſe any alteration in the ſentence of the court of king's bench reſpecting Nordell:—but the reparation which Nordell requires, and the amends with ſecretary Engerſtrom urges from the counſel for the proſecution, or his manner of writing againſt him, the ſupreme court has not found neceſſary ſhould take place. Finally, the ſupreme court humbly adviſe the approbation of the ſentence of the court of king's bench, reſpecting major-general Pechlin; but refers it to mercy to ſave him from confinement in a caſtle, and ſuffer him to reſide either at his houſe in Stockholm, or at his country-ſeat: and with reſpect to the improper manner of writing uſed by the counſel againſt Pechlin, the ſupreme court humbly adviſes, that he may be properly reprimanded for it by the college of the chancellor of juſtice.

His royal highneſs the duke regent was then graciouſly pleaſed to expreſs himſelf as follows:

" As every thing which the law dictates has now been punctually followed, and no advantage which the law allows has been withheld from the delinquents: alſo the Swediſh court of king's bench (Svea Hof Ratt), and the ſupreme court of juſtice having given in their final opinions reſpecting the petitions and ſubmiſſive complaints of the accuſed for the unhappy capital crime now before us, it only remains that we now finally declare our reſolution and gracious will. At the revival of all the bitter and corroding ſenſations which naturally at this time flow through and torment our heart, when the memory of a reſpected king and beloved brother is united with affliction for the unhappy and moſt tragical manner in which he was taken from us; we have however, conformable to our ſad duty, let every thing be laid before us which has paſſed in this black affair, and which the records ſo amply contain.

" We find from thence, not without the greateſt emotion, an unheard-of conſpiracy againſt the life of a reſpected king, reſolved on and executed in the moſt cruel manner, at which nature and humanity ſhudder, and which we moſt aſſuredly never expected to have ſeen in Sweden. This blot (not on the nation, from the earlieſt times known and remarked for loyalty and honour, but only) on a ſmall number of criminals, muſt be waſhed out and expiated by the rigour of the law; and it is that charge which it is enjoined us to fulfil. Our heart, ſhaken and agitated by the moſt painful recollections, feels all the horror and diſguſt with which ſuch a crime is ſo naturally attended; but theſe ſenſations, although ſufficient for our agony, are at the ſame time not the only ones which at preſent diſturb and afflict us. An attention to forward and bring ſuch atrocious criminals to the utmoſt limits of the rigour of the law (which we, in this inſtance, would not in the leaſt ſuffer ourſelf to mitigate) muſt, ſtill more to increaſe our affliction, in us, be united with the performance of the moſt ſacred promiſes, and the laſt requeſts and commands of a dying brother and king.

" The time is now come, when the fate of theſe unfortunate perſons muſt be decided and made known, who already by the nature of their crime are more unhappy than they could ever be by ſuffering all poſſible well-deſerved puniſhment. The law has paſſed ſentence on them, and we are within ourſelf fully convinced that the axe which is ſuſpended over their heads, would be for them, in their deteſtable ſituation, the greateſt and beſt of mercies. Our confirmation of this ſentence ſhould therefore this inſtant appeaſe all the rigour of juſtice: but here we are reſtrained by the moſt important and effectual reaſons, which we, for our own ſake, and for poſterity, will have retained in the minutes of this ſitting.

" As we, at the death-bed of his late majeſty, one of the laſt days of his life, diſcourſed with him about his late misfortune, and of the important conſequences ariſing from it, his majeſty, whoſe tender heart was always ready to pardon, was pleaſed to declare, that the idea of the well-deſerved puniſhment which awaited thoſe concerned in the crime afflicted him very much, nay, more than his own pains; adding, that he could get no eaſe from theſe tormenting imaginations, till we had promiſed and ſworn to him, by our fraternal love and princely honour, that in caſe of his death we would ſuffer this his laſt requeſt to avail, to ſave the lives of theſe unfortunate ſubjects who had been ſo forgetful of their allegiance. Moved even to tears by ſo generous a care, I ventured, nevertheleſs, to repreſent to him, that neither the law of God nor man would admit or ſuffer that ſo atrocious a crime ſhould eſcape a well-merited capital puniſhment; and that the honour of the Swediſh name, as well as the public ſafety, abſolutely required it. His late majeſty, greatly moved by theſe well-meant repreſentations, declared with pain, that if the rigorous law of retaliation required blood for blood, and his interceſſion, who was the perſon moſt concerned, was not ſufficient, and conſequently that criminal who had been unfortunate enough to lay violent hands on his perſon could not poſſibly be ſpared from death, he then inſiſted, that his death ſhould be the only one which his own ſhould occaſion; giving their lives to all the others who were accuſed or concerned of participating in this crime, without regard to their number, which at that time it had not been poſſible to diſcover, or poſitively know. His majeſty added finally, that this was not only his laſt requeſt to me as a brother, but his commands as a king; for his power to pardon as long as he lived, could neither vaniſh, nor could he be deprived of it; requiring at the ſame time from me the moſt ſacred promiſes and aſſurances, which I neither could or ought any longer to refuſe him. This remarkable and affecting converſation, which places the generoſity and heart of Guſtavus the Third in the moſt advantageous light, and eternalizes his memory even more than the victory of Svenkſund, is the foundation on which our gracious reſolution and will is to be laid. As a chriſtian, as a ſubject, as a brother, as a man, we neither can nor ought to recede from the laſt commands of a dying monarch.—He had full privilege to grant pardon in his own affair. His will was our law when he was in this world, and his brother ſhall not be ſtained with the reproach that he deceived him in death.

"We declare therefore, and only in conſequence of the reaſons juſt given, that the well-merited capital puniſhment to which the former counts Claes Fredericſon Horn, and Adolf Ludvig Ribbing, lieut. col. Pontus Liljhorn, and baron Carl Frederic Ehrenſward, have been condemned by the Swediſh court of king's bench (Svea Hof Ratt), ſhall be changed into baniſhment for life, with the loſs of their nobility, and all other privileges as citizens, letting them immediately be eſcorted out of the limits of an injured native country, without the leaſt hope of ever being ſuffered to return to it; forbidding them, at the ſame time, on pain of the death they have now eſcaped, to dare to make any kind of petition for it: we leave to repentance and their awakened conſciences the charge of their farther puniſhment, convinced that ſuch corroding reproaches and guilty lives will be for them a far heavier burthen than death itſelf. We haſten alſo to let them immediately be baniſhed, that if it is poſſible the remembrance of ſo unheard-of an act may by that means be effaced, and which, by their detention in caſtles within the kingdom, would conſtantly with new affliction revive the memory of a misfortune, which, without any addition, is of itſelf ſufficiently heart-breaking—let theſe criminals therefore, immediately, and for ever, withdraw from the confines of Sweden, whoſe peace and happineſs they have deſtroyed; and, to complete the meaſure of their crimes, let them be informed, that it was the king, againſt whoſe life they dared conſpire, who dying has beſtowed to them and returned their own.

"With reſpect to the others who are accuſed of this treaſon; becauſe we, in conſequence of his late moſt ſacred majeſty's abovementioned laſt will and commands, are not entitled to mitigate the rigour of their ſentence; neither can we in a caſe of this nature permit ourſelf to follow the innate bias of our heart for clemency and mercy, but for this reaſon confirm hereby the final ſentence of the ſupreme court which has been juſt read, in conſequence of which the counſellor of chancery Von Engerſtrom is deprived of his poſt, and to be confined for three years; major Hartmanſdorff is alſo to loſe his commiſſion, and be confined for one year; the royal ſecretary Von Engerſtrom to be ſuſpended from his poſt in the college of chancery for one year; and major general baron Pechlin to be impriſoned during pleaſure, till he is brought to confeſs. But the juſtice of peace Nordell, according to the ſentences both of the court of king's bench and ſupreme court, is entirely acquitted."

His royal highneſs was at the ſame time graciouſly pleaſed to order that the former counſellor of chancery Jacob Von Engerſtrom ſhould be confined in the caſtle of Waxholm; the late major Chriſtopher Von Hartmanſdorff in the caſtle of Malmo; and major-general Pechlin in the caſtle of Warberg.

After theſe minutes had been read for their adjuſtment, the expedition of juſtice received gracious permiſſion to retire.

In fidem Protocolli,
N. Jansson,
Fried. Sparre, Lord High Chancellor,
G. A. Reuterholm,
J. Rogberg,
Carl. Ulner,
Carl. A. Wachtmeister, Lord High Steward,
A. F. Kurk,
E. Ruuth.

At the bottom was ſigned }
Let this be expedited.—Palace of Drottninghholm, 15th Auguſt 1792, during my moſt gracious king and maſter's minority,

Charles.

Letter from Lord Cornwallis, *containing a Narrative of his Campaign in* 1792, *down to the Peace with* Tippoo; *with the returns of the killed, wounded, and miſſing. From the* London Gazette *Extraordinary, of* Thurſday, July *the 26th.*

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies,

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE now the ſatisfaction to be able to inform your honourable court, that the war with Tippoo Sultan is terminated by a peace with that prince, and on conditions which, I truſt, will ſecure ſolid and laſting advantages to the company, and to the Britiſh nation.

The multiplicity of arrangements which it was neceſſary to combine for tranſporting our military ſtores and proviſions, and for ſecuring future ſupplies of ſubſiſtence for the vaſt multitudes of ſoldiers and followers that belong to the confederate armies, as well as the embarraſſment of ſo many heavy incumbrances with the army, would, even with the moſt hearty concurrence of all the officers who were entruſted with the principal executive parts of the plan of the campaign, have unavoidably rendered our movement towards the enemy's capital extremely ſlow; but after the date of my laſt letter I was farther delayed, beyond all my calculation, in advancing to Seringapatam, by the culpable conduct of Perſeram Bhow, who, in direct contradiction to his repeated promiſes, ſuffered himſelf to be allured by the hopes of being able to plunder the rich province of Bednore, and with that view marched his army to the weſtward, inſtead of complying with my requeſt, that he would move back to the eaſtward, to co-operate in the general plan, that had been long ſettled amongſt the confederate powers, for the inveſtiture and reduction of Seringapatam.

A very ſucceſsful expedition that was made by a large detachment of Tippoo's cavalry, for the purpoſe of relieving the upper fort of Gurrumconda, ſo entirely deranged the meaſures that the Nizam's miniſter, Azeem ul Omrah, had taken for the ſecurity of that quarter, that after having advanced to the ſouthward of Chintominypett, he was obliged to return with his whole corps to re-eſtabliſh order in the diſtricts adjoining to Gurrumconda, which likewiſe gave me ſome interruption. His zeal, however, for the cauſe, and his earneſt deſire to bring the prince Secunder Jah to the army before it moved forward, called forth his utmoſt exertions on this occaſion, and he returned and joined the other allied forces on the 25th of January, in the neighbourhood of Outradroog.

As three Bombay battalions are attached to Perſeram Bhow's army, which is alſo numerous and active, and has long been in the practice of carrying on ſeparate operations, and of ſecuring its own ſupplies, I had placed my dependance upon that corps for croſſing the Caveri to join General Abercromby, and to enable him not only to bring on his heavy artillery from the top of the Ghauts, but alſo to inveſt Seringapatam completely on the ſouthern ſide of the river.

The diſappointment, however, that I experienced from the Bhow, obliged me to make ſeveral alterations in my original plan, though the chearful readineſs ſhewn by Azeem ul Omrah upon his junction, at firſt encouraged me to flatter myſelf that no very great deviation from it would be neceſſary.

Immediately upon my aſcertaining that Perſeram Bhow had no intention to execute the part of the general plan that had been allotted for him, I diſpatched orders to General Abercromby to place his heavy artillery in a ſecure poſt at the top of the Ghauts, and to hold his corps in readineſs to move, lightly equipped in every reſpect, at the ſhorteſt notice; and, on the day of my arrival in this neighbourhood, I ſent further inſtructions to him to march without delay, and occupy as ſtrong a poſition as he could find on the ſouth ſide of the Eantoora ford, at the diſtance of between thirty and forty miles from hence, and which had been deſcribed as one of the beſt fords upon the river.

My intention then was to have availed myſelf of the miniſter's diſpoſition to comply with my recommendations, and to have ſent him, with all the Nizam's troops, and the two Madras battalions attached to them, to form a junction with General Abercromby on the ſouth ſide of the river, and to have directed, according to circumſtances, either that the combined force ſhould proceed without delay to inveſt the ſouth ſide of Seringapatam, or that the general ſhould previouſly ſend to the top of the Ghaut for his heavy artillery. More minute enquiries into the internal ſtate of the Nizam's troops obliged me to relinquiſh that plan; for I found that the miniſter's talents for ſecuring regular ſupplies for the troops under his command fell ſo far ſhort of his zeal to promote my wiſhes, and the general intereſts of the confederacy, that his corps could not be detached, even for a few days, to any conſiderable diſtance from our Buzars and our northern communications, without expoſing it to ſuffer great diſtreſs from want of proviſions; and as neither Hurry Punt's health, nor the condition of his army, admitted of his undertaking that ſervice in the room of Azeem ul Omrah, I was ſubſequently obliged to direct General Abercromby to croſs, and join me on the north ſide of the river.

Although all my hopes were at an end of receiving any immediate aſſiſtance from Perſeram Bhow, and I concluded that our difficulties would be greatly increaſed by that diſappointment, I neither deviated from the execution of the general outlines of the original plan of the campaign, nor felt diffident of ultimate ſucceſs; but at the ſame time I ſtated my ſentiments on his conduct in very ſtrong terms, both to himſelf and to the court of Poonah; and as the forces under his command were peculiarly well calculated for giving eſſential aid, either in holding the place cloſely inveſted, or in making head againſt any corps which Tippoo might keep in the field for the purpoſe of intercepting our ſupplies during the ſiege, I requeſted of him to quit the purſuits in which he was engaged, and move (late as it was, and different from the plan that had been ſettled) with the utmoſt expedition, by the route that he had marched laſt ſeaſon towards our army.

The Bhow had met with conſiderable ſucceſs in his deſultory expedition; for by the good conduct of Captain Little, and the gallantry of the three Bombay battalions under his command, he totally defeated, in a thick woody country, in the neighbourhood of Simoga, the corps commanded by the nabob Reza Ali, which Tippoo had ſtationed in that quarter for the protection of the Bednore country; and, in conſequence of that victory, he obtained poſſeſſion of Simoga after a ſlight reſiſtance, and of all the other poſts belonging to the enemy, within a few miles diſtance from the town of Bednore; and it afterwards appeared, that although he had reaſonable grounds there to flatter himſelf that the place would ſoon have fallen into his hands, he came to a ſudden reſolution to return from thence by rapid marches to join us, which he effected two days after the preliminaries of peace were ſigned: but whether his determination to return to the ſouthward was owing, as it was reported, to his having received peremptory orders to that effect from Poonah, or to the letters that I had written to him, I do not know, nor have I now thought it worth while to be at much pains to aſcertain.

There was, in the mean time, no intermiſſion in the exertions that were neceſſary to complete our own preparations, and to enable me to proceed to attack the enemy's army and capital with the confederate forces under my own immediate direction; and as ſoon as I could move from the neighbourhood of

Outradroog, I advanced, and, after a few eaſy marches, encamped on the 5th of February behind the French rocks, at the diſtance of about ſeven or eight miles from Seringapatam.

Upon my arrival there I found, conformable to information that I had previouſly received, that Tippoo, truſting to the ſtrength of his poſition, appeared to have determined to keep his ground; and as the badneſs of all the fords near the town, and indeed the ſecurity of our northern ſupplies, put it equally out of my power to attempt to paſs the river with the main army, and all its ſtores and heavy artillery, I did not heſitate in reſolving to attack him, his removal being an indiſpenſable preliminary to the commencement of the ſiege of his capital.

In order, therefore, to be enabled to take proper meaſures for carrying my determination into execution, the afternoon of the 5th was employed in examining the hiccaras, who had been frequently ſent to Tippoo's camp to make obſervations upon it; and, on the following morning, the whole poſition was carefully reconnoitred, under cover of a ſtrong detachment, from the tops of eminences, which, though at a conſiderable diſtance, commanded a view of it through its whole extent from the right to the left.

It then clearly appeared to have been choſen with great judgment, and fortified with extraordinary care, on a tract of land cloſe to the north bank of the river, and nearly parallel to the iſland, with the heights of the Karigut pagoda almoſt within the diſtance of a cannon ſhot on the right, and thoſe of Somarpett and the Ead-Gah, (a place of Mahomedan worſhip) on the left; the front not only covered by a bound hedge and ſix large redoubts well furniſhed with cannon, but the approach to it alſo rendered uncommonly difficult by a number of rice-fields, ravines, and water-courſes with which it was almoſt in every part interſected; and the whole was within reach and protected either by the guns of the fort, or by batteries and intrenchments that had been conſtructed on the iſland.

Under theſe circumſtances it was evident that the event of an attack in day-light might have been doubtful, and that the loſs of a great number of our beſt ſoldiers would have been certain; whilſt at the ſame time, when he had a retreat for his army ſo near and ſo well covered, I could hardly have been ſanguine enough to hope that any advantage, which it would have been poſſible to have gained in the day, would have been deciſive.

I therefore determined to attack him in the night, and without loſs of time; and as little uſe could be expected from our guns in the dark, and the nature of the ground between us and the enemy's camp would have rendered it extremely difficult to convey them, I reſolved to march without artillery of any kind; and in ſuch an enterprize neither our own, nor the cavalry of our allies, could afford any aſſiſtance.

Having arranged the plan of attack in the afternoon of the 6th, and allotted the reſerve, conſiſting of our own cavalry and one European and one native battalion, the camp guards of the other regiments, and the corps of artillery, the whole under the command of colonel Duff, for the protection of all our baggage, guns and ſtores, nineteen battalions were ordered to be ready to march as ſoon as it was dark, in three columns.

The right column, compoſed of two European and five native battalions, commanded by major-general Medows; the centre column, compoſed of three European and five native battalions, under my own immediate direction; and the left column, compoſed of one European and three native battalions, commanded by lieut. colonel Maxwell. Lieutenant-colonels Cockerell and Neſbitt were attached to the right, lieutenant-colonels Stuart and Knox to the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Baird to the left column. A ſmall detachment of the corps of artillery was ordered to march in the rear of each of the columns, to be in readineſs to make uſe of any of the enemy's guns that might fall into our hands.

The commanding nature of the ground on which the Ead-Gah ſtands, had induced Tippoo to conſtruct a redoubt upon that eminence, but though within the bound hedge, as it was not leſs than half a mile diſtant from the front of his army, and I had received certain information that the work was uncommonly ſtrong, and as I likewiſe conceived that from its advanced ſituation it would ſoon be evacuated if we ſhould ſucceed in routing the army, it was not my intention that it ſhould be attacked. Directions were accordingly given that the right column ſhould penetrate the enemy's line about half a mile to the eaſtward of the Ead-Gah; the centre column a few hundred yards to the eaſtward of the road which leads to the ford at the Dowlat Baug, and the column under lieutenant-colonel Maxwell was deſtined at the ſame time, to attack the Karigut pagoda, and ſome works that the enemy had very lately begun to conſtruct on an high hill, that overlooks the pagoda, at a ſmall diſtance from it.

The officers leading the advanced diviſions of the right and centre columns were inſtructed to endeavour, after penetrating the enemy's line, to paſs the river, if poſſible, with the fugitives, and obtain poſſeſſion of the batteries upon the iſland; and lieutenant-colonel Maxwell was alſo directed, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the objects of his attack, to do his utmoſt to enter the iſland by the Karigut ford, when he ſhould obſerve that the attacks upon the enemy's army had been ſucceſsful.

A conſiderable time was required to arrange the troops from an extenſive line of encampment, in the order which had been preſcribed for the reſpective columns; but the whole were ready to march forward about nine, and ſoon after eleven o'clock the centre and left columns reached the firſt points of their deſtination, and immediately attacked with the moſt complete ſucceſs.

At the centre attack the fire of the enemy's infantry and artillery was heavy for a ſhort time, but our loſs there was not great; and the head of the column, according to inſtructions, after carrying a large redoubt, near which Tippoo's own tent was pitched, and upon which he principally depended for the protection of his right wing, mixed with the fugitives, and croſſed over to the iſland with them, with the greateſt ſpirit and rapidity: lieutenant-colonel Maxwell having, in the mean time, driven the enemy from the poſt that he was ordered to attack, with very little loſs on his ſide, deſcended the hill with three battalions of the left column.

Upon obſerving the ſucceſs of the centre attack, and upon finding it impracticable to force the Karigut ford under the heavy fire of the enemy's intrenchments on the oppoſite ſide, he moved with the utmoſt expedition to the ford, at which part of the centre column was paſſing, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Stuart, and croſſed over to the iſland with him. The European flank companies of the centre column had, in the mean time, croſſed at another ford, and, by the united exertions of the whole, we immediately became maſters, and retained poſſeſſion of the Sultan's principal garden, and the whole of the iſland to the eaſtward of the Pettah of Sharr Ganjam.

The right column, by a concurrence of ſeveral of thoſe untoward circumſtances to which attacks in the night muſt ever be liable, was delayed and diſappointed in executing the part of the general arrangement that had been aſſigned to it. The route of its intended march was acroſs a ſpace of country, which, though apparently open, is cut by ſeveral difficult ravines, with a deep water-courſe running through it, the channel of which winds ſo much that the column was obliged to paſs it two or three times in endeavouring to march ſtraight to the point of attack; and the guides who conducted it having by that means, and from their having being inſtructed to avoid the great roads, loſt the proper direction of the march, unluckily carried the head of the column cloſe to the Ead-Gah redoubt, and, before the miſtake could be rectified, the ardor of thoſe that led engaged them in the aſſault.

Great pains had not only been taken in conſtructing the redoubt, and in providing it with cannon, but Tippoo had alſo entruſted the defence of it to a large body of the choice of his infantry. The ſtruggle was therefore violent, and, for a ſhort time, almoſt doubtful; for the firſt efforts of our troops, though gallant to the utmoſt degree, were not ſucceſsful, and it was not carried at laſt without much effuſion of blood on both ſides.

General Medows immediately occupied the poſt with a ſtrong detachment, and being within the bound hedge, moved towards the point of the enemy's poſition at which it had been originally intended that he ſhould penetrate; but the firing having long before ceaſed at the attacks of the other two columns, he concluded that the defeat of the enemy had been completed, and finding great difficulty from ſwamps and ravines in marching within the bound hedge, he returned to the outſide of it, and marched along its front to the Karigut pagoda, where he expected to be in immediate communication with the other diviſions of the army.

In the mean time, however, part of the enemy's centre and left having a little recovered from the panic with which they had been ſtruck by our ſucceſs againſt their right, made a diſpoſition, and advanced about an hour before the day began to break, with a conſiderable degree of order and reſolution, to attack the troops that occupied the ground at which we had at firſt penetrated: but having luckily retained with myſelf near four battalions for the ſecurity of that point, the enemy were beaten and driven back after a ſharp conflict; and day approaching faſt, and the ground on which we ſtood being commanded by the guns of the fort, it was neceſſary to move from thence ſoon after, leaving a detachment in poſſeſſion of the redoubt on the enemy's right, which had been carried in the beginning of the action.

Great and repeated exertions were made by Tippoo, during the ſucceeding day, to retake that redoubt, which the vicinity of the fort, and the exceſſive fatigue of the troops, rendered it difficult for us to ſuccour; but his efforts proving fruitleſs, he deſiſted from the attempt in the afternoon; and in the courſe of the following night he evacuated all the other redoubts in his poſſeſſion on the north ſide of the river.

Our loſs in killed and wounded, though not great in number, muſt, from the value of the gallant officers and ſoldiers who fell, be eſtimated as very conſiderable. That of the enemy, it has been impoſſible to aſcertain with preciſion; it has however appeared, in general, that his cavalry ſuffered conſiderably; and that his infantry, either in the action, or by deſertions ſince that day, has been ſo much diminiſhed, that he never ſeemed to have conſidered the remainder as more than ſufficient for the defence of Seringapatam; and beſides other trophies, 77 pieces of cannon, 35 of which are braſs of different calibres, from nine to two pounders, fell into our hands.

Exhauſted as the troops were, nothing further could be done on the 7th, than to take ſome ſteps for ſecuring our poſts upon the iſland, which I had occupied with eight battalions; and in order to provide againſt all diſappointment in the co-operation of the Bombay army, as well as that it might be as little expoſed as poſſible to be haraſſed on the march by Tippoo's cavalry, I diſpatched in the afternoon of that day the inſtructions I have already mentioned, to General Abercromby, to croſs and join me with the utmoſt expedition on the north ſide of the river; and having two days after ſent our own cavalry, a large body of the Nizam's, and the Maratta horſe, and one of the company's battalions in the Nizam's pay, to meet him on the march; a corps of Tippoo's cavalry, that had croſſed the river for the purpoſe, was completely foiled in an attempt to diſturb him, and he joined us on the 15th of February.

All the neceſſary meaſures were alſo taken in the mean time, to quicken the preparation for commencing the ſiege, and to counterbalance a multitude of obſtacles which the barrenneſs of the country on the north ſide, and many circumſtances in the ſituation of the place, preſented to us; we were lucky enough to find ample materials for faſcines and gabions in Tippoo's extenſive gardens, on the iſland.

Some of the moſt capable of the Frenchmen, and other foreigners, who had long been in Tippoo's ſervice, came over to us in the courſe of a few days after the action; and it ſoon appeared from their accounts, as well as from the reſult of our own reconnoitering, that all the deſcriptions that we had hitherto obtained of the ſituation, and of the works of the fort, and even the remarks that had been made upon them laſt ſeaſon by ourſelves, were extremely incorrect and imperfect. Inſtead, therefore, of attacking it, as I had at firſt propoſed, on the iſland ſide, where, beſides ſome outworks, it is defended by two deep ditches, and two ſtrong walls, with baſtions and cavaliers conſtructed with great care, and well furniſhed with heavy artillery, I reſolved, after the moſt mature conſideration, and notwithſtanding the difficulties that were to be apprehended in eſtabliſhing communications to the breaches acroſs the north branch of the river, to carry on the attack againſt the ſpace which includes the Sultan baſtion, and the Weſtern cavaliers: and although the weakneſs of the wall, the ſhallowneſs of the ditch, and the incomplete ſtate of part of the glacis in that quarter, would perhaps have appeared to me to afford ſufficient grounds for that reſolution, I was ſtill further encouraged to adopt it, by having aſcertained that it would, at this ſeaſon of the year, be practicable to throw the greateſt part of the water of the Caveri out of the two branches that form the iſland of Seringapatam, by repairing and improving a dam that goes acroſs the river a few miles above the iſland, which ſeems to be an ancient work, and conſtructed, like ſeveral others on the Caveri, for the purpoſe of forcing part of the current into canals that have been cut with great ſkill and labour, to furniſh water for the cultivation of a long tract of land on both ſides of the river.

Having determined upon the above plan of attack, it became neceſſary to ſtrengthen further our poſts upon the iſland, in order that I might be able, without endangering their ſafety, to withdraw ſome part of the force that had hitherto been ſent upon that duty to aſſiſt in carrying on the ſiege.

Strong working parties, in addition to thoſe that were conſtantly occupied in making faſcines and gabions, were accordingly employed to render thoſe poſts ſecure; and this object being accompliſhed, ſix battalions were allotted as a ſtationary guard of the iſland, and for furniſhing ſuch working parties as might be neceſſary to afford a certain and ample ſupply of faſcines and gabions for the works.

Our arrangements of every other kind being likewiſe completed, the trenches were opened on the night of the 18th of February, and on the following morning General Abercromby was ordered to croſs the river with nine battalions, about two miles above the fort, to occupy an advantageous and ſtrong poſition at the diſtance of about random cannon ſhot from the works; and he was inſtructed to make immediate preparations for carrying on approaches, and for conſtructing batteries to aſſiſt in deſtroying the enemy's works, and to collade the whole front that was to be attacked.

During the time that the military operations that I have deſcribed were carrying on with unremitting vigour, Tippoo, ſenſible of the danger of his ſituation, had made ſeveral overtures to treat with the confederates; and a few days after the action a negotiation was opened by deputies from all the parties, which, after various diſcuſſions, terminated the conteſt.

Before the confederate armies moved from the neighbourhood of Outradroog, letters were received from Tippoo, in which he repeated his requeſt to be permitted to ſend vackeels to treat; but, with the warm approbation and concurrence of Hurry Punt and Azeem ul Omrah, I told him, that I ſhould inſiſt upon his executing the capitulation of Coimbatour, as a preliminary to all negotiation.

In anſwer to my letter he denied

that any capitulation for the garriſon had taken place between Lieutenant Chalmers and Kummer ud-Dien Khan; and as it was far from my wiſh to drive him to deſpair, by treating ſo ſhameleſs an aſſertion in the manner it deſerved, and by that means ſhutting the door againſt all treaty, I replied, with the ſame concurrence of the confederates, that it depended entirely upon himſelf to ſtate this matter in a clear and uncontrovertible light, by communicating again with Kummer ud-Dien Khan upon the ſubject, and by a perſonal examination of Lieutenants Chalmers and Naſh, who were ſtill in his poſſeſſion; and that if I had been miſinformed, he could, without the leaſt prejudice to his intereſt, as I ſhould engage that neither of the gentlemen ſhould ſerve againſt him during the war, eaſily convince me of it, by ſending out Lieutenants Chalmers and Naſh, or one of them, to declare the truth.

Of this propoſition he took no notice, till after the defeat of his army; but in the afternoon of the 8th he ſent to camp Lieutenants Chalmers and Naſh, and the few other Europeans that had been taken with them at Coimbatour, accompanied with letters requeſting again that vackeels might be received from him, to open a negotiation for peace.

Although Tippoo's flagrant breach of the capitulation was clearly eſtabliſhed by the perſonal teſtimony of Lieutenants Chalmers and Naſh, yet, knowing as I did how important it was for the intereſts of the company and the Britiſh nation that no time ſhould be unneceſſarily loſt in ſecuring a ſafe and honourable peace, and ſeeing likewiſe that perſeverance in requiring a literal compliance with my firſt demand would amount to a virtual refuſal to enter into any negotiation, as I had learnt from Lieutenant Chalmers that the garriſon of Coimbatour was ſo much diſperſed, that it was not in Tippoo's power to execute the capitulation immediately, I judged it adviſeable to relax upon that point; and accordingly, after conſulting with our allies, I contented myſelf with ſaying, that as he had ſhewn a diſpoſition to make atonement for the breach of the capitulation, I ſhould not, on account of the preſent critical ſtate of affairs, inſiſt upon its being fully executed previous to all negotiation, and that he was at liberty to ſend Vackeels to a ſpot that was pointed out, where deputies from the confederate powers would meet them to hear their propoſitions.

In conſequence of this permiſſion he appointed Ghola Ali Khan, who had been at the head of his embaſſy to Conſtantinople; and Ali Reza, his vackeels, and they arrived and encamped at the place that had been fixed upon for them on the afternoon of the 13th.

Conceiving it to be very improbable that Tippoo would authorize his vackeels to make any ſpecific propoſitions to us, I thought it would be proper, in the event of their declining to offer any terms, that our deputies ſhould be prepared to ſtate thoſe on which the allies would agree to deſiſt from further hoſtilities.

The deputies having accordingly met the vackeels in the morning of the 14th, and the latter having, as I expected, declined to make any offer, a demand was made on our part of the ceſſion of the country, to the extent of three crores of rupees of revenue, and of eight crores of rupees in ready money; to which the vackeels replied, by proteſting the total inability of their maſter to comply with the demand; but added, that they would immediately go to the fort, and lay it before him, and return as ſoon as poſſible with his own anſwer to it.

The vackeels accordingly returned next morning, and after many references to Tippoo upon the modified conditions that were propoſed at ſeveral different meetings by the deputies of the allies, of which it is unneceſſary to trouble you with a detail, the preliminary articles of peace, of which I have now the honour to encloſe a copy, were at laſt finally ſettled and agreed to by Tippoo, on the night of the 23d of February; and, at Tippoo's earneſt requeſt, all hoſtilities ceaſed, without waiting for the delivery of the hoſtages, on the following forenoon.

It was ſaid that the want of punctuality in the delivery of the hoſtages was occaſioned by ſome domeſtic difficulties in Tippoo's own family, as well as by its requiring ſome time to arrange their attendants, and to ſettle the ceremonials of their reception in camp; but on the 26th he ſent out his ſecond and third ſon to be delivered into my hands.

All the points that came under diſcuſſion in the courſe of the negotiation were regularly communicated to Hurry Punt and to Azeem ul Omrah, and their ſentiments requeſted upon them; and it will, no doubt, give you pleaſure to hear, that in every meaſure that was determined upon reſpecting this important negotiation, there has uniformly been the moſt cordial concurrence and union in our opinions.

Indeed the general confidence which has been ſhewn on the occaſion in our good faith, cannot fail of being highly gratifying to you; for the deputies that were named by Hurry Punt and Azeem ul Omrah came to me, previous to their meeting with Tippoo's vackeels, to declare that they were inſtructed to agree to any terms of peace, that ſhould appear to me to be ſuitable to the intereſts of the three ſtates; and no murmur or diſcontent has been expreſſed at the hoſtages remaining, according to the deſire of their father, in my particular cuſtody.

I did not expect that Tippoo's nature would ſuddenly change, and that he would act with openneſs and candor in executing the articles of the treaty. I was, therefore, in no degree ſurpriſed at finding, when his revenue accounts were produced, an evident deſign to practiſe every art to impoſe upon us, by exaggerating the value of the diſtricts that lie contiguous to the territories of the allies, and under-rating thoſe in the interior parts of his dominions, and which conſequently are not to be ceded.

He has, however, in the mean time, paid above one crore of rupees, which has been divided equally amongſt the three powers; and I perſuade myſelf, that, by a firm perſeverance in the demand that we have made of the production of original papers for our inſpection, we ſhall, before long, be able to aſcertain the amount of his revenue with ſufficient accuracy, for regulating the extent of the diſtricts that are to be ceded by him, according to the terms of the treaty; and the armies will not only remain in this neighbourhood, but even the guard of the trenches will continue to mount regularly, until all thoſe arrangements ſhall be completed.

I have, in many inſtances, derived great advantage from Sir John Kennaway's ſervices, in acting as a channel of intercourſe between me and Azeem ul Omrah; but it has proved peculiarly fortunate, that his attendance upon the miniſter put it in my power, at this important juncture, to avail myſelf, by naming him as my deputy, of his addreſs and conciliatory manners, in conducting the negotiations to ſo happy an iſſue; and it is very ſatisfactory to me, that I can equally depend upon the moſt able aſſiſtance from him, both in obtaining from Tippoo the execution of the preliminaries, and in framing the articles of the definitive treaty of peace.

The territory that the company will acquire by the peace, will be conſiderable in point of revenue; though, from the wide difference in ſeveral ſtatements of Tippoo's whole revenues that have been produced, I cannot yet form a judgment of the amount; but, important as an addition of revenue may be, I conſider it of infinitely more conſequence to the intereſts of the company and the nation, than almoſt any ſum whatever, that the overgrown power of Tippoo, from which we have at different times ſuffered ſo much, and which has ſo long threatened your poſſeſſions on both coaſts with total deſtruction, has been reduced, by the event of this war, within bounds, which will deprive him of the power, and perhaps of the inclination, to diſturb us for many years to come; whilſt at the ſame time, I hope, that our acquiſitions by this peace will give ſo much additional ſtrength and compactneſs to the frontiers of our poſſeſſions, both in the Carnatic, and on the coaſt of Malabar, as to render it extremely difficult for any power above the Ghauts to invade them.

The firmneſs and gallantry that has been diſplayed by the troops that compoſe this army, under the uncommon hardſhips and difficulties to which they have been ſo often expoſed during the courſe of this war, reflects the higheſt honour upon themſelves as ſoldiers, and gives them the ſtrongeſt claim to the applauſe and favour of the company and the nation; and the zeal and alacrity with which my inſtructions have been uniformly obeyed, as well as the perſonal attachment that has been ſhewn to me on ſeveral trying occaſions, by the officers and ſoldiers in general, will ever be remembered by me with the warmeſt gratitude.

Although circumſtances prevented General Abercromby from ſharing in ſome of the active ſcenes in which the principal army was engaged, I am not the leſs ſenſible of his ardent deſire to promote the public good, or of his ability in executing the ſervices that were allotted to him; and no words can expreſs the ſenſe that I ſhall entertain throughout life of the ability, and refined generoſity and friendſhip with which General Medows has invariably given me his ſupport and aſſiſtance.

I have thought it neceſſary, as a reward to the ſoldiers for the chearfulneſs with which they have performed ſo many various duties, and as ſome compenſation to the officers for the extraordinary expences to which they have been expoſed, to order a gratuity equal to ſix months batta *, to be iſſued from the money that has been paid by Tippoo, to all the troops that have been employed upon this ſervice, which I hope will meet with your approbation: and as General Abercromby's ſituation would not juſtify him in following General Medows's and my own example in declining to accept of any ſhare in prize money or gratuity, and from his receiving no batta, there is no rate upon that ground for regulating his portion, I have judged it moſt equitable to direct that he ſhall receive half a ſixteenth of the amount of the whole ſum that ſhall be iſſued to the army, being the proportion of prize money which he is entitled to draw, according to the principle of diviſion, which we underſtand to be eſtabliſhed for the flag officers of his majeſty's navy, and which has been adopted for the general officers of this army.

This diſpatch will be delivered to you by Captain Madan, my aide-du-camp, whom I beg leave to recommend to your notice; and as he obtained my leave to go from Bengal to join the army in the Carnatic, at the breaking out of the war, and has, ſince that time, ſerved conſtantly in the field, he will be able to explain the details of many tranſactions, of which you may be deſirous to receive particular information.

Captain Kyd has my directions to prepare a ſketch of the ground on which the action was fought, and it will be tranſmitted to your honourable court with this diſpatch.

I have the honour to be,
With great reſpect,
Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,
CORNWALLIS.

Camp near Seringapatam,
March 4, 1792.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing of his majeſty's and the honourable company's troops under the command of earl Cornwallis, in the attack of the enemy's army near Seringapatam, on the night of the 6th of February, 1792.

ARTILLERY BRIGADE.

Royal artillery. 1 bombardier, 5 ſecond gunners, wounded.

Bengal ditto. Lieutenant firework-er Alexander Buchan, 2 firſt tindals, 6 laſcars, killed; 1 gunner, 1 matroſs, 1 firſt tindal, 13 laſcars, wounded; 8 laſcars miſſing.

Coaſt ditto. 1 matroſs wounded.

FIRST BRIGADE.

His majeſty's 36th regiment. Lieutenant Robertſon (73d regiment), enſign Smith, 6 rank and file, killed; lieutenant Brownrigg, John Campbell, Robert R. Campbell, 2 ſerjeants, 1 drummer, 30 rank and file, wounded.

His majeſty's 52d regiment. Lieutenant Hutchinſon, 1 ſerjeant, 8 privates, killed; Captains Hunter and Zouch, Lieutenants Irwine, Rowan, Madden, 2 ſerjeants,

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* About twenty-two lacs of rupees.

jeants, 1 drummer, 22 rank and file, wounded; 1 ſerjeant, 8 rank and file, miſſing.

His majeſty's 76th regiment. Lieutenant Jones killed; Captain Markham, Lieutenants Robertſon, Philpot, and Shawe, 1 ſerjeant, 7 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file ſince dead.

SECOND BRIGADE.

His majeſty's 71ſt regiment. Captain Sibbald, Lieutenant Bayne, 1 ſerjeant, 14 rank and file, killed; Surgeon's Mate Paley, 1 ſerjeant, 53 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file miſſing.

His majeſty's 72d regiment. Captain Mackenzie, 1 ſerjeant, 14 rank and file, killed; Major Fraſer, the hon. Captain Maitland, Lieutenants Macpherſon and Ward, 1 ſerjeant, 2 drummers, 40 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file miſſing.

His majeſty's 74th regiment. 2 rank and file killed; Lieutenant Farquhar, Enſign Hamilton, 1 ſerjeant, 17 rank and file, wounded; 6 rank and file miſſing.

THIRD BRIGADE.

3d Bengal battalion. 8 rank and file wounded.

13th ditto ditto. 2 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file wounded.

26th ditto ditto. 1 rank and file wounded.

2d ditto volunteers. 2 rank and file wounded.

FOURTH BRIGADE.

7th Bengal battalion. 3 rank and file killed; 3 havildars, 8 rank and file, wounded; 1 drummer miſſing.

14th ditto ditto. Captain Archdeacon, 1 ſerjeant, 1 ſubidar, 5 rank and file, killed; 4 havildars, 28 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file miſſing.

28th Ditto ditto. 1 ſubidar, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 jemidar, 3 havildars, 1 drummer, 22 rank and file, wounded.

FIFTH BRIGADE.

1ſt coaſt battalion. Captain Archibald Brown, Lieutenant Young (ſince dead), 2 puckallys, 7 rank and file, wounded.

6th ditto ditto. 1 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file miſſing.

23d ditto ditto. 3 rank and file killed; 1 jemidar, 5 rank and file, wounded; 4 rank and file miſſing.

SIXTH BRIGADE.

2d coaſt battalion. Lieutenant and Adjutant Martin, 1 ſubidar, 1 jemidar, 20 rank and file wounded; 5 rank and file miſſing.

21ſt ditto ditto. 1 rank and file killed; 1 ſubidar, 2 havildars, 18 rank and file wounded.

22d ditto ditto. 4 rank and file wounded.

Bengal Engineers. Lieutenant Stuart killed.

Coaſt ditto. Lieutenant Hemmings wounded.

PIONEERS.

Lieutenant Dowſe's corps. 2 privates killed; 1 ſerjeant, 3 privates wounded.

Lieutenant Lennon's ditto. 5 privates killed; 3 privates wounded.

Enſign Stokoe's ditto. 1 ſerjeant, 5 privates, killed; 1 private wounded; 2 privates miſſing.

General Abstract.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Miſſing.	Total.
Europeans	68	213	21	302
Natives	40	168	23	231
Gen. total	108	381	44	533

Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, Adjutant-General of the Army, wounded, not included in the above.

(Signed) B. Close,
Dep. Adjutant-Gen.

A true Copy.
George Parry,
Act. Dep. Sec.

Abſtract of ordnance and ammunition taken from the enemy the night of the 6th inſtant. Camp. Seringapatam, February 12, 1792.

Calibres.	Iron Guns.	Braſs Guns.
Twenty-four pounders	2	0
Eighteen ditto - - -	4	0
Sixteen ditto - - -	1	0
Nine ditto - - - -	14	2
Eight ditto - - -	3	0
Six ditto - - - -	12	18
Four ditto - - - -	6	4
Three and half ditto -	0	1
Two and half ditto -	0	1
Two ditto - - - -	0	8
Total Guns	42	34

Iron ſhot, round and grape, of different calibres, 2500.

Cartridges, linen, filled, 5000.

(Signed) Jos. Burnet,
Capt. Bengal Artillery.

(Signed) Patrick Duff,
Col. commanding
Artillery.

A true Copy.
George Parry,
Act. Dep. Sec.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing of his majeſty's and the honourable company's troops, commanded by Earl Cornwallis, before Seringapatam, from the 8th of February incluſive, to the 24th of the ſame month, when the ceſſation of hoſtilities took place between the confederate powers and Tippoo Sultan.

36th regiment. 4 rank and file wounded.

52d regiment. 1 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded.

57th regiment. 2 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded.

76th regiment. 1 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file ſince dead.

4th European battalion. 3 rank and file killed; 2 ditto wounded.

7th Bengal native battalion. 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

14th Bengal native battalion. 1 rank and file wounded.

26th Bengal native battalion. 1 rank and file killed; 1 havildar, and 9 rank and file wounded.

2d battalion coaſt native infantry. 3 rank and file killed, 1 rank and file wounded.

Bengal gun laſcars. 1 ſyrang and 3 gun laſcars wounded.

Lieutenant Dowſe's pioneers. 2 rank and file wounded.

Lieutenant Lennon's pioneers. 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

General Abstract.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Europeans -	7	17	24
Natives - -	9	20	29
General total	16	37	53

B. Close,
Adj. gen. of the army.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing of the diviſion of troops from the Malabar coaſt, under major-general Abercromby, forming a part of the army commanded by Earl Cornwallis before Seringapatam.

February 19, 1792.

His majeſty's 73d regiment. 1 ſerjeant, and 3 rank and file wounded.

His majeſty's 75th regiment. 2 drummers, and 3 rank and file wounded.

Grenadiers battalion native infantry. 2 rank and file killed; 1 drummer, and 3 rank and file wounded.

2d battalion native infantry. 1 rank and file killed.

10th battalion ditto. 1 rank and file killed; 1 ſudibar wounded.

12th battalion ditto. 1 havildar, and 1 rank and file wounded.

14th battalion ditto (Madras). 1 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

February 22, 1792.

His majeſty's 75th regiment. 3 rank and file killed; 1 ſerjeant and 7 rank and file wounded.

1ſt Bombay European battalion. 2 rank and file killed; lieutenant James Lloyd, and 32 rank and file wounded.

2d battalion native infantry. 1 havildar, 2 rank and file, and 1 puckally, killed; Lieut. Charles John Mears, and 18 rank and file wounded.

10th battalion ditto. 8 rank and file killed; Lieut. Robert Hunt, 1 ſubidar, 1 havildar, and 13 rank and file wounded.

12th battalion ditto. 1 havildar, and 2 rank and file killed; 1 ſerjeant, 1 drummer, and 7 rank and file wounded.

GENERAL ABSTRACT.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Europeans -	5	49	54
Natives - -	20	54	74
Grand total	25	103	128

REFERENCES.

Feb. 19. On the occaſion of croſſing the Cavery weſtward of the fort, and occupying a poſition ſouth of the river.

Feb. 22. The enemy having ſallied in force, attacked a poſt advanced from major-general Abercromby's encampment, and were repulſed.

B. CLOSE,
Adj. gen. of the army.

[*** *For the treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan, ſee our State Papers.*]

Relation of the Aſſaſſination of M. Theobald Dillon, *Mareſchal de Camp, at* Liſle, *on the 29th of* April 1792. *By an Eye-Witneſs.*

I DINED at General Theobald Dillon's the day of the expedition to Tournay. In the courſe of the converſation, he many times teſtified his confidence in the good diſpoſition and courage of the troops he commanded. Although I had been for theſe fifteen years his intimate friend, it was not until after the orders had been given to the troops, that I knew he was to march the ſame evening.

He quitted me in the afternoon to go to General Daumont; at half paſt ſeven o'clock the troops were under arms; they had the beſt appearance poſſible. A little before nine o'clock he went out at the head of the army, by the gate of Fiffe. The next day (Sunday, April 29th) at nine o'clock, I went to General Daumont, to aſk him if there was any impropriety in my going to view the army, and if it was not neceſſary to have a paſſport; he replied in the negative.

Madame Dillon teſtified great uneaſineſs for her brother, but he aſſured me that it was without foundation; and from the orders the army had received, an engagement was not likely.

I mounted on horſeback, and departed by the gate of Fiffe, in order to ſee M. Dillon. At a place near the town I met four dragoons, who as ſoon as they ſaw me, made ſigns by their ſabres for me to return; crying that all was loſt: that the army had been betrayed, and cut in pieces. I begged them not to ſpread the alarm in the town, but firſt to acquaint General Daumont and the principal officers of it.—They ſoon left me behind. I returned into town with a man without a uniform, who related that his comrade was killed by his ſide: with him was an officer of the national guards, on a horſe belonging to one of the artillery carriages, who alſo cried that all was loſt, betrayed, and cut to pieces; but he could not give any detail of particulars.

I took my domeſtic with me, and returned again on foot to the gate of Fiffe. The ſtreet was full of ſoldiers and national guards, who impeded the paſſage of the curaſſiers, who began to enter in crouds with great diſorder. The Swiſs of Dieſback, who guarded the gate, had erected ſome works, and ſtationed patroles on the outſide; in the mean time the cavalry entered, raiſing the cry of "Treaſon! ariſtocrate!" and "*à la lanterne!*"

The confuſion now became general; many, without knowing who commanded, demanded the head of Rochambeau. I then went to the ſuburbs; the infantry now preſented themſelves, but in ſmall numbers; the road was covered with cavaliers, all crying "Treaſon!" Not one wounded, not even a horſe. I aſked many officers and ſoldiers news of the general; not one could give me any account of him. An officer of the curaſſiers ſaid, that he was ſurpriſed to hear me aſk news of a general who had led them to butchery. The deputy marſhal general (M. De V———) ſaid that M. Dillon had given him orders to charge the cavalry. As ſoon as he perceived the enemy, he found them retiring, and in general confuſion. The ſoldiers informed me it would be imprudent to advance further; that the Auſtrian huſſars preſſed them cloſely. I ſtopped ſome time, and advanced again. I had not yet heard the report of a fuſee, nor ſeen a huſſar, nor any perſon that had ſeen one. The road was now crouded with carts of baggage and peaſantry, who fled with their moveables into the town. I again returned, the confuſion was now very great; the cry of *lanterne!* of "Rochambeau!" of "Traitor! ariſtocrate!" and noiſes from every ſide. The infantry now began to enter, and brought in three or four Auſtrians (one in a grey uniform, ſtriped with green, and the others in round frocks). An hundred ſteps from the gate, they hung an officer of engineers, M. Berthois, ſuſpended by the feet with cords. I ſaw more than twenty ſhots through his body, and a horſe grenadier, as I was told, gave him a cut on the head with his ſabre, and fired a piſtol at his breaſt. Then the national guards and infantry took poſſeſſion of him. I ſaw one of the Auſtrian priſoners killed, and two or three who were diſpatched, trampled under feet, and their bodies run through.

I heard the ridicule and the barbarous ſhouts of the ſoldiers, and ſaw them amuſe themſelves in ſtriking the dead bodies with their hands. They were crouded in a wheel-barrow, with the officer of engineers. I ſhudder at the ſight. The municipal officers arrived with a cart, in which they placed the dead bodies, and continued to abuſe them. It is two o'clock, and I have not been able to hear the leaſt news of the general, or the action. Not a wounded man has yet appeared; and, among all the ſoldiers, not one ſeems to have been in a battle, except a foot ſoldier, who had received ſome ſhot through his hat.

I remained in the ſtreet to obſerve the diſpoſitions of the people. About four o'clock I went towards Fiſſe gate. In the entrance of the ſtreet the agitation was great, and the howling moſt terrible. At laſt I heard the cry of "He's coming, "he's coming! To the lantern!" I aſked, with a trembling voice, "Who?" "Dillon," they anſwered, "the traitor, the ariſtocrate! we "are going to tear him to pieces, "he and all that belong to him! "Rochambeau muſt alſo periſh, and "all the nobility in the army. Dillon "is coming in a cabriole; his thigh is "already broken, let's go and finiſh "him!" The cabriole ſoon appeared; the general was in it, without a hat, with a calm and firm look; he was eſcorted by four horſe guards; he had hardly paſſed through the gate, when more than a hundred bayonets were thruſt into the cabriole, amidſt the moſt horrible ſhouts! The horſe guards made uſe of their ſabres, it is true, but I don't know whether it was to defend themſelves, or to protect the general. The man who drove the cabriole diſappeared, the horſe plunged, and no bayonets had yet been fatal, when a ſhot was fired into the carriage, and I think this killed M. Dillon, for I never ſaw him move afterwards; he was taken from the carriage and thrown into the ſtreet, when they trampled upon his body, and ran a thouſand bayonets through it, I neither heard from him complaints or groans.

Between ſeven and eight o'clock I went to the market-place, where a great fire was lighted, in which his body was thrown. French ſoldiers danced round the burning body of their general. This barbarous ſcene was intermixed with the moſt ſavage howlings. Parties of Swiſs were paſſing and re-paſſing in good order during this attrocious ſcene, with the greateſt indignation painted in their countenance. The ſiſter of the general was alſo threatened; ſhe changed her abode four times, being warned of her danger; nobody dared to ſhelter her in their houſes, however the night was paſſed in tranquillity.

I have been lucky enough to ſave her from theſe cannibals, and the next day ſat off for Paris.

This is what I have ſeen, and what I am ready to atteſt before any tribunal.

N. B.—The original of this has been depoſited at a notary's, and a faithful copy delivered to the national aſſembly, ſigned by the author. If any perſons ſhould doubt the authenticity of the above, they may addreſs themſelves to James Migneret,

ret, Jacob-ſtreet, Paris, or the family of M. Dillon, who engage to anſwer them.

Letter from M. La Fayette *to the National Aſſembly.*

Entrenched Camp of Maubeuge, June 16, 1792, 4th Year of Liberty.

Gentlemen,

AT the moment, too long delayed, perhaps, at which I am going to call your attention to great public intereſts, and point out among our dangers the conduct of a miniſtry, which my correſpondence has long ſince accuſed, I am informed that, unmaſked by its diviſions, it has ſunk under its own intrigues; for, undoubtedly, it is not by ſacrificing three colleagues, from their own inſignificance the mere creatures of his power, that the leaſt excuſeable, the moſt noted of theſe miniſters, will have cemented in the king's council his equivocal and ſcandalous exiſtence.

It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government ſhould be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal is in danger; the fate of France depends chiefly on her repreſentatives; of them the nation expects her ſalvation. But, when ſhe gave herſelf a conſtitution, ſhe preſcribed to them the only courſe by which they can ſave her.

Perſuaded, gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of every conſtituting aſſembly, a conſtitution once formed becomes the law to the legiſlators appointed under it, it is to yourſelves that I am bound to denounce the too powerful efforts now making to carry you beyond the rule which you have promiſed to follow.

Nothing ſhall hinder me from exerciſing this right of a free man, from fulfilling this duty of a citizen; neither the momentary errors of opinion (for what are opinions when they deviate from principles?) nor my reſpect for the repreſentatives of the people, for I reſpect ſtill more the people themſelves, of whom the conſtitution is the will ſupreme; nor the favour you have conſtantly ſhewn to me, for that I wiſh to preſerve, as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumſtances are difficult; France is menaced from without, and agitated within. While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national ſovereignty, and thus declare themſelves the enemies of France, internal foes, intoxicated with fanaticiſm and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and fatigue us ſtill more with their inſolent malignity.

You ought, gentlemen, to ſuppreſs them; and you cannot have the power to do ſo, without being yourſelves conſtitutional and juſt.

You deſire to be ſo without doubt; but caſt your eyes on what paſſes in your own body, and all around you.

Can you diſſemble that a faction, and to avoid vague denominations, that the Jacobin faction, has occaſioned all the diſorders? It is that faction to which I loudly impute them. Organized like a ſeparate empire in its metropolis and its affiliations, blindly directed by certain ambitious chiefs, this ſect forms a diſtinct corporation in the midſt of the French people, whoſe power it uſurps by ſubjugating their preſentatives, and their mandataries.

It is there, that, in public ſittings, love of the laws is denominated ariſtocracy, and their infraction patriotiſm—there the aſſaſſins of Deſilles receive triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan fine panegyriſts—there alſo the recital of the aſſaſſination that ſtained the city of Metz, excited infernal acclamations of joy.

Can it be believed that they will eſcape reproaches by ſheltering themſelves under an Auſtrian manifeſto, in which theſe ſectaries are named? Are they become ſacred becauſe Leopold has pronounced their name? And becauſe we have to fight with foreigners, who preſume to meddle in our quarrels, are we releaſed from the duty of delivering our country from domeſtic tyranny?

What import to this duty either the projects of foreigners, or their connivance with counter-revolutioniſts, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is I who denounce this ſect; I who, without ſpeaking of my paſt life, can anſwer to thoſe who feign ſuſpicions of me—'Approach in this critical moment, in which every man's character will ſoon be known, and let us ſee which of us, moſt inflexible in his principles, moſt firm in his reſiſtance, will beſt brave the obſtacles and the dangers which traitors wiſh to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to calculate and encounter for her ſake.'

And how ſhould I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the conſtituted authorities, and ſubſtitutes the ſpirit of a party for the will of the people; when the audacity of agitators impoſes ſilence on peaceable citizens, and ſupplants uſeful men; when devotion to a ſect is made the ſubſtitute of all public and private virtues, what in a free country ought to be the auſtere and only means of arriving at the firſt functions of government?

It is after having oppoſed to all obſtacles and all ſnares the courageous and perſevering patriotiſm of an army, ſacrificed perhaps to combinations againſt its leader, that I can now oppoſe to this faction in correſpondence of a miniſtry the worthy production of its club—a correſpondence of which all the calculations are falſe, the promiſes vain, the information fraudulent or frivolous, the councils perfidious or contradictory; where, after having preſſed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without means, they began to tell me that reſiſtance would ſoon be impoſſible, when my indignation repelled the daſtardly aſſertion.

What remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between thoſe factious men who avow their ariſtocratic ſpirit, and thoſe who uſurp the name of patriots! Both wiſh to ſubvert our laws, rejoice in diſorders, riſe up againſt the authorities conferred by the people, deteſt the national guard, preach indiſcipline to the army, and ſow ſometimes diſtruſt, ſometimes diſcouragement.

As for me, gentlemen, who eſpouſed the American cauſe, at the very moment when its ambaſſadors declared to me that it was loſt; who thenceforward devoted myſelf to a perſevering defence of liberty, and the ſovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on preſenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—*For a nation to be free, it is ſufficient that ſhe wills it*; I come now, full of confidence in the juſtice of our cauſe, of contempt for the cowards who deſert it, and of indignation againſt the traitors who would ſully it; I come to declare that the French nation, if ſhe is not the moſt vile in the univerſe, may and ought to reſiſt the conſpiracy of kings formed againſt her.

It is not undoubtedly in the midſt of my brave army, that timid ſentiments are permitted: patriotiſm, energy, diſcipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues I have found in it. In it the principles of liberty and equality are cheriſhed, the laws reſpected, property ſacred; in it neither calumnies nor factions are known; and when I recollect that France has ſeveral millions capable of becoming ſuch ſoldiers, I aſk myſelf to what pitch of debaſement would an immenſe people be reduced, ſtill ſtronger in their natural reſources than in the defences of art, oppoſing to a monſtrous confederation the advantage of combinations directed to a ſingle object, for the baſe idea of ſacrificing their ſovereignty, of covenanting for their liberty, of ſubmitting their declaration of rights to negotiation, to appear one of the poſſibilities of the iſſue that is rapidly advancing upon us.

But in order that we, ſoldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with profit to our cauſe, it is neceſſary that the number of the defenders of our country be ſpeedily proportioned to that of their adverſaries; that ſtores of all ſorts be multiplied, and facilitate all our motions; that the comfort of the troops, their equipage, their pay, the proviſions for their health, be no longer expoſed to fatal delays, or pretended ſavings, which always turn out the direct reverſe of their object.

Above all, it is neceſſary that the citizens, rallied around the conſtitution, be aſſured that the rights which it guarantees will be reſpected with a religious fidelity, that ſhall drive its enemies, concealed or public, to deſpair.

Reject not this wiſh: it is that of the ſincere wiſh of the friends of your legitimate authority. Aſſured that unjuſt conſequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical meaſures can ſerve a cauſe which owes its force and its glory to the ſacred baſis of liberty and equality, make criminal juſtice reſume its conſtitutional courſe, make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the conſtitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the ſprings of our liberty; let the king be revered, for he is inveſted with the national majeſty; let him have the power of chooſing a miniſtry that wears not the chains of a faction; and if there be conſpirators, let them periſh by the ſword of the law.

In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law, their uſurpations to the firm and independent exerciſe of the conſtituted authorities, their diſorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty, their delirious fury to the calm and ſteddy courage of a nation that underſtands its rights, and defends them: in fine, their factious combinations to the true intereſts of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all thoſe to whom her ſubjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous ſpeculation.

Such, gentlemen, are the repreſentations and the petitions ſubmitted to the national aſſembly, as they are to the king, by a citizen, whoſe love of liberty will never be honeſtly queſtioned; whom the different factions would hate leſs, if he had not raiſed himſelf above them by his diſintereſtedneſs; whom ſilence would have better became, if, like ſo many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the national aſſembly, and the confidence with which it is of importance that it ſhould be ſurrounded; and who can better teſtify his own confidence, than by laying before it the truth without diſguiſe.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conſcience, and the obligation of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and above all to myſelf, whom the chances of war do not allow to poſtpone obſervations that I think uſeful, and who wiſh to believe that the aſſembly will find in this a new homage of my devotion to its conſtitutional authority, of my perſonal gratitude, and of my reſpect.

(Signed) La Fayette.

Letter from M. La Fayette, *to the King; with a Copy of the preceding.*

Entrenched Camp of Maubeuge, June 16th, 1792, 4th Year of Liberty.

Sire,

I HAVE the honour to ſend your majeſty the copy of a letter to the national aſſembly, in which your majeſty will find the expreſſion of ſentiments that have animated my whole life. The king knows with what ardor, with what conſtancy, I have been at all times devoted to the cauſe of liberty, to the ſacred principles of humanity, equality, and juſtice. He knows that I was always the adverſary of factions, the enemy of licentiouſneſs; and that no power, which I thought unlawful, was ever acknowledged by me. He knows my devotion to his conſtitutional authority, and my attachment to his perſon. Such, Sire, are the baſis of my letter to the national aſſembly; ſuch will be thoſe of my conduct towards my country and your majeſty, amid the ſtorms which ſo many combinations, hoſtile or factious, ſtrive to draw upon us.

It belongs not to me, ſire, to give to my opinions or my meaſures a higher degree of importance than the unconnected acts of a ſimple citizen ought to poſſeſs; but the expreſſion of my thoughts was always a right, and, on this occaſion, becomes a duty; and, although I might have fulfilled this duty ſooner, if, inſtead of being to be heard from the midſt of a camp, my voice had been to iſſue from the retreat from which I was drawn by the dangers of my country, I do not think that any public function, any perſonal conſideration, releaſes me from exerciſing this duty of a citizen, this right of a freeman.

Perſiſt, ſire, ſtrong in the authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous reſolution of defending the principles of the conſtitution againſt all their enemies. Let this reſolution, ſupported by all the acts of our private life, as by a firm and full exerciſe of the royal power, become the gage of harmony, which above all, in the moments of criſis, cannot fail to be eſtabliſhed between the repreſentatives elected by the people, and their hereditary repreſentative. It is in this reſolution, ſire, that for your country and for yourſelf are glory and ſafety. There you will find the friends of liberty, all good Frenchmen, ranged around your throne, to defend it againſt the machinations of the rebellious, and the enterprizes of the factious. And I, ſire, who, in their honourable hatred, have found the recompence of my perſevering oppoſition—I will always merit it by my zeal to ſerve the cauſe to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath which I have taken to the nation, the law, and the king.

Such, ſire, are the unalterable ſentiments of which I ſubjoin the homage and that of my reſpect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

Letter from M. De Grave, *late Miniſter of the War Department, to the National Aſſembly.*

London, Auguſt 6, 1792.

Mr. Preſident,

I HAVE ſworn fidelity to the nation, to the law, and to the king. The nation is enſlaved, the law is violated, the king is loaded with inſult—I have left my country with the ſentiments of indignation and deſpair, and ſhall return to it when it will be poſſible, in ſerving it, to ſerve the cauſe of liberty and juſtice.

The Jacobins reign abſolutely in France: environed by public calamities, they reign like death over tombs. The people only know them by the terror they inſpire; there cannot be mentioned a ſingle crime they have endeavoured to prevent; and there ſoon will be no crime which they have not attempted. It was not for ſuch men I engaged my oaths.

The Jacobins, whoſe very name is ſo ridiculous in an enlightened age, preſent to the eyes of Europe an aſſociation of men, who, under the name of philoſophy, have committed all the horrors of fanatical and religious ſects. I ſhall not ſully my pen by an extract of the debates of that ſociety, but I invite thoſe who write hiſtory to give attention to them, they will there find the moſt odious and diſguſting effects of the wildneſs of paſſion, and of the neglect of principles.

If the ſacrifice I have made in leaving my country, if that ſacrifice, which at this moment gives me ſo much regret, ſhould by ſome men be condemned, let them read ſome pages of that infamous journal, and then let them judge me; let them pronounce if, after having been drawn into miniſtry at the moſt important criſis of the revolution, I could conſent ſtill to ſee my name diſgraced by an aſſociation, to which I had only condemned myſelf in the hopes of ſerving effectually both the people and the king *.

Having been many years acquainted with the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, and an admirer of that political phenomenon, I moſt ardently deſired to ſee France enjoy the ſame advantages.—The revolution broke out—That revolution of which hiſtory will unveil the cauſes, and of which humanity muſt deplore the effects, preſented to me the ruin of my family: that act of the conſtituent aſſembly was a moſt ſhocking injuſtice; it ſeemed, however, to me, that the more I loſt, the more it became my duty to ſhew an example of reſignation and generoſity. The hopes I had conceived of public happineſs became the more flattering in proportion to the ſacrifices I had made; and the more I deſired to contribute to the approaching proſperity of my country, the more I now deplore the calamities in which it is involved.

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* M. De Grave was made miniſter at the time when Meſſrs. de Leſſart, Du Port du Tertre, Cahier de Gerville, Tarbé, and Bertrand compoſed the king's counſel.—When theſe ſeveral miniſters quitted, the king was deſirous of trying, if, by fixing his choice among the Jacobins, there would be a poſſibility of giving the government the action neceſſary for the execution of the laws. At this period, M. De Grave propoſed to retire, but the different parties equally engaging him to ſtay, he yielded,

If curioſity, at that time, drew me to the Jacobins; if I was of the opinion of thoſe, who think that a fire is not to be extinguiſhed by flying from it; if I ſince prevented the pillage of ſome houſes at Liſle; if I prevailed on the regiment I commanded at Bergues, to recover thoſe ſentiments of ſubordination and good order they ought never to have forgot, I think I need not be aſhamed of ſuch ſteps, by which alone I ever had any connexion with the Jacobins. I ſaw them in my private character, to prevent them from inflaming both the people and the troops. I ſaw them as a public man, to deſtroy or to weaken their fatal and deſtructive influence—I expect their honourable invectives; but who can fear the blame of thoſe whoſe eſteem would be an inſult? At this moment, the Jacobins are objects of contempt to all Europe, they have ſhewn all the baſeneſs of impotent wickedneſs, they have ſerved the cauſe of tyranny by employing criminal means in the ſervice of liberty. Licentiouſneſs, which may be called the liberty of vice, had never more zealous protectors. They have made amneſties ſucceed amneſties, as crimes have ſucceeded crimes. Let them tell the people then, where is their liberty in France?—One eſcapes from it as from a priſon.—Where is the conſtitution? The national aſſembly are inceſſantly violating it.—Where the reſpect to laws? The ruffians of Marſeilles aſſaſſinate the national guards at Paris.—For what, or for whom are our armies then to combat? Is it for liberty? The word is no longer underſtood among us.—Is it for the king? The aſſembly are debating to dethrone him.—Is it for the ſupport of our preſent ſituation? Our preſent ſituation is anarchy.—Is it for the Jacobin writers, who daily invite the ſoldiers to maſſacre their generals; or, is it * for that gloomy atrabilarian man, who, in the depth of his atrocious conceptions, had the

yielded, in hopes, if not of operating the good of the ſtate, at leaſt of retarding the evils which it was ſo eaſy to foreſee. He began by engaging the new miniſters to aſſemble frequently, to act more in concert together; the chiefs of the Jacobins were invited to this union, and by approaching nearer the adminiſtration, they began to feel the neceſſity of not deranging its ſprings—but no ſooner did this part of the Jacobins, who were become miniſterial, talk of enforcing reſpect to the laws and to property, than a ſchiſm was formed in their ſociety, and the Jacobins preſented ſuch a ſcene of diſorder and indecency as they themſelves were aſhamed of.

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* Abbè Sieyes.

barbarity to ſay, *that nobility will never be deſtroyed, ſo long as the nobles ſhall be ſuffered to exiſt?* By a ſingle word, he thus invited the nation to diſgrace itſelf by a ſecond St. Bartholomew. All France ſaw the poiſon of this execrable idea diſtilled through the journals of thoſe ſeditious writers, who have ſet themſelves above the fear of abſurdity. They have dared to ſay to the people, *that the few prieſts and nobles, who remain in France, will maſſacre the French: if you do not prevent them, they will prevent you.* This execrable counſel is yet without effect; but where is the indignation it ought to have produced?

Frenchmen, reflect!—He who to-day looks coolly on the plunder and maſſacre of his neighbour, may to-morrow offer the ſame ſpectacle to other eyes, that will behold it with the ſame indifference.

This chief of the Jacobins, aſtoniſhed not to find a readier ſubmiſſion in the *Seïdes*, of whom he is the prophet, pronounced publicly, *that it was time to change the proprietors.* I invite the inhabitants of all the cities in the kingdom, I invite all the farmers in the country to have the meaning of theſe words, *change the proprietors*, explained to them; and I beg them to aſk themſelves, where will be their reſources againſt the enterprizes of the Jacobins; with what forces they will be able to oppoſe them; what anſwer they will make to thoſe men, who, without any kind of property, prefer robbery to labour: when theſe men, I ſay, ſhall knock at their doors, and in a threatening tone ſhall ſay to them, 'Come out, it is our turn to enjoy your property, for we are all equal, and have the ſame right to all that covers the ſurface of the earth.' Frenchmen, prepare your anſwer, for the time is coming when the queſtion will be put to you. Say not then that the Jacobins have taken you unawares, that they have availed themſelves of your lethargy; no, they do not act like traitors. Hear what they ſay in all their clubs.—They all demand, that the payment of three days labour be no longer neceſſary to vote in the primary aſſemblies.—See the ſections of Paris: ſeveral of them have already admitted the non-active citizens, and the Jacobins in their journals have already menaced the richeſt tradeſmen; the ſilverſmiths of Paris are already pointed out. Such is our interior ſituation. The national aſſembly have declared, that the country is in danger.—Yes, undoubtedly, the country is in danger—let us then boldly attempt to diſcover the cauſes of it.

No party, for a long while paſt, ſeems to have deſired to preſerve the conſtitution: perhaps it is alſo impracticable, but hitherto the execution of it has never been fairly and entirely attempted.—The aſſembly, inſtead of ſtanding by the executive power, have put themſelves foremoſt, they have embarraſſed all its ſteps, clogged its motions, and uſurped all its reſponſibility.

That aſſembly, compoſed moſtly of men without any property, without education, without talents, and without principle, have ſhewn all the folly of pride. They have attributed to themſelves every power in the ſtate. They have rendered the miniſtry untenable; their committes, inſtead of aſſiſting the adminiſtration, have ſerved but to impede it. The committee of legiſlation have done nothing in favour of the public ſafety. They have propoſed laws that attack property; others, contrary to all judiciary principles, and others equally deſtructive of public and individual liberty. That of the finances, is the moſt dreadful of all. They have juſt the degree of penetration neceſſary to perceive the extreme danger of our ſituation, and are utterly incapable of providing the remedy. The military committee have not one man among them who has commanded a corps, or who has the experience of the means of diſcipline: beſides, they who diſplay the moſt talents, they who are the moſt intereſted in the preſervation of the army, are exactly thoſe whoſe counſels are leaſt attended to. The inquiſitorial committee of reſearches *(ſurveillance)* is the only one equal to its functions. I ſhall not ſpeak of the diplomatic committee: they made themſelves ſufficiently known under the miniſter Dumourier, and Europe at this day is witneſs to their common ſucceſs.

To divert the people from the errors of their committees, the aſſembly take great care to throw every thing on the executive power. But, the fact is, that they who govern are alone to be reſponſible; the fact is, that the committees govern, that they prepare laws deſtructive of all principle, while they retard or refuſe thoſe which are neceſſary to adminiſtration, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of public order.

It is to the conduct of the national aſſembly and of its committee, that the dangers of the country muſt be attributed. Let us now ſee what are the reſources which the aſſembly preſent to the people, let us ſee by what efforts of genius our legiſlators put themſelves on a level with the circumſtances; but here we muſt return to their maſters, we muſt repair again to the Jacobins.

The dangers of the country are attributed by one part of the Jacobins to the declaration of war. They forget that the Jacobins, and the Jacobin miniſters, were they who engaged the king to make the propoſal. I might then have ſeparated with one or two of my colleagues, and have quitted the miniſtry, but they would have attributed my retreat to an intrigue—I ſhould have committed the king without ſerving the ſtate; and the authors of the famous denunciation of the Auſtrian committee, would never have been ſo well ſerved. The Jacobins ſay now, that the war was declared before the army proviſions were ready; but I anſwer, that my offices were always open to the miniſter of foreign affairs, he had concerted with me, he knew the ſtate of all the preparations that had been ordered in my department; and beſides, if ammunition and ſtores had been wanting, how could our troops in the flight of Tournay and Mons have loſt camping effects for more than 15,000 men? one cannot loſe what one has not. That famous flight, owing partly to the leſſons our ſoldiers had received in the clubs, was attributed by the Jacobins to a treachery of the court.—According to them, the court had informed the enemy of the inſtructions of our generals; whereas theſe inſtructions, in which I would have no concern, were entirely drawn up by the miniſter of foreign affairs, inſerted in all the Jacobin papers, and arrived at Tournay ſome hours after the general had received them—but what avails the truth of facts to thoſe who are void of ſhame and probity, and who write for that claſs of people who are without diſcernment and without inſtruction?

The Jacobins, like all fanatical ſects, have adopted myſteries and ſacred words.—Their words are—the conquerors of the baſtile—the men of the 14th of July—the citizens of the ice-houſe of Avignon.—Famous heroes! whoſe exploits are pretty much like thoſe of the executioner. Their myſteries are, the dangers of the country, the nation riſing up all at once to aſſert its ſovereignty, the red cap, the pike of William Tell, the names of Brutus and Porſenna, the tree of liberty, the Federiſts, the brave people of Marſeilles, who aſſaſſinate the good Pariſians, the treachery of the generals, who, like Gouvion, go to get themſelves killed at the head of our troops, the better to conceal their perfidious intentions and their devotion to the Auſtrian committee, the exiſtence of which has been ſo well proved by this ridiculous reaſoning: an Auſtrian committee exiſts ſince every thing goes wrong in France, and ſince every thing goes wrong in France there exiſts then an Auſtrian committee. Such is the exact analyſis of the proofs ſo impudently promiſed to the public in that loud denunciation;—ſuch are the myſteries, the articles of faith, the ſymbols of the Jacobin religion.

The means diſcovered by the Jacobins to ſave the country in danger, have hitherto been confined to theſe:—The denunciation of miniſters, the propoſal of dethroning the king, the expedition of the 20th June, the impunity of the authors of that expedition, the menaces of aſſaſſinating the king, and the enliſting of ſeveral thouſands of vagabonds and boys, ſent to our armies under the name of recruits.—They know, however, what are the only reſources we have left.—They know that the abolition of their political aſſociations is the firſt ſtep towards making any government whatever practicable, but, faithful to the ſpirit of ſects, they conſent to the deſtruction of France, provided they reign ſome days longer over its ruins.

Such are, Mr. preſident, in the preſent circumſtances, my reflections, my opinions, and the motives of my conduct.—Perhaps there may ſtill be found ſome means to ſtop the foreign powers; but to attempt thoſe means, it would be neceſſary to attempt the execution of the conſtitution under new principles; it would be neceſſary to inveſt the king with all the authority that is allowed him by the conſtitutional act; to put a ſtop to the abuſes of popular aſſociations, to check the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, to make laws againſt libels, to prorogue the national aſſembly, but, above all, it would be neceſſary to be juſt and moderate—it is time.

As to what perſonally concerns me, I have not as a general quitted my poſt, as, ſince my retreat from the miniſtry, the unconſtitutional conduct of the legiſlative body has made me reject all employment, as I have refuſed all letters of ſervice, and conſequently all appointment. The accounts of my adminiſtration were given in three months ago, and no call has been made upon me on that head. I am in England—I am there, as I was before my miniſtry, without fortune, but without reproach. In exiling myſelf voluntarily from my country, I have carried with me the teſtimony of my conſcience, and the moſt profound

found averſion for thoſe who counſel crimes. I here diſcover to my fellow-citizens ſevere truths, which their flatterers conceal from them.

I ſhall return to France as ſoon as a party is formed determined to defend liberty, the king, individual ſafety, and the reſpect due to property.

Singular Decree of the Section Poiſſonniere.

A LETTER having been read from the rector of St. Laurent, inviting the aſſembly of that ſection to aſſiſt at the funeral ſervice performed in honour of our brethren, who fell on the 10th of Auguſt laſt; the aſſembly, perſuaded that it is at length time to ſpeak *the language of reaſon*, decreed the following anſwer:

The martyrs of liberty, our brave brethren, who fell on the 10th of Auguſt, have no need of being excuſed or recommended to a juſt, good, and merciful God; the blood which they have ſhed for their country effaces all their faults, and gives them a claim to the beneficence of the Deity.

What—ſhall we go and offer up our prayers to the Divinity, that he may not condemn our brethren to the puniſhment of eternal fire? This would be offering an inſult to him—it would be telling him that he is the moſt ferocious, the moſt abſurd, and the moſt ridiculous of all beings. God, Sir, is juſt: our brethren conſequently enjoy a perfect happineſs, which nothing can deſtroy: bad citizens alone can doubt it.

Shew us upon your altar-pieces the glorious victims of liberty, crowned with flowers, and occupying the place of St. Criſpin and St. Evenſin.

Subſtitute ſongs of liberty for the abſurd hymns aſcribed to that ferocious David — that crowned monſter — that Nero of the Hebrews, whoſe leaſt crime was his having aſſaſſinated a huſband, in order that he might ſleep more conveniently with his wife. We ſhall then unite with you in celebrating together that God, who imprinted on the heart of man that inſtinct which excites in him the love of liberty.

(Signed) DEVAUDICHON,
President.
TABOUET,
Secretary.

Account of the Maſſacres in France. *From the* Gentleman's Magazine *for* September 1792.

September 1.

THE municipality, thinking it neceſſary to ſtimulate the public mind by ſome ſtrong act, as well as to furniſh an example to other towns, paſſed the following reſolutions:

The barriers ſhall be immediately ſhut.

All horſes, fit for the ſervice of thoſe who are to go to the frontiers, ſhall be inſtantly ſeized.

All citizens ſhall hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning.

Citizens who, on account of their age or infirmities, are not able inſtantly to march, ſhall depoſit their arms at the ſections, to be given to ſuch citizens as cannot arm themſelves,

ſelves, and who may be deſirous to march to the frontiers.

All ſuſpected perſons, and thoſe who are ſo cowardly as to refuſe to march, ſhall be inſtantly diſarmed.

Twenty-four commiſſioners ſhall immediately proceed to the armies, to announce to them this reſolution; and to the neighbouring departments to invite the citizens to join their brethren at Paris, to march in a body to meet the enemy.

The military committee ſhall ſit permanently; they ſhall meet in the commons houſe, in the hall heretofore *de la Reine.*

The alarm-guns ſhall be immediately fired, and the *générale* ſhall be beat in all the ſections, to announce to the citizens the dangers of the country.

The national aſſembly, and the proviſionary executive power, ſhall be informed of this decree.

The members of the general council ſhall immediately repair to their reſpective ſections: announce there the diſpoſitions to be made by the preſent decree; and paint with energy, to all their fellow-citizens, the imminent dangers of their country, and the treachery with which they are ſurrounded or threatened. They ſhall repreſent to them, in the moſt forcible manner, that their liberty is in danger, and the French territories invaded. They ſhall likewiſe repreſent to them, that the intention of our enemies is to reduce us again to the moſt ignominious ſlavery; that we ought, rather than ſubmit to it, to bury ourſelves under the ruins of our country, and not to give up our towns till they have been converted to heaps of aſhes.

The preſent decree ſhall be immediately printed, publiſhed, and poſted up.

(Signed) Hugenin,
President.
Tallien,
Sec. Reg.

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, the *tocſin* was rung, the alarm-guns were fired, and the people ſoon aſſembled in very great numbers in the *Champ de Mars.* The municipal officers, on horſeback, and in their ſcarves, proclaimed in every quarter of the town, that "the country was in danger," and that it became all good citizens to fly to its relief. The people anſwered with loud huzzas, crying out, "Long live the nation! Liberty! Equality! Down with all tyrants!" Their minds were farther inflamed by a report that was induſtriouſly circulated, that the people were betrayed.

The mob proclaimed, in anſwer to the municipal officers, that they had no objection to fly to the frontiers to beat the foreign enemy, and they wiſhed nothing better; but, firſt, "they would purge the nation of its internal enemies." It was propoſed to go to the priſons of the *Abbaie,* where thoſe accuſed of high treaſon were principally confined; and to the *Carmes,* where the refractory prieſts were impriſoned. This idea ſeemed to be highly reliſhed; and, in conſequence, hordes of banditti flocked to theſe places, and demanded a liſt of the names of the perſons confined, and the nature of their crimes.

The national aſſembly, when they heard of what was paſſing without doors, ſent a deputation of twelve members to perſuade the mob to deſiſt. But it was all in vain—the maſſacre had begun, and their voices were drowned amidſt the ſhouts of the rabble. Not a ſingle perſon accuſed of high treaſon or theft, not a prieſt that was found, eſcaped this horrible ſlaughter. They were all butchered in cold blood; and M. de Montmorin, though he had been acquitted by a jury, was killed between the legs of one of the deputies, in attempting to eſcape.

Among other principal perſonages who fell victims in this ſlaughter, is the beautiful and accompliſhed princeſs de Lamballe.

An aged officer, of the king's former body-guard, ſome prieſts, and a reverend biſhop of the old ſchool, were about the ſame time taken up on ſuſpicion near the palace: they were about to be conducted to the municipality; but on their way, the mob choſe to take the law into their own hands, and hanged them *à la lanterne*.

The ſtreets have this morning exhibited a ſpectacle of the mangled bodies and heads of the prieſts who were yeſterday maſſacred; and the multitude who follow this cannibal-feaſt are ſinging choruſes expreſſive of their joy.

M. Sicard, teacher of the deaf and dumb, who was detained a priſoner at Carmes, wrote to the aſſembly, that, after ſeeing 17 prieſts, priſoners in the ſame place, butchered before his eyes, he had been ſaved from deſtruction by a citizen, named Monnot, who undeceived the people reſpecting him.

Another very ſhocking ſpectacle was exhibited this morning. Twenty prieſts, anxious to eſcape, preſented themſelves at one of the barriers to paſs. They were aſked for their paſſports. The prieſts, not having any, evaded giving an anſwer. A mob aſſembled in the mean time, and they were every man cut to pieces.

The number of clergy found in the Carmelite convent was about 220. They were handed out of the priſon-door two by two into the Rue Vaugerard, where their throats were cut. Their bodies were fixed on pikes, and exhibited to the wretched victims who were next to ſuffer. The mangled bodies of others are piled againſt the houſes in the ſtreets; and, in the quarters of Paris near to which the priſons are, the carcaſes remain ſcattered in hundreds, diffuſing peſtilence all around.

September 2.

The counteſs de Chevre, with her five children, the oldeſt not eleven years of age, were maſſacred at her houſe, *Rue de Bacq*, on the 3d, and their bodies expoſed before the door. The children were firſt aſſaſſinated before the eyes of their parent. She bore this infernal ſight with a fortitude almoſt ſupernatural; ſhe embraced the bleeding head of the youngeſt, and met her fate with heroic contempt. The wretches firſt cut off the arms that ſuſtained her laſt ſad comfort, and then ſevered her head from her body.

In the ſame ſtreet, an old Swiſs gentleman, M. d'Aubert, who before the revolution had ſome place under government, was thrown alive into a fire kindled of the furniture belonging to the different hotels of the emigrants. Thrice he ran from the flames, and as often was driven back: at laſt, with their pikes, the ſanguinary monſters pinned him there, and, inſultingly demanding him to ſing *ça ira*, danced around the fire, ſinging themſelves, in the true ſpirit of North-American ſavages. He was near 70 years old.

An incident ſtill more ſhocking I muſt now relate, as it diſplays the progreſs of this helliſh hatred in breaſts by time intended only to be filled with innocence and love.

Grunault and his wife lived in the *Rue Jacob*—he was a grocer—the mob aſſaſſinated them both. Provident of their children, though hopeleſs of their own ſafety, they had ſent them to a friend's houſe in their neighbourhood, that if poſſible they might be ſaved.—They were met however by 30 or 40 children, who were going, as they ſaid, to diſpatch all the young ariſtocrates. They attacked the ſervant who was going with them, beat the poor children with their ſticks, and finally with their pen-knives cut off their heads. The poor murdered children were four and ſix years old: and no one of the accurſed fiends who diſpatched them, I am confident, was above twelve.

Stupified with horror at ſuch unheard-of wickedneſs, I was hurried along thus with the mob from bad to worſe; and had occaſion to obſerve every where not the ſlighteſt expreſſion of concern, much leſs horror, in the faces of the people; and the women cried out to theſe infant furies—

'*Bravo! mes Enfans! — Ah! quel plaiſir pour leurs parens, d'avoir des Enfans déjà ſi bons Patriotes! Jugez ce qu'ils ſeront dans quelques années.*'

Bravo, children!—What comfort it muſt be to parents, to have their children already ſuch excellent Patriots! Judge what they will prove by and by.

By Tueſday at noon, I am confident 10,000 perſons had been ſacrificed. In the ſtreet Mont-martre the blood flowed down the kennel as water does after ſeveral days rain.

Many, with courage ſurely juſtifiable, gave themſelves a death that approached more terrible in the garb of thoſe aſſaſſins.

The marchioneſs de la Force d'Arville, in Grenelle-ſtreet, was found hanging with her daughter. The mob, thus diſappointed, cut the lifeleſs bodies into pieces. M. Robert, a Swiſs merchant, his wife, mother, and three children, poiſoned themſelves:—they were all dead, except the wife, who lived to ſee the ſhameleſs cruelties exerciſed upon her family.—The wretches tore out her tongue, becauſe ſhe refuſed to anſwer the indecent queſtions they put to her.

Paris is not the only place where the infernal ſpirit of perſecution ſpread itſelf; for a maſſacre ſimilar to that at Paris took place at Rheims; and a once humane people, changed with ungovernable licentiouſneſs and deſpair, is provoked into deliberate ſlaughter more cruel than ever ſtained the ferocity of ſavage nature. Among thoſe killed are M. Montloſier, formerly the king's lieutenant at Liſle; the Abbé Lacondamine, formerly grand vicar to the *ci-devant* archbiſhop of Rheims; the Abbé Romai, formerly chaplain and vicar of St. Jacques in the city; and the Abbé Alexandre.

The town of Meaux has alſo been the theatre of bloody ſcenes. Seven refractory prieſts, as well as ſeveral individuals confined in the priſons of that place for various crimes, have, in a ſummary manner, been ſacrificed to the brutal vengeance of the people.

At Caen violent commotions have taken place: M. Bayeux, procureur ſyndic of the department of Calvados, formerly ſecretary to M. Neckar, has been inhumanly cut to pieces.

The archbiſhop of Lyons has been arreſted. Papers, it is ſaid, have been found in his poſſeſſion, which afforded a proof of his having carried on a correſpondence with the emigrants.

M. Barnave has been put to death in the priſon of Grenoble.

There are melancholy accounts of the maſſacre of the ſtate priſoners confined at Orleans. In vain had the aſſembly iſſued its feeble order to ſave them; for, as government had taken no vigorous meaſures either to prevent or puniſh the horrors of Paris, the mob were delivered from all the reſtraints of fear, and gave the moſt ſavage licence to their thirſt of revenge.

On the 8th inſtant, at three o' clock in the afternoon, the priſoners from Orleans arrived at Verſailles, with an eſcort of 2000 men and ſix pieces of cannon. When they reached the Place d'Armes, the people appeared in great numbers, and by their geſtures and threats indicated their determined reſolution to commit ſome outrage.

Their fury, however, was for ſome time reſtrained; but when the priſoners, who amounted to fifty-four in number, arrived at the gate de l'Orangerie, the people ruſhed upon the guards, overpowered them by their numbers, tore from them the unhappy victims, whom they in vain attempted to protect, and, abandoning themſelves to the frenzy of their political enthuſiaſm, butchered the whole of them except two.

The biſhop of Maudes, M. de Briſſac, M. de Deſſait, M. d'Abancourt, thirty-ſix officers taken at Perpignan, &c. were among thoſe aſſaſſinated.

Letter written by the Municipality of Paris, *to all the other Municipalities of* France, *and circulated under the Counter-ſign of* Danton, *Miniſter of Juſtice, ſoon after the foregoing Maſſacres.*

Brothers and Friends,

A TERRIBLE conſpiracy having been entered into by the court to deſtroy all the patriots in the French empire, in which plot a great number of the members of the national aſſembly were concerned, obliged the common council of the city of Paris to have recourſe to the power of the people, in order to ſave the nation. Nothing has been neglected by us, and the aſſembly itſelf has rendered honourable teſtimony of our conduct. But who would have thought, after that, that new conſpiracies, not leſs atrocious, were planned in ſilence? They broke out at the moment when the national aſſembly, forgetting the merits of the municipality, was going to diſſolve it as a reward for its civiſm. At that news, public clamours aroſe from all parts, and made the aſſembly feel the urgent neceſſity of uniting itſelf with the people, and reſtoring the municipality to its former power.

Proud of having thus obtained fully the national confidence, which we ſhall always ſtrive to deſerve more and more; placed in the center of all the conſpiracies, we ſhall not be fully ſatisfied with our conduct until we ſhall have obtained your approbation, the object of all our views, and which we ſhall not think ourſelves certain of poſſeſſing, until all the departments ſhall have ſanctioned the meaſures which we have taken to ſave the nation.

Profeſſing the pureſt principles of the moſt perfect equality, deſiring no other privilege than that of being the firſt to immolate ourſelves for the good of our country, we ſhall be ready to put ourſelves on a level with the ſmalleſt municipality of the ſtate, the moment that our country ſhall have nothing more to fear from the multitudes of ferocious enemies who approach the capital.

We, the commons of Paris, haſten to inform our brothers and friends of all the departments, that a part of the ferocious conſpirators detained in the priſons, has been put to death by the people, an act of juſtice which appeared to them indiſpenſable to keep in awe thoſe legions of traitors who are concealed within our walls, at the moment when the patriots were about to march againſt the enemy; nor do we doubt that the whole nation will adopt the meaſure, which was ſo neceſſary for the public ſafety, after ſo long a train of treaſons had conducted us to the brink of the abyſs, and that every Frenchman will cry out with the Pariſians, let us march againſt the enemy, but do not let us leave behind us traitors who will murder our wives and children. Friends and brothers, we expect that ſome of you will come to our aſſiſtance, and help us to repulſe the numerous legions of tyrants, who have ſworn the deſtruction of the French. We ſhall jointly ſave our country, and we ſhall owe you the praiſe of having ſaved it from the brink of ruin.

(Signed)

The adminiſtrators of the committee of public ſafety, and the adminiſtrators adjoined, Pierre Duplain, Panis, Serjent, l'Infant, Jourdaill, Marat l'ami du peuple, de Torgas, le Clerc, Dufortre, Celly, conſtituted by the commons of Paris, and ſitting at the houſe of the mayor of Paris.

Account of the Robbery of the French *Jewel Office, in* September 1792, *and of the Diamonds and other Jewels of the* French *Crown there kept.*

National Assembly.

September 17.

M. ROLAND, miniſter for the home department, informed the aſſembly, that in the courſe of the laſt night, between the hours of two and three, a ſet of deſperate ruffians, to the number of thirty or forty, had robbed the jewel-office in the *gards meuble nationale.* Two of theſe villains had been arreſted, but the reſt had carried away the diamonds, and the moſt valuable part of the national property. A patrole of ten men poſted at the convent des Feuillans purſued them, but they were not able to attack them, as they were much more numerous and better armed.—Referred to the committee of domains.

The miniſter for the home department returned to the aſſembly, and informed them, that the two thieves who had been arreſted, gave ſuch anſwers to the queſtions put to them, as plainly indicated that they were connected with people of ſome rank.—He ſaid, they had mentioned ſeveral perſons as their accomplices. After giving this information, the miniſter ſaid,

"Gentlemen, this crime is connected with others which are now in agitation. The bulk of the people at Paris are at preſent quiet, but attempts are made to agitate them, and to inſpire them with gloomy terror. Falſe reports of victories and defeats are every day ſpread. Enthuſiaſtic declaimers incite them to murder; and ſome of theſe declamations are even made in the electoral aſſembly of Paris. The agents of government are vilified—they cry out that the axe is ſtill lifted up—they ſpeak of the Agrarian law, and of an equal diviſion of property; and they threaten to put to death all thoſe deputies who voted for La Fayette.

"The robbery which has been committed in the jewel-office will furniſh enough to pay for a long time the partizans of this ſyſtem of rapine, murder, and proſcription.

"Gentlemen, I told you ten days ago, and under the preſent circumſtances days are equal to ages, our internal enemies have no ſtrength but in their audacity: let the good citizens only riſe for one moment, and the bad citizens will be annihilated. If the national aſſembly aſſume their proper powers they will ſave Paris and France from being torn to pieces."

Diamonds and Jewels of the French Crown.

The conſtituent national aſſembly of France by their decrees of the 26th and 27th of May, and of the 22d of June, 1791, appointed commiſſioners to form an inventory of the diamonds, pearls, precious ſtones, pictures, ſtatues, and other monuments of art, exiſting in the *garde meuble* of the French king. The inventory, and the report of theſe commiſſioners, who were M. Bion, Chriſtin, and Delatre, is of great length, and contains a particular deſcription and valuation of all the articles ſubmitted to them.

The whole number of the diamonds found by them was 9,547, being more by 3,576 than were found in 1774. The new ones were chiefly ſmall diamonds, purchaſed for the buttons and ſword of the king; and their value was ſo much leſs than one article, not accounted for, of the inventory made in 1774, and of ſeveral others, which had been ſold, that the preſent inventory exhibits a deficit of 127,906 livres. The encreaſed value of the ſetting, however, recompenſed for this diminution in the value of the diamonds; and the keepers of them were exempted from any imputation, as to the article loſt from the inventory of 1774, by a *bon* of the king, dated March 13, 1785, transferring that diamond to the queen, who had made it up into an head-dreſs with ſeveral others. The commiſſioners did not think it proper to break this head-dreſs for the purpoſe of reclaiming the diamond.

The pearls of the crown are in number five hundred and thirteen, of which four hundred and eighty are not ſet, and thirty-three are placed in ſome ornaments worn by the queen, which were ſhewn to the commiſſioners.

The rubies are two hundred and thirty, of which number an hundred and forty-five are not mounted, and eighty-five are placed in the epaulette, golden fleece, and coloured croſs of the order worn by the king.

The topazes are ſeventy-one, of which only three are mounted, and thoſe are placed in the coloured croſs, worn by the king.

There are an hundred and fifty emeralds, of which number only ſeventeen are ſet, and theſe are placed in the coloured chain of one of the king's watches.

There are an hundred and thirty-four ſaphirs, three oriental amethyſts, and eight Syrian granates.

Of the diamonds, one, called the Regent, of the weight of 146 carats, is eſtimated at 12 millions of French livres, or more than 500,000l. ſterling. Several others are eſtimated at one, two, or three hundred thouſand livres, and the total of the diamonds is 16,730,403 livres, or more than ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

The beſt pearl is eſtimated at 200,000 livres, or leſs than nine thouſand pounds ſterling; and the worſt at 300 livres. The total value of pearls is 996,700 livres, or about forty thouſand pounds ſterling.

The beſt ruby is eſtimated at 50,000 livres, and the worſt at 50 livres; the beſt topaz is eſtimated at 6000 livres, and the worſt at 150; the beſt emerald at 12,000 livres, and the worſt at 150; the beſt ſaphir is eſtimated at 100,000 livres, the ſecond beſt at 6000, the next at 3000, and the worſt at 120; the beſt amethyſt at 6000 livres, the worſt at 200; the beſt granite at 12,000 livres, the worſt at 200; the total value of the coloured ſtones is 360,604 livres, or about fifteen thouſand pounds.

The diamonds above-mentioned are ſeparate from thoſe made up into different ornaments for the king's uſe, the value of which latter is 5,834,490 livres, or more than two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. The total value of the diamonds, pearls, coloured ſtones, and diamond ornaments of the king's dreſs, is 23,922,197 livres, or about one million ſterling.

Caſe of the ſuffering Clergy of France, *Refugees in the* Britiſh *Dominions.*

(*Suppoſed to have been drawn up by Mr.* Burke, *and diſtributed in* September 1792.)

IT is well known that a cruel and inhuman perſecution is now, and hath for ſome time paſt been carried on by a faction of atheiſts, infidels, and other perſons of evil principles and diſpoſitions, calling themſelves philoſophers, againſt our brethren, the chriſtians of France.

In this perſecution, a vaſt multitude of perſons of all ages, ſexes, and conditions, and particularly the clergy, have ſuffered in a grievous manner. Many of them have been, with circumſtances of great barbarity and outrage put to death, and their bodies, according to the cuſtoms lately prevalent in France, treated with ſavage indignities.

Several women, of whom ſome were of rank, dedicated to religion, in the peculiar exerciſe of a ſublime charity, by an attendance upon the ſick in hoſpitals, have been ſtripped naked, and in public barbarouſly ſcourged. Thouſands of other reſpectable religious women, moſtly engaged in the education of perſons of their own ſex, and other laudable occupations, have been deprived of their eſtates, and expelled from their houſes, in which they had purchaſed a property by the portions given to them by their parents. Theſe reſpectable women are many of them far advanced in years, and labouring under great infirmities; the major part are at or near the declining period of life, and all are utterly inconverſant in the affairs of the world, and in the means of procuring themſelves any ſubſiſtence. They by whoſe charity they ſcantily ſubſiſted, under every ſpecies of inſult, vexation, and oppreſſion, before their expulſion from their houſes by the cruelty of the philoſophic faction, are now, for the moſt part, themſelves obliged to fly their country, or are reduced to almoſt an equal degree of penury with thoſe they had been accuſtomed to relieve.

Many thouſands of the parochial clergy, after having been driven from their livings and houſes, and robbed of their legal property, have been deprived of the wretched penſions which had been by public faith ſtipulated to be paid to them when that robbery and expulſion were ordered; and have been expoſed to periſh by famine. Others, in very great numbers, have been arbitrarily thrown into unwholeſome and incommodious priſons, and kept there for a long time without any redreſs, againſt all law, and againſt the direct orders of the ſupreme magiſtrate of their new conſtitution, whoſe duty it was to ſee that no illegal puniſhment ſhould be executed.

At length, after a tedious impriſonment (ſuffered with a mildneſs, a patience, and a conſtancy, which have not been denied by their very perſecutors, whoſe rage and malice, however, theſe examples of chriſtian virtue have failed in the leaſt degree to mitigate) the municipal bodies, or the factious clubs who appoint and guide them, have by their proper authority tranſported into a foreign kingdom a conſiderable number of the ſaid priſoners in ſlave ſhips.

At the ſame time, all the reſt of the clergy, who by lying hid, or flying from place to place, have hitherto eſcaped confinement; and endeavoured in private to worſhip God according to their conſciences and the ancient fundamental laws of their country, are hunted out like wild beaſts; and a decree of the national aſſembly itſelf has now ordered them, in terms the moſt inſulting and atrocious ever uſed by any public aſſembly, to quit the kingdom within fifteen days, without the leaſt preparation and proviſion, or, together with thoſe impriſoned and not yet exiled, to be inſtantly tranſported to the moſt wild, uncultivated, and peſtiferous part of the whole globe; that is to Guiana in South America.

All this has been done without calling upon one ſingle perſon, of the many thouſands ſubject to this ſevere and iniquitous ſentence, as well as to all the cruel preceding oppreſſions, to anſwer to any ſpecified offence or charge whatſoever.

Several of the ſaid clergy (ſome of whom are aged and infirm perſons) to avoid impriſonment and the other various vexations above mentioned, and, in many caſes, to prevent the commiſſion of further crimes in the deſtruction of their reſpective flocks for their attachment to their paſtors, have been obliged to fly their country, and to take refuge in the Britiſh dominions, where their general exemplary behaviour has greatly added to the compaſſion excited by their unmerited ſufferings.

They have hitherto received charitable aſſiſtance from the voluntary bounty of ſome worthy individuals; but this reſource becoming daily more and more inadequate to the increaſing number and wants of thoſe whoſe ſufferings claim relief, it has been propoſed to open a general ſubſcription in their favour; eſpecially as at the preſent moment the effect of the late horrid decree muſt be expected to render ſuch a meaſure more than ever neceſſary.

It is confidently hoped, that a difference in religious perſuaſion will not ſhut the hearts of the Engliſh public againſt their ſuffering brethren, the chriſtians of France; but that all true ſons of the church of England, all true ſubjects of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who are not aſhamed, in this time of apoſtaſy or prevarication, to confeſs their obedience to and imitation of their divine Maſter in their charity to their ſuffering brethren of all denominations—it is hoped, that all perſons who from the inbred ſentiments of a generous nature, cultivate the virtues of humanity—it is hoped that all perſons attached to the cauſe of religious and civil liberty, as it is connected with law and order—it is hoped that all theſe will be gratified in having an opportunity of contributing to the ſupport of theſe worthy ſufferers in the cauſe of honour, virtue, loyalty and religion.

They who propoſe this ſubſcription are very much encouraged in their hopes from the public munificence, in recollecting that on a former diſtinguiſhed occaſion, our national charity was not confined to our own country, but that a large ſum of money was ſent from England to the ſufferers in the earthquake at Liſbon—though Portugal is itſelf an opulent and powerful nation, in a great degree ſufficient to all its own neceſſities.

There is another caſe of a ſtill ſtronger and nearer example. During the war which ended in 1763, the charity and humanity of the Engliſh nation diſtinguiſhed itſelf by a liberal ſubſcription for the French priſoners; though France was then in open war with Great Britain, and moſt of theſe priſoners were taken in various acts of hoſtility againſt this nation. We forgot the hoſtility of the enemy, and only thought of the calamity of the priſoner.

We truſt that ſuch of our countrymen as were then alive, are ſtill mindful of their former virtue; and that the generation which has ſucceeded, is emulous of the good actions of their forefathers.

The gentlemen for whom this ſubſcription is propoſed have never been guilty of any ill deſign againſt us. They have fled for refuge to this ſanctuary. They are here under the ſacred protection of hoſpitality.—Engliſhmen who cheriſh the virtue of hoſpitality, and who do not wiſh an hard and ſcanty conſtruction of its laws, will not think it enough that ſuch gueſts are in ſafety from the violence of their own countrymen, while they periſh from our neglect.

Theſe reſpectable ſufferers are much greater objects of compaſſion than ſoldiers and mariners, men profeſſionally formed to hardſhips and the viciſſitudes of life—our ſufferers are men of peaceful, ſtudious, uniform habits; in a courſe of life entered into upon proſpects and proviſions held out by the laws, and by all men reputed certain. Perhaps of all perſons in the world, they had the leaſt reaſon to look for impriſonment, exile and famine. Engliſhmen will not argue crime from misfortune. They will have an awful feeling of the uncertain nature of all human proſperity. Theſe men had their eſtabliſhments too: they were protected by laws; they were endowed with revenues. They had houſes, they had eſtates. And it is but the other day that theſe very perſons diſtributed alms in their own country, for whom, in their extreme neceſſities, alms are now requeſted in a foreign land.

N. B.—A committee will ſhortly be appointed to the management of this buſineſs ſo far as the collection is concerned. But it is propoſed that the worthy prelate the biſhop of St. Pol de Leon be requeſted to take upon him the diſtribution of the money that may be collected, as the ſufferers are all addreſſed to him; as he has hitherto diſtributed the private ſuccours; and is a better judge than any of us can be of the neceſſities of the perſons, and the proportions of the relief to be adminiſtered.

Since the drawing up of this caſe, many hundred of the clergy have been maſſacred at Paris, with the venerable archbiſhop of Arles, a prelate the greateſt ornament of the Gallican church in virtue and knowledge; and four other eminent and worthy biſhops, at their head. Some biſhops, and a conſiderable number of the clergy are arrived, and are daily and almoſt hourly arriving, ſince that horrible ſlaughter.

[*⁎* A meeting was ſoon after called, and a committee appointed, of which John Wilmot, Eſq. one of the maſters in chancery, was chairman. The ſubſcription raiſed amounted to a ſum highly honourable to the charity and munificence of the Engliſh nation. A large ſubſcription was alſo raiſed by another committee of gentlemen, who diſtributed relief both to the diſtreſſed laity and clergy, but chiefly to the laity.]

Three Letters of Dr. Prieſtley, *reſpecting his Election to the National Convention, aſſembled for the Trial of the King, and alluding to the late Maſſacres.*

National Convention.

Friday, September 28th.

M. RABAUD read the following letter from Dr. Prieſtley to the electoral aſſembly of the department of l'Orne, which had elected him as their deputy to the national convention.

Letter from Dr. Prieſtley.

September 21, 1792,
4th Year of Liberty.

SIR,

I have juſt received, and conſider as a very diſtinguiſhed honour, the invitation of your department to ſit in the approaching national convention of France. Such an office is certainly at this time of the utmoſt importance on the theatre of the world, as the peace and happineſs not only of your country, but of all Europe, and perhaps of the whole human race, are very particularly intereſted in every thing which may be decided in that aſſembly; but my imperfect knowledge of your language, local circumſtances, and the important duties of my preſent ſituation, prevent me from accepting your invitation. Beſides, my ſtudies having been principally directed towards philoſophy and theology, and not particularly towards legiſlation, little could be expected from me in reſpect to that ſcience; but in every caſe in which my abilities will permit me to advance an opinion of any weight, it ſhall always be at their ſervice, through the medium of my friend and correſpondent Français, who is alſo choſen a member of the conventional aſſembly.

As a miniſter of religion, the object of my moſt ardent deſires is your happineſs. I ſincerely pray, that the Supreme Being, the father and friend of mankind, whoſe providence directs all events, may deſtroy the machinations of your enemies, and put an end to the troubles with which you are now agitated: and may he give a ſpeedy and happy eſtabliſhment to your affairs!

I offer up this prayer both as a Frenchman and an Engliſhman, ſince we have at length made the happy diſcovery ſo long kept a ſecret only by the ambition of courts, that France and England, neighbouring nations, have an equal intereſt in being friends with each other. I am, &c.

J. PRIESTLEY.

The ſame deputy alſo read two other letters from Dr. Prieſtley. The one was to the national convention; the other was an anſwer to a letter ſent him by M. Roland, informing him of his election.

Copy of the Letter ſent by Dr. Prieſtley *to the National Convention.*

Gentlemen,

I have juſt received from M. Français the information of my being admitted a citizen of France by the late aſſembly, and of my nomination to the national convention, by the department of Orne. Both theſe appointments I conſider as the greateſt of honours that can be conferred on me, whilſt France, in conferring them on ſtrangers (though in my caſe ſhe has been led to over-rate the merit of an individual), has ſhown a generous diſpoſition, to aſſociate all nations in the common cauſe of liberty, and the rights of man.

The honour of citizenſhip I gratefully accept for myſelf, as I did for my ſon. We will both endeavour to diſcharge the duties of good citizens of France, without violating any that are due to our native country, which I truſt will henceforth be united with you (as it is our beſt intereſt) in the ſtricteſt bonds of fraternal concord. But the honour of the important appointment to the national convention I muſt beg leave to decline, from the full conviction that I have of my incapacity to diſcharge all its duties. In the liſt of theſe deficiencies I might enumerate my imperfect knowledge of the language, and my ignorance of the local circumſtances of the country, and moſt of all, that by my acceptance of the office I ſhall exclude ſome other perſon who muſt be ſo much better inſtructed than myſelf in theſe, as he may be in other eſſential and moſt important reſpects.

Whilſt then I am compelled to decline the acceptance of this dignified ſituation, may I preſume to take the advantage which my rank of citizen gives me, to offer to you occaſionally, my opinions on ſome of the intereſting ſubjects which muſt neceſſarily come before you? As a citizen of the world, your liberality would embolden me: as a citizen of France, your adoption invites me. I cannot remain an unintereſted obſerver; and as my diſtance will allow me to view ſometimes with more calmneſs thoſe ſcenes in which you will be buſily engaged, permit me, through ſome channel, to ſuggeſt hypothetically the reſult of my obſervations, which ſhall be offered in the true ſpirit of affection and patriotiſm, however defective they may be in information and judgment.

Conſidering your revolution as a new and moſt important æra in the hiſtory of man, I cannot ſufficiently expreſs the concern which I feel at this eventful moment for its ſucceſs. The national convention is not going to legiſlate for France alone, but for Europe and the world. On its ſucceſs the happineſs of mankind is ſuſpended. It were ſuperfluous to urge any other motive than the extent and ſacredneſs of the truſt. This ſavage conſpiracy of tyrants cannot inflict a wound, they will rather ſerve to haſten the progreſs of liberty, which ſedition, lawleſs violence, and internal diſcord only can now arreſt, and if continued, muſt inevitably deſtroy.

I remain,
With ſentiments of eſteem
and veneration,
Your brother and fellow-citizen,
JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

Copy of Dr. Prieſtley's *Letter to* M. Roland.

SIR,

I am much affected by the unequivocal mark of confidence, with which a portion of the French nation has honoured me, by appointing me one of the members of your approaching national convention; and, as I have learned this nomination by your interference, it ſeems that I ought by the ſame means to return my anſwer here incloſed.

Permit me, ſir, to ſeize this occaſion of expreſſing how much I admire your conduct, eſpecially your excellent diſcourſes, and the wiſdom with which you have acted in the laſt troubles of Paris! You cannot conceive how much pain theſe irregular and illegal actions have occaſioned to all the friends of your revolution in this country, and how much our enemies triumph. Certainly, if a reſtraint is not immediately given to ſuch great outrages done againſt juſtice and humanity; and, if a legiſlative aſſembly, freely choſen by the nation, cannot command the reſpect of that nation itſelf; we may deſpair of the cauſe of liberty, not only in France, but in all Europe, and that after having formed the moſt flattering hopes.

Continue, dear ſir, to uſe all

your efforts in combating your dangerous enemies, who are in the interior of the ſtate, while your armies combat thoſe without; but the taſk of your miniſtry is in my opinion the moſt difficult to be fulfilled.

(Signed) J. Priestley.

Theſe letters were much applauded, and ordered to be inſcribed in the *proces verbal*; and in anſwer to his letter, addreſſed to the aſſembly, the preſident was charged to inform him, that the convention would receive with pleaſure any reflections which he might be pleaſed to tranſmit to them.

Letter from the German *Poet* Klopſtock *to the National Convention of* France.

Moderators of the French empire!

I SEND back to you with horror thoſe titles of which I was ſo proud, while I could think that they united me to a ſociety of brothers and friends to humanity. Alas! the deception is but too ſoon vaniſhed away, and moſt afflicting reality is come, to put an end to a deluſive dream. Alas! I had vainly imagined, that from the diſtant borders of the Seine that light ſhould come, which would one day give an eclat to the happy reign of liberty amongſt European nations.

Why have you deceived me? *Your rights of man were only a ſnare laid to make Frenchmen fall, that they might be the more eaſily aſſaſſinated.* Learn, then, that the exceſs of your barbariſm and of your crimes has placed an eternal barrier between you and the poets of happy Germany. When they are told thoſe tragical adventures which diſgrace your ſanguinary hiſtory, they are affrighted and fly away. There is no connection now between us, you have broken for ever the laſt of the bands which connected us together.

I pity thoſe who call themſelves citizens, and who ſhed torrents of the blood of citizens. O crime! when they have ſhed blood they dance around their victim; they contemplate with a dry eye the laſt convulſion; they approach nearer to indulge their ears with the laſt groan.

Frenchmen! I turn away with affright from that impious troop which is guilty of aſſaſſination, by looking on the peaceable witneſſes of murder. I fly far off from the cries of that execrable tribunal, which murders, not only the victim, but which murders alſo the *mercy* of the people.

PROCEEDINGS OF VARIOUS SOCIETIES, RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIRS OF FRANCE.

Proceedings of the REVOLUTION SOCIETY, *publiſhed by themſelves in* 1792.—*The Paſſages and Words in* Italics *are ſo diſtinguiſhed in their own Publication.*

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

London Tavern, Nov. 4, 1789.

THE report from the committee was brought up.

"Your committee are perſuaded, that by the union of the friends of freedom, their rights are aſcertained and eſtabliſhed: and truſting that it will be highly honourable

to

to avow themſelves, in the moſt explicit manner, advocates for the pure and genuine principles of civil and religious liberty, they have with this view prepared a book, in which thoſe gentlemen who are inclined to let their names be tranſmitted to poſterity, as the friends of the great and glorious revolution of 1688, may inſert them after the following preamble, and a declaration of aſſent to the three following propoſitions."

PREAMBLE.

This ſociety, ſenſible of the important advantages ariſing to this country by its deliverance from popery and arbitrary power; and conſcious that, under God, we owe that ſignal bleſſing to the revolution, which ſeated our deliverer king William the Third on the throne; do hereby declare our firm attachment to the civil and religious principles which were recognized and eſtabliſhed by that glorious event, and which has preſerved the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line: and our determined reſolution to maintain, and, to the utmoſt of our power, to perpetuate thoſe bleſſings to the lateſt poſterity.

THREE PROPOSITIONS,

Containing the fundamental principles of the Society.

I. That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.

II. That the abuſe of power juſtifies reſiſtance.

III. That the right of private judgment, liberty of conſcience, trial by jury, the freedom of the preſs, and the freedom of election, ought ever to be held ſacred and inviolable.

The Committee farther reſolved,

That in order to cauſe the principles of the revolution to be well underſtood, extenſively propagated, and firmly maintained; and to preſerve the glorious fabric of the Britiſh conſtitution; and to tranſmit the invaluable bleſſings of public freedom to poſterity, unimpaired and improved, it becomes the people to eſtabliſh ſocieties throughout the kingdom upon revolution principles, to maintain a correſpondence with each other, and to form that grand concentrated union of the true friends of public liberty, which may be neceſſary to maintain its exiſtence.

The committee concluded their report with congratulating the members of the ſociety, as men, Britons, and citizens of the world, upon that noble ſpirit of civil and religious liberty which had ſince the laſt meeting ſo conſpicuouſly ſhone forth on the continent, more eſpecially on the glorious ſucceſs of the French revolution; and with expreſſing their ardent wiſhes that the influence of ſo glorious an example may be felt by all mankind, until tyranny and deſpotiſm ſhall be ſwept from the face of the globe, and univerſal liberty and happineſs prevail.

Dr. Price *then* moved, and it was *unanimouſly* reſolved, That the following congratulatory addreſs to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE, be tranſmitted to them, ſigned by the chairman:

"The ſociety for commemorating the REVOLUTION in GREAT

"BRITAIN, diſdaining national partialities, and rejoicing in every triumph of liberty and juſtice over arbitrary power, offer to the national aſſembly of France their congratulations on the revolution in that country, and on the proſpect it gives to the two firſt kingdoms in the world, of a common participation in the bleſſings of civil and religious liberty.

"They cannot help adding their ardent wiſhes of an happy ſettlement of ſo important a revolution, and at the ſame time expreſſing the particular ſatisfaction with which they reflect on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to aſſert the *unalienable* rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make the world free and happy.

"STANHOPE."

Reſolved unanimouſly,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Reverend Dr. Price, for his excellent ſermon preached this day, and that he be requeſted to publiſh the ſame, together with *that part* which, for want of time and ſtrength, he did not deliver.

Extracts from the Votes at a General Meeting of the Revolution Society, held at the London Tavern, July 20, 1790.

Reſolved unanimouſly,

That this ſociety rejoice in the *complete* ſucceſs of the late glorious revolution in France, and look back with peculiar ſatisfaction on their congratulatory addreſs to the national aſſembly of FRANCE, at the laſt anniverſary dinner, the 4th of November 1789, preſented at a time when ſome of its *beſt* FRIENDS were doubtful of the event, and its *enemies* were anticipating its defeat, and defaming it with the fouleſt aſperſions.

That this meeting do conſider the correſpondence which has been maintained by the committee, in the name of the ſociety, with the patiots of France, as highly honourable to this ſociety and to the national character; and they truſt it will produce the happieſt effects, in continuing the friendſhip that ſubſiſts between the two countries—and in animating the ſons of freedom to aſſert their rights—among all the nations of the earth.

At a very numerous Anniverſary Meeting, held at the London Tavern, Nov. 4, 1790, the Rev. Dr. Richard Price in the Chair.

After dinner the Secretary read the following report from the COMMITTEE:

Gentlemen,

With the higheſt ſatisfaction your COMMITTEE come forward to report their general proceedings ſince your laſt anniverſary, together with the anſwer of the national aſſembly of France to your addreſs of that day, conveyed in a manner highly flattering to this ſociety, and containing ſentiments that reflect the greateſt honour on that auguſt body, which was conveyed in the moſt reſpectful manner by their preſident, the archbiſhop of AIX.

"We have alſo received the warmeſt marks of approbation and reſpect from various patriotic ſocieties in France, aſſociated under the title of "THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION," at the following cities and towns, viz. Aix, Alais, Amiens, Calais, Chalon-ſur-Saone, Creſey, Cherbourg, Dijon, Lille, La Rochelle, L'Orient, Montargis, Montpelier, Nantes, Paris, Pontoiſe, Straſburg, Toulouſe and Vire; together with many preſents (from different ſocieties and private perſons on the continent) of literary works favourable to the great intereſts of general liberty, which were conveyed in a very reſpectful manner to the ſociety, and which may be ſeen on application to the ſecretary.

But the very diſtinguiſhed manner in which your conduct has been noticed by the ſociety at Nantes, merits a more particular and marked attention. Language is wanting fully to repreſent to you the noble enthuſiaſm which took place on the day of a feſtival, celebrated in Auguſt laſt in that city, to which every Engliſhman reſident therein, and in the neighbouring towns, was invited; nor can we better deſcribe the ardour of that day, than by reciting to you a tranſlation of the ſpeech of Monſ. Français, their preſident, which gave riſe to the celebration itſelf.

(Here was read his ſpeech.)

We muſt not omit to remark, that not content in the uſual way to addreſs their good wiſhes to this ſociety, they came to a reſolution to depute two of their members, Meſſrs. Français and Bougon (though at a diſtance of more than 600 miles) to deliver to this ſociety the repreſentation of a banner uſed on that day, on which, beſide the words "Pacte univerſel," was depicted the flags of England and France, bound together with a ribbon, on which was this motto, "A l'union de la France et d'Angleterre;" and at the bottom "To the Revolution Society in London."

Theſe gentlemen have been very reſpectfully received and entertained by your committee; and the following addreſs having been made to the committee—

(Here was alſo read the addreſs.)

This anſwer has been returned to that ſociety.

(Here was alſo read the anſwer.)

Not to treſpaſs too much on your time, we omit further extracts from the pamphlet, which muſt excite the moſt pleaſing ſenſations in every breaſt on reading it.

We ſhall only add, that the concluſion of the ſpeech of Monſ. Bougon breathes ſuch noble ſentiments, that we cannot refrain from joining in the wiſh, that "England and France, ever united, ever free, ever pacific, may be at once the model of nations, and the terror of tyrants."

We have alſo the pleaſure to inform you, that the great objects of the ſociety, as expreſſed in the laſt report, which you ſanctioned with a view to concentrate the union of the friends of public liberty, has been attended with ſucceſs, and that ſeveral ſocieties have been formed, and others are forming, in this country, on the plan recommended by you, which, they truſt, will diſſeminate that ſpirit of watchfulneſs and regard to the great intereſts of freedom among our fellow citizens, that will preſerve it inviolate, and

fix

fix upon the riſing generation an ardent attachment to its cauſe.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the COMMITTEE, for their exertions in conducting the buſineſs of this ſociety.

Reſolved, That our moſt cordial thanks are due, and are moſt ſincerely given to the Reverend DR. PRICE, our excellent chairman, for his wiſdom and prudence in that ſituation.

(Signed) RICHARD PRICE, Chairman.

At the ANNIVESARY MEETING, held at the London Tavern, on Friday, November 4, 1791;

THOMAS WALKER, Eſq. in the Chair.

There were preſent near three hundred friends to freedom.

The SECRETARY read the following REPORT from the COMMITTEE:

GENTLEMEN,

Directed by the conſtitution of this ſociety, your committee have now the honour of reporting to you their proceedings ſince the laſt anniverſary. Your committee have diligently attended to the intereſt of a ſociety, founded, in their opinion, on the principles of irreſiſtible truth. They have formed ſub-committees, in order to facilitate and prepare for publication, the valuable correſpondence ſubſiſting between this ſociety and the nation which has made ſo glorious an exertion in favour of the *unalienable Rights of Man*. Your committee would have rejoiced to preſent that correſpondence to you this day, but the arrangement of it required too much time. Your committee, however, come forward with exultation, to congratulate you on the completion of the labours of the late virtuous national aſſembly of France;

And, will here briefly recite the names of thoſe patriotic ſocieties, both in that country and our own, who have honoured this ſociety with their correſpondence ſince the laſt report. Thoſe of France are as follow; viz.

Aſſembly of commons of Paris. —The ſocieties at Auxerre, Arras, Breſt, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Clermont-Ferrand, Cognac, Grenoble, Hieres, Havre, Langon, Liſieux, Limogés, Marſeilles, Marrenes, Niſmes, Paris (Young Friends), Rouen, Rennes, Saintes, St. Servan, Toulouſe (Young Friends,) Tours, Verſailles, and Valence.

And thoſe in England are as follow; viz.

Cambridge, Mancheſter, Norwich, and Taunton.

All the letters from France expreſs, in the ſtrongeſt manner, affection for the Engliſh, and enthuſiaſm for liberty.—The following extracts from three of them will give ſome idea of the bold, manly, and amiable ſentiments which run through the whole.

From Marſeilles.

« Engliſhmen! you are our elders in the character of patriots. We have admired you for a century: for a century have we envied your happineſs. Weighed down by the fetters of deſpotiſm, our lethargy was but aſleep:—the hour of our liberty is come:—to-day we are men:—We are worthy of you.

« Engliſhmen! Frenchmen!—

friends to the revolution, and to the liberty of nations! let us be emulous in exerting the efforts of reaſon and genius, to eſtabliſh over the whole ſurface of the habitable globe, the impreſcriptible Rights of Man; and the rights of the legitimate ſovereigns, *the People.*"

From Breſt.

"The aſſociations of free nations becomes the dread of tyrants, and the ſignal of their inevitable fall! Your principles and ours propagate themſelves. This ſacred fire, in ſpite of the obſtacles oppoſed to it, ſilently ſpreads, and will produce, from pole to pole, an exploſion as terrible to tyrants as fatal to them. Already our neighbours ſtrive againſt deſpotiſm. If they are not already ripe for liberty, at leaſt they feel the weight of their chains, and that is the firſt ſtep towards it. The happineſs which is preparing for *us* will give *them* new energy; and if we may truſt to our preſentiments and our wiſhes, *all Europe will ſoon become brethren!* No, gentlemen, free Frenchmen no longer fear that generous Engliſhmen are endeavouring to deſtroy the glorious work of our conſtitution; you know too well, brave iſlanders! the ineſtimable value of liberty; and your intereſts are now become common with our own. There are none but ſlaves who will engage in the conſpiracies of deſpots, and what will avail the efforts of that ſenſeleſs herd againſt men whoſe motto is "to live *free or die?*"

From the Society of Young Friends at Paris.

May an amiable philanthropy, the triumph of that philoſophy of which you are the worthy apoſtles, ſucceed to the painful ſenſation of factious enmity, with the true cauſe of which the people of neither country were ever acquainted.

And may our two nations, united by a kind diſpoſition to love each other, and by that liberty which at laſt is common to us both, preſent to the whole world an impenetrable phalanx, againſt which the combined efforts of all the deſpots on earth will be exerted in vain.

Gentlemen, you have been called by a new name—"The Society for Revolutions." You will not diſown it—for you will never ceaſe to deſire them, until revolutions ſhall be unneceſſary — until freedom and happineſs, the common right of all men, ſhall be in the poſſeſſion of *all.*—Your committee congratulate you alſo on the revolution in Poland; on the progreſs that country has made towards general liberty.

Gentlemen, your committee recollect, with a peculiar degree of ſatisfaction, that this ſociety ſtood ſingly forward, firm and unſhaken, as friends to the liberties of mankind, at a time when the glorious ſtruggle in France ſeemed doubtful even to its beſt and braveſt aſſertors! In that important moment, you became a bright example to the reſt of your countrymen, by unanimouſly adopting a motion of congratulation to that truly illuſtrious aſſembly, in the infancy and peril of their labours. But while we rejoice in this pleaſing retroſpect, we cannot but very ſenſibly feel the almoſt irreparable loſs which this ſociety, this country, and the world has ſuſtained, by the death of the late Dr. Price, to whoſe worth no language can do ſufficient juſtice.

He was indeed the Apoſtle of Liberty, whoſe name will be recorded in the hearts of mankind, when not a trace of the exiſtence of his calumniators ſhall remain.

Gentlemen, your committee look back with triumph to the glorious exertions in the year 1688. The principles then recognized and eſtabliſhed are *yours*; they are the principles on which you *now* act, and on which, as friends to your country and mankind, you will *continue* to act, till political knowledge and the love of liberty ſhall be *ſo general*, that the proſtitution of the *public preſs* to the *united purpoſes and corrupting wealth* of the *worſt men* in *this country*, and the *wretched fugitives* from *France* ſhall be no longer able to excite the ignorant fury of a miſguided mob, againſt the *beſt*, or rather the *only friends* of their *rights and happineſs*.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the committee, for the great attention they have paid to the intereſts of this ſociety.

The following gentlemen were then appointed as a committee for the year enſuing:

Meſſrs. George Anſell
Captain Broome
Jeremiah Batley
John Lodge Batley
Samuel Boddington
Bayes Cotton
Benjamin Cooper
Henry Cline
Michael Dodſon
Thomas Davis
Samuel Favell
Malachi Foott
Edward Smith Foſs
Joſeph Gurney
Meſſrs. Chriſtopher Harris
Ebenezer Hollick
Tho. Brand Hollis
Edward Jeffries
Edmund Jennings
And. Kippis, D. D.
Henry Keene
Capel Lofft
Robert Manning
John Middleton
Michael Pearſon
Rev. Ja. Pickbourn
Abrah. Rees, D. D.
John Redman
Samuel Rogers
Henry Smithers
Richard Sharp
William Savill
John Harford Stone
Edward Smith
Joſ. Towers, LL.D.
John Horne Tooke
John Furnell Tuffin
William Towgood
John Towgood
Thomas Walker.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the ſtewards, for their attention, and very liberal entertainment.

The following gentlemen were then appointed ſtewards for the next anniverſary:

Meſſrs. Edward Cooper
Dr. George Edwards
James Gibſon
Peter Martineau
William Maltby
George Philips
John Redman
Thomas Rickards
William Sharp
William Tate
James Weſton,
John White, Eſqrs.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this

meeting be given to Samuel Favell, Eſq. our treaſurer; and that he be requeſted to accept the office of treaſurer for the year enſuing.—Accepted.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Benjamin Cooper, our ſecretary; and that he be requeſted to accept the office of ſecretary for the year enſuing.—Accepted.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Thomas Walker, Eſq. our chairman, for his ſpirited attention to the buſineſs of the day.

Many gentlemen preſent joined the ſociety.

*** As the publication, which conſiſts in the whole of nearly 300 pages, was ſoon ſuppreſſed, it has been thought proper to give a digeſted view of its contents.

The letters written by the Revolution Society, during the Years 1789 and 1790 were very few, and expreſſed in general terms: the following is a ſpecimen.

To the Members of the Patriotic Union of the Town of Liſle.

Gentlemen,

Accept our gratitude for the very obliging letter with which you have honoured us. Our congratulatory addreſs to the national aſſembly of France was derived from the warmeſt zeal in the general cauſe of liberty and human happineſs; and we have been highly gratified by the favourable manner in which it has been received. Conſidering ourſelves more as citizens of the world than as members of any particular community, we cannot but rejoice in every event by which this ſacred cauſe gains a triumph over arbitrary power and oppreſſion. The late revolution in your country is an event of this kind wonderful and unparalleled. It was not poſſible we ſhould hear of it without the livelieſt feelings of delight and exultation; nor could we, without doing violence to ourſelves, avoid expreſſing theſe feelings, and aſpiring to the honour of being known to the people of France, and acquainting them with our admiration of them as an enlightened people, who with a ſpirit and unanimity never before known in ſo vaſt a kingdom, and that ſeemed like an inſpiration from Heaven, had ſhaken off the odious yoke of deſpotiſm, aſſerted and recovered the rights of men, and made themſelves joint partakers with us in the invaluable bleſſings of civil and religious liberty.

We cannot help adding on this occaſion, that we admire the liberality of the members of the Patriotic Union of LISLE, in aſcribing the deliverance of FRANCE to the example of England; and that it is with pleaſure we reflect that an acknowledgment ſo candid and generous is not altogether without foundation. BRITAIN has undoubtedly, ever ſince the æra of its own revolution, been a moſt diſtinguiſhed and favoured kingdom, and held out to the world an example of national dignity and happineſs derived from the poſſeſſion of liberty, which has inſtructed other kingdoms. But our regard to truth requires us, at the ſame time that we thus boaſt, to acknowledge that NOW the time ſeems to be arrived when we ſhall loſe this honourable diſtinction.

France is taking the lead; and Britain will be left behind, if not provoked by the example of France to correct abuſes that are every day growing more palpable; and, in particular, to ſubſtitute for its preſent partial and imperfect repreſentation ſuch an equal and pure repreſentation as our brethren in France are likely to enjoy.

With ſentiments of the warmeſt eſteem,

We are, Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient
and humble ſervants,

THE MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY IN LONDON.
(Signed) STANHOPE.
(Counterſigned) BENJ. COOPER, Secretary.

The following letters and extracts, written in 1791, will more particularly explain the objects of the Society.

To the Patriotic Society at Vire.

London, April 5, 1791.

Gentlemen,

We feel ourſelves highly honoured by the valuable teſtimony you have tranſmitted to us of your eſteem. Sentiments of regard from a nation ſo enlightened as yours, we ſhould ever have received with great ſatisfaction; but ſince your late ſucceſsful exertions for the rights of human nature, we accept your profeſſions of reſpect with much augmented gratification.

The admiration with which, you obſerve, "Frenchmen have long *beheld* the Britiſh government;" and their deſire rather than expectation of being in a ſimilar ſituation, has, we believe, ariſen from your having hitherto contemplated with more attention the *excellencies* of *our* conſtitution than its *defects*. A moderate portion of political freedom, and the exiſtence of bearable oppreſſions, appeared to you an enviable condition; ſuffering from the extremes of ariſtocratic inſolence and clerical extortion. But having, by your courage, entirely emancipated yourſelves from that ſervile ſituation, you will ſoon feel the ſuperiority of *your* preſent government over ours.

Royal prerogatives, injurious to the public intereſt, a ſervile peerage, a rapacious and intolerant clergy, and corrupt repreſentation, are grievances under which *we* ſuffer. But as *you*, perhaps, have profited from the example of our anceſtors, ſo ſhall *we* from *your* late glorious and ſplendid actions.

The excellent Dr. Price, and the * other individuals whom you have mentioned with particular reſpect, are extremely honoured by your polite attention to their names, as no diſtinction can be more flattering than the approbation of your ſociety. . . . .

We have great ſatisfaction in being informed ſo many aſſociations are inſtituted throughout France, on principles ſimilar to yours; and ſtrongly recommend their ſtill more general adoption. A continuance of the ſame ſpirit by which liberty is acquired, is eſſential for its preſervation.

That you may *ever* maintain your freedom, and increaſe in happineſs

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* Lord Stanhope and Mr. Sheridan.

and proſperity, is the ſincere wiſh of, Gentlemen,

Your much obliged friends,
The Members of the
Revolution Society.
Benj. Cooper,
Secretary.

The Patriotic Society at VIRE.

Extract from a letter, dated London, April 5, 1791, to the Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Tours.

The period, we hope, will very ſoon arrive, when the only contention between our reſpective nations will be, which can moſt contribute to the information and advantage of each other, and the reſt of mankind.

But important political changes muſt *firſt* take place in *our own* country. In the laſt century our illuſtrious anceſtors contended, and fought in oppoſition to the encroachments of tyranny more than for the *complete* eſtabliſhment of liberty.—Political truths not being *then* ſo fully demonſtrated, they were obliged to remain ſatisfied with the rights they *defended*, and were unable to re-conſtruct the conſtitution on thoſe ſound principles ſome of them deſired, and which you have ſo wiſely built upon. But we flatter ourſelves *your* example will ſhortly animate their deſcendants to the final completion of ſo neceſſary and glorious a work.

Extract from a Letter to the Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Rochelle, dated London, May the 12th, 1791.

We are fully convinced the glorious fabric, which is now raiſing by the wiſdom and fortitude of Frenchmen, will ultimately produce thoſe general advantages to all the nations of the globe—the proſpect of which, you, with ſo much honour to your univerſal benevolence, contemplate with ſuch high exultation. —For the tranſcendant happineſs and proſperity of France, which will certainly almoſt immediately follow the complete eſtabliſhment of your new conſtitution, will rapidly demonſtrate to the whole world the preciouſneſs of liberty; a proper acquaintance with whoſe benefits your glorious example has evidently ſhewn to be all that is wanting to enable the inhabitants of *any* country to procure for themſelves thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings. We hope to profit ourſelves from your ſucceſsful exertions in favour of freedom; and that an imitation of your ſplendid actions may ſoon enable us entirely to purify our own government.

The ſenſe in which the famous decree of the Aſſembly, renouncing all offenſive wars, was underſtood on both ſides of the water, will appear from an Extract of a Letter to the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Chalon-ſur-Saone, dated March the 17th, 1791, and the correſpondence with Niſmes.

It is with the greateſt pleaſure that we find your auguſt body, the national aſſembly, reprobating in future the military conqueſts of deſpotiſm, which has no ſenſe of the means of acquiſition, but the brutality of force.—Your ambition tends to conqueſts more glorious, not merely becauſe they are more difficult, but are equally beneficial, both to the conquerors and conquered. It is an influence over the willing minds of freemen, and not the ſubjugation of the bodies of ſlaves, that your nation aims at; and therefore, by founding the right of government on opinion, and not on force, we already ſee ſome of your neighbours eager to partake of the bleſſings of ſuch a conſtitution, by becoming Frenchmen, This redounds to the honour both of the conſtitution and of the government you have formed; which cannot but produce ſtill greater good in the world, when ſuch are their *firſt fruits.*

Niſmes, November 24, 1790.
The Second Year of Liberty.

(Tranſlation.)

Gentlemen,

All the friends of the French conſtitution, that is to ſay all the friends of liberty and peace, owe you their high eſteem, and we come to preſent you the homage of it. It was worthy of the Engliſh, of a people generous and long ſince free, to applaud the ſublime effort of a neighbouring people, riſing at once to the ſummit of glory; and while reſtleſs policy eſtimates with fear our new proſperity, as if it beheld nothing there but the increaſe of a dangerous force, philoſophy, and humanity, which form the ſacred baſis of your aſſociation, reſign themſelves to the ſweet ſentiments inſpired by the affecting ſpectacle of a nation creating for itſelf a glorious deſtiny, an unalterable good fortune.

Liberty was always, gentlemen, the only ſource of public virtue; France and England will furniſh a glorious example of it: the one conſecrates among the firſt principles of her regeneration an oath to renounce the triumphs of uſurpation, to live as brothers with all people; the other demands aloud, by the imperious voice of public opinion, an indiſſoluble alliance with this regenerate nation, and reſts upon a union ſo ſacred, the foundations of univerſal peace. How worthy are ſuch ſentiments of admiration! How noble is the ſpirit of man when elevated to theſe heights, to theſe generous thoughts! Thus when our redoubtable forces ſhall in the two hemiſpheres make the terrible ſounds of war to ceaſe, our virtues ſhall conduct all mankind towards that liberty which inſpires them. Thus ſhall juſtice and humanity change the face of the earth; and two nations, long armed for combat with each other, long forced to admire each other, be for ever united in a ſtruggle againſt deſpots, and to cheriſh for each other the tendereſt affection. Let us haſten this fortunate epoch; it is for the citizens of the two empires to begin this precious coalition; it is for ſocieties, like ours, to form the firſt links of that chain which muſt become ſo powerful, and embrace the whole univerſe.

We regard you already, gentlemen, as citizens, as brothers; and burning to be united with you in the moſt intimate character, we come to demand with the moſt lively deſire to be affiliated with you: aſſiſt us to ſpread abroad theſe ſacred truths; aid us to make theſe ſentiments beloved by the authority which repels them; and let henceforth the natural benevolence of the people be the only oracle conſulted by the power created to make them happy.

We are,
With the moſt fraternal ſentiments,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt humble
And moſt obedient ſervants,

THE CLUB OF THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION.
F. AUBREY,
Preſident.

J. VINCENS,
CASTAUET,
C. CHAS,
NOGRIUS, the ſon,
} Secretaries.

ANSWER

To the Club of Friends of the Conſtitution of France, reſiding at Niſmes.

March 20, 1791.

Gentlemen,

We have to acknowledge the receipt of the very friendly and agreeable letter which you have honoured us with; a letter ſo replete with ſentiment and friendſhip would have received an anſwer long ſince, had we not at that time have been favoured with ſo many letters from different ſocieties in France, that an anſwer to each of them became a work of ſuch magnitude, as to require the attendance of thoſe of our correſponding committee, who lived remote from each other,

We cannot eaſily expreſs the abundant pleaſure it gives us to ſee ſo near a neighbour as France, which has long been diſtinguiſhed for men of ſentiment and unbounded hoſpitality, now adding to the reſt of their virtues and attainments, that of liberty: France, who after aiding the weſtern world to aſſert their rights, and there to form the beſt conſtitution known to civilized nations, next ſtems the torrent of corruption at home, and there fixes the ſtandard of liberty on the ruins of deſpotiſm and bigotry.

Brave and generous Frenchmen! who not only make the utmoſt bounds of your own empire partakers of the common bliſs, but invite England to help in liberating the whole world!

Hearts thus expanded with good-will to mankind are worthy of freedom!

The *Great Original* conſiders you as ſuch, while (at the coſt of but little blood) *he* gives unto you a great portion of liberty, and at her ſhrine has cauſed the grand monarch to bow, the nobles to fall, and, though laſt and reluctant, the prieſts to yield to her ſway. Our wiſh, our hope is, that the gift may be permanent, enduring to the end of time.

With a nation thus exalted, England ſhall eſteem it her high honour to be allied; while their joint efforts ſhall be, to teach neighbouring nations to know their own worth, and cultivate among them peace and good-will. We are,

With ſincere attachment,
and ſentiments the moſt
diſtinguiſhed, Gentlemen,
Your very humble
and obedient ſervants,

THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY OF LONDON.
(L. S.) BENJ. COOPER,
Secretary.

March 20, 1791.

The following Extracts ſhew the cloſe correſpondence of the Revolution Society with the great Jacobin Club of Paris.

Committee of Correſpondence,
Paris, June 30, 1791.

Society of the Friends of the Constitution.

(Tranſlation.)

Gentlemen,

The *laſt* events which happened in the capital, the difficult circumſtances in which we found ourſelves, the uninterrupted ſittings of the ſociety, and the duties which as citizens each of us had to fulfil, forced us to leave, until now, the letters you addreſſed to us unanſwered. We acquaint you that we have reſolved not to reſume the courſe of the correſpondence which we maintained with you, but to count from the date of this letter, and to anſwer with the greateſt exactneſs thoſe which you ſhall write to us henceforth.

We aſſure you, moreover, that we have examined with care the various objects which your preceding letters confided to our ſolicitude, and that we have followed your intentions in the different committees of the national aſſembly.

We are,
With truly fraternal ſentiments,
The Members of the Committee of Correspondence.

Lavalette,
Preſident.
D. M. J. Rochambeau,
Secretary.

Augier, Barnave, Broglie, Brostaret, Chepy, *fils*, Choderlos, Collot d'Herbois, d'Aiguillon, de Gay, Dumas, du Port, Charles Lameth, Theodore Lameth, Laquiante, Menou, Patris, Louis Poncet, Robespierre, Rousseau, Rousille-Chanseru, Salicetti, Simon, Vasselin, and Vercheres.

Extract from the Anſwer to the above.

We have now earneſtly to requeſt you will accept our ſincere thanks for your immediate and obliging attention in communicating to us *thoſe* events and tranſactions in which you conceived we were the moſt intereſted. Our avowed and acknowledged love for liberty—our ardent wiſhes to ſee it daily propagated to the fartheſt limits of the habitable globe, muſt ever awaken our ſenſibility and our feelings to the ſlighteſt circumſtance, which can, however diſtantly, relate to the happineſs of human nature.—We therefore truſt, that when any occurrences on *that* important ſubject take place, you will continue to favour us with *that* confidence and information we have hitherto experienced and obtained.—As we take a peculiar pride in the honour of an intercourſe with you, we hope that you will be perfectly aſſured, that nothing but the unavoidable occupations of our correſponding committee could have prevented us from paying a more early attention to the letters you have been pleaſed to tranſmit, and which we view with the livelieſt emotions of real pleaſure and regard.

We ſhall conclude, and take the liberty of aſſuring you, Gentlemen,

That we are,
With the greateſt eſteem,
Your very obedient
and very humble ſervants,

THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY OF LONDON.
BENJ. COOPER,
Secretary.

To the Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution at PARIS.

The following Letters, and Extracts, are from the Correſpondence of 1792.

ANSWER

To the Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Poitiers.

London, January 31, 1792.

Brethren and Friends,

We eſteem ourſelves happy to live in an age when the principles of philoſophy are ſpreading throughout the world, and promoting *univerſal* freedom and happineſs.

Three thouſand years ago Plato aſſerted, that when kings were philoſophers the people would be free and happy; and *your* hero Rouſſeau, having dictated ſome exalted principles, applied the term ſovereign only to the ſtate, when the legiſlative and executive were united (which likewiſe you ſo juſtly apply and uſe in the ſame ſenſe); for he did *not* think that *any* prince but the moſt abſolute deſpot ought to aſſume *that* title, other princes having only the executive lodged in them. The *Oceana* is an excellent model of a commonwealth. The author (Harrington) diſtributes the people into citizens or freemen, then into youth and elders, divides the country into tribes, hundreds, and pariſhes.—The primary electors to chooſe an intermediate body, who ſhall chooſe the members of the legiſlature and the magiſtrates.—The moſt valuable improvement *ever* made in the repreſentative ſyſtem.

Harrington requires an abſolute *majority* of the electing aſſembly for *every* election.

He directs that the miniſters of the goſpel ſhall be choſen by the pariſhioners of each pariſh. He eſtabliſhes a national religion, but allows liberty of conſcience and worſhip to as great a degree as the age in which *he* lived would bear. Harrington directs, that the adminiſtrators of juſtice, or judges, ſhall be elected by the people. In his book, entitled the *Oceana,* are the arguments on which the above inſtitutions are founded; and the illuſtrious author, from the diffidence peculiar to great minds, and not to be charged with novelty, appeals to antiquity almoſt at every ſtep. —It reſts with you to draw the parallel.

Though Cromwell admired the Oceana, he ſaid he could not give up what he had gained by his ſword, for the flouriſh of the author's pen — tyrant like. What Plato finely imagined, Harrington nobly planned; Rouſſeau improved, and added character; and *you,* generous Frenchmen! agreeing with Locke, that where law ends tyranny begins, and being ſtimulated by the reſiſtance the Engliſh nation made to tyrants, and ſeizing the ſacred flame of liberty from America, have magnanimouſly brought it into execution.

With *ſuch* citizens we wiſh to be affiliated, and rejoice in the proſpect of your eſtabliſhed freedom in France, and ſpreading knowledge and happineſs amidſt the ſons of men. We are,

With the ſincereſt attachment,
Gentlemen,
Your friends and brethren,

THE MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY.

(L. S.) BENJ. COOPER,
Secretary.

ANSWER

To the Friends of the Conſtitution at Bourdeaux.

London, February 9, 1792.

Gentlemen,

The extent of our correſpondence with the worthy friends of liberty in France, has been the principal occaſion of our great delay, in replying to your obliging letters of May and June laſt. It makes us moſt ſincerely happy that all public events, of any magnitude, ſince thoſe periods, have turned out favourable to the ſolid eſtabliſhment of your excellent conſtitution.—Circumſtances which then, to ordinary human foreſight, ſeemed unpropitious, have, in their operations, had an oppoſite tendency, and demonſtrated that the liberty of France is involved in the general cauſe of freedom. Permit us to recommend *union* among yourſelves, as the moſt powerful means to preſerve what your courage has acquired. From the avowed enmity of tyrants you have nothing to apprehend; for they already feel that open hoſtility on their parts, would only accelerate the general fall of deſpotiſm.

Dr. Prieſtley and Mr. Paine are neither of them members of *our* ſociety; but they decorate other ſocieties whoſe principles are the ſame. In juſtice to *their* merits, we venture to expreſs our approbation of the honourable diſtinction you have conferred on their talents and patriotiſm, by enrolling their names among the members of your ſociety. The latter gentleman has lately publiſhed a *Second* part of the *Rights of Man*. In the *Firſt* part he confuted an inſolent and feeble opponent; but now he has deprived the cauſe of ariſtocracy itſelf of thoſe ſpecious arguments which his adverſary had not temper to diſplay.

With every degree of reſpect,
We are, Gentlemen,
Your friends and brethren,

THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY IN LONDON.

BENJ. COOPER,
Secretary.

ANSWER

To the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Breſt.

January 26, 1792.

* * * * * *

We cannot omit this opportunity of expreſſing the intereſt we take in your glorious revolution!—Illuſtrious, gentlemen, is the work you have atchieved—Immortal the renown your nation has acquired!—The accompliſhment of an object like yours reflects luſtre on human nature, and elevates the dignity of man! How glorious an example have you exhibited! How ſublime a leſſon have you taught to all mankind! The heroiſm which has animated your unparalleled exertions may well ſtrike terror into the hearts of deſpots, and make every tyrant tremble on his throne.

The period is approaching when the people in *all* countries will no longer ſubmit to wear that cruel and ignominious yoke of bondage under which they have ſo long groaned. Rouſed from the ſlumber of ages, we truſt that they will at length every where recognize and aſſert their *almoſt* forgotten rights—that they will renounce with abhorrence thoſe prejudices which have ſo long contributed to rivet the fetters of ſlavery; eſpecially that moſt fatal of all prejudices, the opinion, that a *few* capricious individuals have a right to diſpoſe of the lives and properties of *millions* of their fellow men.

ANSWER

To the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Bayonne.

London, Feb. 2, 1792.

* * * * * *

We cannot but be moſt ſenſible and proud of the honour you do *our* ſociety, in applying to us for a knowledge of thoſe principles and maxims, on which liberty is founded, and by which it may be *beſt* maintained—but it is not for thoſe who live upon the credit and ſtock, laid up for them by their anceſtors a century ago, and to which, it muſt be confeſſed, no addition has ſince been made, to *attempt* the inſtruction of a nation, which has manifeſted a boldneſs of conception that ſhews an originality and a ſimplicity in the formation of government, which nature alone could dictate; and which the contradictory principles of a motley ſyſtem, how much ſoever boaſted of, would weaken and deform.

France, and *not* England, is now the inſtructreſs of the world, in the rights of men! It is from *her* ſoil, in every part of which nature now ſhews herſelf moſt vigorous, that the roots of liberty are to be tranſplanted; and therefore, whilſt your ſociety cultivates its fruits and flowers to the utmoſt perfection at the foot of the Pyrennees, their odour, ſpreading far and near, muſt ſoon ſtrike the ſenſes of thoſe to whom the greateſt ſweets are at preſent offenſive, and the very birds of the air, as well as the winds of Heaven, which the jealous cowardice of deſpotiſm cannot prevent blowing where they liſt, will bear and ſcatter their prolific ſeeds over the neighbouring lands.

That you eſpecially may reap and enjoy, what you have ſo wiſely and ſo deeply ſown in your *own* country, is the moſt fervent wiſh of, Gentlemen,

Your much admiring
And obedient humble ſervants,

THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY
OF LONDON.

BENJ. COOPER,
Secretary.

ANSWER

To the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Niſmes.

Feb. 4, 1792.

Gentlemen,

* * * * * *

We truſt it is unneceſſary for us to renew our aſſurances of the ardent intereſt we feel in thoſe late illuſtrious and ever memorable events which will immortalize the name of France. We exult that *there* the reign of tyranny and deſpotiſm is paſt for ever. We exult that *there* the ſplendid æra of *equal* liberty has commenced—*that* æra, the contemplation of which muſt fill with rapture *every* generous breaſt. We triumph in the animating proſpect of that happier ſtate of mankind, which your glorious revolution opens to us; and we look forward with tranſport to that period, when thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings, which you have ſo nobly acquired, ſhall be diffuſed throughout all the world.

ANSWER

To the Members of the Patriotic Society, at Auxerre in Burgundy.

Feb. 6, 1792.

* * * * * *

That the oppreſſors of the world ſhould combine to ſubvert your preſent government, which evidently tends to the ruin of their lawleſs power, is moſt natural. Whilſt they hate, they dread, with reaſon, the patriotic ſpirit of France. Your conſtitution is a reproach to them, and muſt become the envy and admiration of their wretched vaſſals; who being men, though hitherto treated as brutes, will, we aſſure ourſelves, following your great example, ſoon vindicate and enjoy the *Rights of Man.*

ADVERTISEMENTS of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, and other Societies in Correſpondence with that Society.

SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION.

May 18, 1792.

At a Meeting held this Day, the following Letter was received, addreſſed to the Chairman of this Society.

London, May 18, 1792.

" SIR,

" The honourable patronage which the Society for Conſtitutional Information has repeatedly given to the works entitled Rights of Man, renders it incumbent on me, to communicate to them whatever relates to the progreſs of thoſe works.

" A great number of letters from various parts of the country have come to me, expreſſing an earneſt deſire, that the firſt and ſecond part of Rights of Man could be rendered more generally uſeful, by printing them in a cheaper manner than they have hitherto been; as thoſe requeſts were from perſons to whom the purchaſe at the preſent price was inconvenient, I took the proper means for complying with their requeſt.

" I am ſince informed, that the miniſtry intends bringing a proſecution; and as a nation (as well the poor as the rich) has a right to know what any works are, that are made the ſubject of a proſecution; the getting out a cheap edition is, I conceive, rendered more neceſſary than before, as a means towards ſupporting that right; and I have the pleaſure of informing the ſociety, that I am proceeding with the work.

" I am, Sir,
" With great reſpect,
" Your obedient humble ſervant,
" THOMAS PAINE."

The ſociety took into conſideration the contents of the aforeſaid letter; and came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, That the thanks of this ſociety be given to Mr. Thomas

Paine, for the communication he has made, and for the patriotic diſintereſtedneſs manifeſted therein.

Reſolved, That this ſociety will contribute its utmoſt aid towards ſupporting the rights of the nation, and the freedom of the preſs, and him who has ſo eſſentially and ſucceſsfully contributed to both.

Reſolved, That the right of inveſtigating principles and ſyſtems of government is one of theſe rights; and that the works of any author which cannot be refuted by reaſon, cannot, on the principles of good government, or of common ſenſe, be made the ſubject of proſecution.

Reſolved, That the exceſſive taxes which this country pays, being now ſeventeen millions annually, give an additional motive for the exerciſe of this right; and render it at the ſame time a more immediate duty the nation owes to itſelf, to enter upon and promote all ſuch inveſtigations.

Reſolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the rumour of the above-mentioned proſecution; and to report thereon to the ſociety at its next meeting.

Reſolved, That a copy of Mr. Paine's letter, together with theſe reſolutions, be tranſmitted to all the aſſociated ſocieties in town and country; and that this ſociety do congratulate them on the firm as well as orderly ſpirit and tranquil perſeverance manifeſted in all their proceedings; and exhort them to a ſteady continuance therein.

The following Addreſs to the Friends of the Conſtitution at Paris, commonly called Jacobins, and which was, by the direction of this Society, ſent to them laſt week, was ordered for publication:

"Brothers, and fellow-citizens of the world,

"The cordial and affectionate reception with which you have honoured our worthy countrymen, Mr. Thomas Cooper and Mr. James Watt, members of the ſociety of Mancheſter, and united with our ſociety, has been communicated to us by the correſpondence of thoſe gentlemen.

"In offering you our congratulations on the glorious revolution which your nation has accompliſhed, we ſpeak a language which only ſincerity can dictate.

"The formality of courts affords no example to us. To do our thoughts juſtice, we give to the heart the liberty it delights in, and hail you as brothers.

"It is not among the leaſt of the revolutions which time is unfolding to an aſtoniſhed world, that two nations, nurſed by ſome wretched craft in reciprocal hatred, ſhould ſo ſuddenly break their common odious chain, and ruſh into amity. The principle that can produce ſuch an effect, is the offspring of no earthly court; and whilſt it exhibits to us the expenſive iniquity of former politics, it enables us, with bold felicity, to ſay—we have done with them.

"In contemplating the political condition of nations, we cannot conceive a more diabolical ſyſtem of government, than that which has hitherto been generally practiſed over the world. To feed the avarice, and gratify the wickedneſs of ambition, *the fraternity of the human race has been deſtroyed*; as if the ſeveral nations of the earth had been created by rival Gods. Man has not conſidered man as the work of one Creator.

"*The political inſtitutions* under which he has lived, have been counter to whatever religion he profeſſed. Inſtead of that univerſal benevolence which the morality of every known religion declares, he has been politically *bred to conſider his ſpecies as his natural enemy, and to deſcribe virtues and vices by a geographical chart.*

"The principles we now declare are not peculiar to the ſociety that addreſſes you. They are extending themſelves, with accumulating force, through every part of our country, and derive ſtrength from an union of cauſes which no other principles admit.

"The religious friend of man, of every denomination, records them as his own; they animate the lover of rational liberty; and they cheriſh the heart of the poor, now bending under an oppreſſion of taxes, by a proſpect of relief.

"We have againſt us only that ſame enemy, which is the enemy of juſtice in all countries, a herd of courtiers fattening on the ſpoil of the public.

"It would have given an additional triumph to our congratulations, if the equal Rights of Man (which are the foundation of your declaration of rights) had been recognized by the governments around you, and tranquilly eſtabliſhed in all: but if deſpotiſm be ſtill reſerved to exhibit, by conſpiracy and combination, a farther example of infamy to future ages; that Power that diſpoſes of events, beſt knows the means of making that example finally beneficial to his creatures.

"We have beheld your peaceable principles inſulted by deſpotic ignorance; we have ſeen the right hand of fellowſhip, which you held out to the world, rejected by thoſe who riot on its plunder.

"We now behold you a nation provoked into defence; and we can ſee no mode of defence equal to that of eſtabliſhing *the general freedom of Europe.*

"In this beſt of cauſes we wiſh you ſucceſs—our hearts go with you—and in ſaying this, we believe, *we utter the voice of Millions.*

"Signed by order of the ſociety.
"JOHN CARTWRIGHT,
Chairman.
"D. ADAMS,
Secretary."

Letter from the Secretary of the London Correſponding Society, to the Society for Conſtitutional Information; and their Reſolutions thereon.

Sir, *July* 6, 1792.

In the name of the London Correſponding Society, I have to return thanks to the Society for Conſtitutional Information for their preſent of 200 copies of their reſolutions reſpecting the king's proclamation; as alſo for the 200 copies of Mr. Paine's letter, &c.—likewiſe Mr. Paine's letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas;—by care in the diſtribution of them, thoſe 600 papers ſhall be ſeen by as many thouſand perſons.

We find ourſelves highly favoured by your readineſs to admit ſix of our members among you; I am directed to forward to you the following ſix names as the perſons choſen by our ſociety for that honourable purpoſe; our ſenſe of the favour ſo conferred will be beſt expreſſed by their cloſe attendance at your inſtructive meetings, and conſtant endeavours to forward the ſo beneficial and ſo much wanted reform of parliamentary repreſentation.

I am, Sir,
With great reſpect,
Your very humble ſervant,
T. Hardy,
Secretary.

Ordered, That the ſecretary be deſired to inform the ſecretary of the London Correſponding Society, that this ſociety received their propoſal with pleaſure; and are willing to admit ſuch ſix of the members whom they ſhall nominate, to be aſſociated members of this ſociety.

Reſolved, That a ſubſcription be opened in this ſociety for the benefit of Mr. Thomas Paine, author of the Rights of Man.

Letter from the London Correſponding Society to the Society for Conſtitutional Information; and Reſolutions thereon.

London, *Sept.* 21, 1792.

Sir,

The London Correſponding Society having taken the reſolution of tranſmitting to the French national convention an addreſs (ſigned by all the members, or by the different delegates, each ſtating for how many members he ſigns) to aſſure that ſuffering nation that we ſympathiſe with them in their misfortunes — that we view their exertions with admiration—that we wiſh to give them all ſuch countenance and ſupport as individuals unſupported and oppreſſed themſelves can afford—and that ſhould thoſe in power here dare (in violation of the nation's pledged faith of neutrality, and in oppoſition to the well-known ſentiments of the people at large) to join the German band of deſpots united againſt liberty, we diſclaim all concurrence therein, and will, to a man, exert every juſtifiable means for counteracting their machinations againſt the freedom and the happineſs of mankind.

I am ordered by the committee to acquaint the Society for Conſtitutional Information therewith, in order to be favoured with their opinion thereon, and in hopes that if they approve the idea, and recommend its adoption to the different ſocieties, the publication of ſuch a reſpectable number of *real* names will greatly check the hoſtile meaſures which might otherwiſe be put in execution.

I am, with great reſpect,
Dear Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
T. Hardy,
Secretary.

Reſolved, That the ſecretary expreſs the thanks of this ſociety to the London Correſponding Society, for their communication; and acquaint them that this ſociety do highly approve of their intention.

Reſolved, That the ſaid letter be read at the next meeting, for the purpoſe of conſidering of publiſhing the ſame.

At a Meeting, 5th October 1792.

Reſolved, That the letter from the Correſponding Society, entered on the minutes of the laſt meeting, together with the reſolution of the ſociety thereon, be publiſhed in the newſpapers.

At

Bull's Head Inn, Mancheſter,
March 13, 1792.

At a meeting of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society, held this day, it was unanimouſly reſolved,

That the thanks of this ſociety are due to Mr. Thomas Paine, for the publication of his “ ſecond part of the Rights of Man; combining principle and practice,” a work of the higheſt importance to every nation under heaven, but particularly to this, as containing excellent and practicable plans for an immediate and conſiderable reduction of the public expenditure; for the prevention of wars; for the extenſion of our manufactures and commerce; for the education of the young; for the comfortable ſupport of the aged; for the better maintenance of the poor of every deſcription; and finally, for leſſening greatly, and without delay, the enormous load of taxes under which this country at preſent labours.

That this ſociety congratulate their country at large on the influence which Mr. Paine's publications appear to have had in procuring the repeal of ſome oppreſſive taxes in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament; and they hope that this adoption of a ſmall part of Mr. Paine's *ideas will be followed by the moſt ſtrenuous exertions to accompliſh a complete reform in the preſent inadequate ſtate of the repreſentation of the people*; and that the other great plans of public benefit which Mr. Paine has ſo powerfully recommended will be ſpeedily carried into effect.

Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society.

At a Meeting of this Society,
held Nov. 27, 1792.

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

“ That this ſociety do congratulate the public on the appearance of ſuch works as the “ ADVICE TO THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS,” and the “ LETTER TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE, BY JOEL BARLOW:”—and they are of opinion that the cauſe of liberty will be eſſentially promoted, by extending the knowledge of publications ſo maſterly, on ſubjects ſo important.”

WILLIAM PAUL,
Preſident.
SAMUEL JACKSON,
Secretary.

Advertiſement from the Mancheſter paper.

Liberty.

The friends of freedom, who wiſh to contribute to the orphans and widows of thoſe brave French patriots, who have nobly fallen in defence of the LIBERTIES OF MANKIND, may yet have an opportunity of enrolling their names as citizens, in ſupport of the moſt glorious cauſe in which the world was ever intereſted—by applying at Meſſrs. Faulkner and Birch's, in the Market-place, where ſubſcriptions will be received for a few days.

Sheffield Society for Conſtitutional Information.

March 14, 1792.

This ſociety, compoſed chiefly of the manufacturers of Sheffield, began about four months ago, and is already increaſed to nearly two thouſand members, and is daily increaſing, excluſive of the adjacent towns and villages, who are forming themſelves into ſimilar ſocieties.

Conſidering, as we do, that the want of knowledge and information in the general maſs of the people has expoſed them to numberleſs impoſitions and abuſes, the exertions of this ſociety are directed to the acquirement of uſeful knowledge, and to ſpread the ſame as far as our endeavours and abilities can extend.

We declare that we have derived more true knowledge from the two works of Mr. *Thomas Paine*, intituled "Rights of Man," part the firſt and ſecond, than from any other author or ſubject. *The practice as well as the principle of government is laid down in thoſe works, in a manner ſo clear, and irreſiſtibly convincing*, that this ſociety do hereby reſolve to give their thanks to Mr. Paine for his two ſaid publications, intituled "Rights of Man," parts 1ſt and 2d. Alſo,

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this ſociety be given to Mr. Paine, for the affectionate concern he has ſhewn in his ſecond work in behalf of the poor, the infant, and the aged; who, notwithſtanding the opulence which bleſſes other parts of the community, are, by the grievous weight of taxes, rendered the miſerable victims of poverty and wretchedneſs.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this ſociety, diſdaining to be conſidered either of a miniſterial or oppoſition party (names of which we are tired, having been ſo often deceived by both) do ardently recommend it to all their fellow citizens, into whoſe hands theſe reſolutions may come, to confer ſeriouſly and calmly with each other on the ſubject alluded to, and to manifeſt to the world that the ſpirit of true liberty is a ſpirit of order; and that to obtain juſtice it is conſiſtent that we be juſt ourſelves.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That theſe reſolutions be printed, and that a copy thereof be tranſmitted to the ſociety for Conſtitutional Information in London; requeſting their approbation for twelve of our friends to be entered into their ſociety, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a connection and a regular communication with that, and all other ſimilar ſocieties in the kingdom.

By order of the Committee.

At a Meeting at the Three Tuns Tavern, Southwark.

April 19, 1792.

Reſolved, That we do now form ourſelves into a ſociety for the diffuſion of political knowledge.

Reſolved, That the ſociety be denominated the Friends of the People.

Reſolved, That the following be the declaration of this ſociety.

Extract from Declaration.

Conſidering that ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or contempt of the rights of men, are the ſole cauſes of public grievances, and the corruption of government, this ſociety, formed for the purpoſe of inveſtigating and aſſerting thoſe rights, and of uniting our efforts with others of our fellow citizens for correcting national abuſes, and reſtraining unneceſſary and exorbitant taxation, do hereby declare—

1ſt, That the great end of civil ſociety is general happineſs.

2dly, That no form of government is good any further than it ſecures that object.

3dly, That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.

4thly, That equal active citizenſhip is the unalienable right of all men; minors, criminals, and inſane perſons excepted.

5thly, That the exerciſe of that right, in appointing an adequate repreſentative government, is the wiſeſt device of human policy, and the only ſecurity of national freedom.

Further Extract from ſame Paper.

We call upon our fellow citizens of all deſcriptions to inſtitute ſocieties *for the ſame great purpoſe; and we recommend a general correſpondence with each other, and with the ſociety for Conſtitutional Information at London, as the beſt means of cementing the common union, and of directing with greater energy our united efforts to the ſame common objects.*

By order of the Committee.

EXTRACTS.

Southwark, April 19, 1792.

At a Meeting held at the Three Tuns Tavern.

Mr. SAMUEL FAVELL, in the Chair.

Declaration, Page 2. "We are told that we have a conſtitution. If it permits theſe abuſes, it is either *not* a good one, or good *only in part*, and defective in its principles, conſtitution, and effects. The continual applauſe beſtowed upon it by placemen, penſioners, government contractors, court expectants, and the hired editors of proſtituted newſpapers, has juſtly excited our ſuſpicion either of its excellence, or its exiſtence. It may be good for them, and not for us: and as we are no longer to be amuſed with a *name* or a *phantom*, we will direct our enquiries to the fact."

Holborn Society of the Friends of the People; inſtituted 22d November 1792, for the Purpoſe of *Political* Inveſtigation.

Pages 2, and 3,

It is an inſult to the feelings of Engliſhmen, to ſuppoſe they can ſanction the political enormities of the preſent day—generous in their nature, they ſhudder at every ſpecies of devaſtation and rapine—they cannot nor will they ſanction a formidable maſs of corruption.—They are not ſo criminally blind, as to ſmile with complacence on thoſe whoſe higheſt diſtinction is plunder—nor are they ſo totally ignorant, as to eſtimate any man's time equal to the liberty of robbing them of ſo much of their property as to be enabled to riot for a time, in all the luxuries and diſſipations of life, and afterwards retire loaded with riches and penſions. But let us turn indignantly from this contemptible picture, and hail the ſpeedy approach of general happineſs—hail the moment when the etherial blaze of friendſhip will ſpread from pole to pole—when religious animoſities will ceaſe, and when ſociety will forget all diſtinctions but thoſe of wiſdom and virtue. Hail the happy days when the wretchedneſs of poverty will be ameliorated, and the pride of riches vaniſh before the pleaſures of extending happineſs to ſurrounding objects. Oh! hail! hail Britons! hail! the happy period of univerſal knowledge advances with ſlow but ſteady pace.

Man begins more generally to feel himſelf the friend of his own ſpecies—reaſon is re-aſſuming her empire, and kindling a flame of benevolence never more to be extinguiſhed.

Citizens, ſoldiers, and ſailors, of all nations, empires, kingdoms, and ſtates, you likewiſe are intereſted in this great ſubject—we feel for you—you are united to civil ſociety by the bands of nature—you are conſtituted from among us—you are our friends, our brethren—you have relations of every deſcription with us—Fathers, mothers, brothers, and ſiſters; nay, even wives and children—all join with us in ardently panting for your preſervation, and deploring your hardſhips--all ſhrinking with horror at the diabolical practice of coolly bartering your precious lives for the moſt mercenary purpoſes. Ah! brave, but ill-fated men—dare to think, and even dare to avow, that nothing but the good of ſociety ſhall influence your arms—dare to be the friends of oppreſſed virtue, and the terror of overbearing vice—your own ſituation, together with that of ſociety, demands thoſe exertions. We invite you, therefore, to participate with us in the glorious cauſe of freedom—and peaceably to unite in inveſtigating the ſources of all our grievances.

Page 3.—Plan, Art. 7. If a ſpeedy and effectual reform ſhould upon inveſtigation appear neceſſary, it will be the chief object of this ſociety to diſcuſs the plan of a national convention, by which all parties may be fairly and equally repreſented. Every member will then be requeſted to bring forward his ideas, that from the whole an eligible plan may be adopted.

Addreſs and Declaration of the Society of Conſtitutional Whigs, Independent, and Friends of the People, united for obtaining equal Liberty by a Parliamentary Reform.

Page 2. It has become expedient for THE PEOPLE to aſſociate, for the purpoſe of obtaining a parliamentary reform: that through the medium of a fair and equal repreſentation annually choſen, they may be relieved from a load of taxes too grievous to be borne, and rendered ſtill more intolerable, *by their produce being laviſhed on* placemen *and* penſioners, *and employed in ſubverting their* rights, *by the corruption of their* delegates.

A few Queries to the Methodiſts in general.

Query 7. "Does not both reaſon and revelation teach us, that in order to lay the axe to the *root* of the tree of wickedneſs, we muſt begin with kings and princes, and biſhops and prieſts?"

London, Oct. 22.

Birmingham Society for Conſtitutional Information, firſt inſtituted Nov. 20, 1792.

Page 7. At preſent, that houſe (parliament) does not conſiſt of the repreſentatives of the people, but of lords and rich landholders; of miniſters and boroughmongers, who buy and ſell ſeats in parliament, as 'openly and notoriouſly as ſtalls for cattle at a fair.' Therefore, it is not true that this government is a government by king, lords, and commons; for the commons, or people, are not repreſented. '*The* *commons of England in parliament aſſembled,*' is a phraſe falſe and abſurd; it ſhould be, '*The deputies of the ariſtocracy in parliament aſſembled.*'

The Rights of Man, as exhibited in a Lecture, read at the Philoſophical Society at Newcaſtle, &c.

Page 4. (Laſt line) Hence it is plain, that the land or earth in any country or neighbourhood, with every thing in or on the ſame, or pertaining thereto, belongs at all times, to the living inhabitants of the ſaid country or neighbourhood in an equal manner. For, as I ſaid before, there is no living but on land and its productions, conſequently what we cannot live without, we have the ſame property in, as in our lives.

Liſt of Clubs which have met in London and Weſtminſter, for the Purpoſe of diſſeminating ſeditious Principles.

No. *Places of Meeting.*

1[*]. One Tun, Strand.
2. Unicorn, Henrietta-ſtreet, Covent-garden.
3. Green Dragon, King-ſtreet, Golden-ſquare.
4. Thiſtle and Crown, Great Peter-ſtreet.
5. Marquis of Granby, Caſtle-ſtreet, Oxford-market.
6. Nag's Head, Orange-court.
7. Black Dog, Oxford-market.

No.
8. Sun, Windmill-ſtreet.
9. Unicorn, Henrietta-ſtreet.
10. Scotch Arms, and at the Wrekin, Huet's-court, Round-court.
11. Rainbow, Fleet-ſtreet, and afterwards at the Three Herrings, Shire-lane; afterwards to a private houſe Gray's Inn-lane.
12. Coach-maker's Arms, Noble-ſtreet, Foſter-lane; then at Manſion-Houſe, oppoſite the Manſion Houſe; and then at the Crown, Newgate-ſtreet.
13. Red Lion, Brownlow-ſtreet.
14. Black Swan, Brown's-lane, Spital-Fields.
15. Cock, Cock-court, Villiers-ſtreet.
16. Black Swan, Brown's-lane.
17. ———————
18. 31, Compton-ſtreet.
19. ———————
20. ———————
21. ———————
22. ———————
23. Ship, Finſbury-place.
24. Black Swan, Brown's-lane.
25. Lowe's, Crown-ſtreet, Moorfields.
26. 19, Wych-ſtreet; afterwards 31, Compton-ſtreet.
27. ———————
28. ———————
29. Coffee houſe, Shire-lane, Temple-bar.

Other clubs and ſocieties formed before or in the courſe of the year 1792, and correſponding with the ſociety for Conſtitutional information, in London;

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[*] No. 1. firſt met at the Bell, Exeter-ſtreet, in the Strand, afterwards removed from thence, and the following eight branched from it.

and with the London Correſponding Society.

Norwich	Revolution Society. United Political Societies. Delegates of United Conſtitutional Societies meeting at the Wheel of Fortune, St. Edmond's, Norwich.

Mancheſter—Society for Reform.
Mancheſter—Conſtitutional Society.
Sheffield—Society for Conſtitutional Information.
Stockport—Society of Friends of Univerſal Peace, and of the Rights of Man.
Birmingham—Society for Conſtitutional Information.
Edinburgh—General Convention.
Scotland—Convention of Friends of the People.
Leeds—Conſtitutional Society.
Leiceſter—Society.
Southwark—Society of the Friends of the People, at the Three Tuns Tavern.
Glaſgow—ſeveral ſocieties in the neighbourhood of that town.

Derby, Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Coventry, Royſton, York, Hereford, Nottingham, Briſtol, Belpar, Liverpool, Cambridge,	Societies in each of theſe Towns.

Account from the Newſpapers of an Engliſh *Civic Feaſt at* White's *Hotel in Paris, on the 18th of* November, 1792.

PARIS, *Nov.* 19.

The Engliſh reſident in Paris aſſembled at White's hotel to celebrate the triumph of liberty in the victories gained over their late invaders, by the armies of France. Though the feſtival was intended to be purely Britiſh, the meeting was attended by citizens of various countries, by deputies of the convention, by general and other officers of the armies, then ſtationed or viſiting Paris.

That men were not born to hate and murder each other at the command of robbers and aſſaſſins, which the folly and cowardice of mankind have dignified with the name of kings, and the miniſters of kings, is a truth which no longer exiſts as the ſpeculation of the philoſopher, or remains to adorn the page of a book, but is now forcibly and irreſiſtibly brought home to men's buſineſs and boſoms. Ariſtocracy itſelf would have dropt its ſcowl, and delighted to find itſelf MAN, would here have ſhared the glow of honeſt enthuſiaſm which burſt forth in wiſhes for the univerſal happineſs of mankind, from the hearts of the Pruſſian, Auſtrian, Italian, American, French, Hollander, and Engliſh, who were aſſembled on this joyful occaſion. The rooms, flowing over, were decorated with civic and military trophies, and the bands of the firſt regiment of cavalry, and of the German legion, aſſiſted at the ceremony.

Preſent—(*Engliſh.*)—Tho. Paine, Lieutenant Colonel Oſwald, J. A. Stone, Robert Merry, Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Smith, ——

M'Donald, —— O'Reilly, —— Sayre, Charles James, —— Raymond, —— Whitehill, —— Parſons, Colonel Newton, Captain Starke, and many others.

(*French.*)—General Dillon, General Santerre, General Bruyere, and many others.

After dinner the following toaſts were given, J. H. Stone in the chair.

The republic of France, founded on the rights of man. (Trumpets—"*Ca Ira, Ca Ira.*")

The armies of France. May the example of its citizen ſoldiers be followed by all enſlaved countries, till tyrants and tyranny be extinct.—(The Marſeillois ſong chorus accompanied by the muſic.)

The National Convention of France.

Perpetual union between the free people of England, France, America, and the Low Countries; and may they ſoon add other freed nations to the alliance.—Song, "*Oh Homme, mon frère!*"

A motion was then made to preſent an addreſs on the occaſion of the meeting to the National Convention; which was ordered by acclamation.

The ſpeedy abolition of all hereditary titles and feudal diſtinctions.

Propoſed by the citizens Sir Robert Smith and Lord Edward Fitzgerald:

The ladies of Great Britain and Ireland, particularly thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their writings in favour of the French revolution, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, Miſs Williams, Mrs. Barbauld, &c. &c.

The ladies of France, eſpecially thoſe who have defended the cauſe of liberty by the ſword—The two Fernigs, Anſelme, &c. &c.

The patriotic ſocieties of Great Britain and Ireland, with thoſe who have contributed to inform and enlighten the people—Prieſtley, Fox, Sheridan, Barlow, Mackintoſh, Cooper, Tooke, &c. &c.

Thomas Paine, the new mode of advertiſing good books by proclamation and the court of King's Bench.

Colonel Heyden—May the Germanic circle be diſſolved, or environ none but free men!

May the patriotic air of the German legion (*Ca Ira*, the *Carmagnole, Marſellois March*, &c.) ſoon become the favourite muſic of every army; and may the ſoldier and the citizen join in the chorus!

The approaching National Convention of Great Britain and Ireland.

The great republic of man.

May revolutions never be made by halves!

Sir Robert Smith and Lord Edward Fitzgerald renounced their titles—and a toaſt, propoſed by the former, was drank:

The abolition of hereditary titles in England.

General Dillon, after expreſſing the ſatisfaction which he felt at meeting ſo reſpectable an aſſembly on ſo happy an occaſion, teſtified the joy he had felt in being one who contributed to drive the horde of its invaders from France, and his willingneſs, when called on, to perform, if neceſſary, ſimilar ſervice to his own country, and propoſed—

The people of Ireland; and may government profit by the example of France, and reform prevent revolution!

Many other patriotic toaſts were drank; and the whole concluded with—

Univerſal peace, founded on the baſis of univerſal liberty.

[*⁎* The addreſs from this meeting to the National Convention, as well as the ſeveral addreſſes which were ſent from the Revolution Society, the Society for Conſtitutional Information, the London Correſponding Society, the Mancheſter, Sheffield, Norwich, and other ſimilar ſocieties in England, about the month of November 1792, will be found, together with the anſwers of the preſident of the National Convention, among our State Papers.]

ASSOCIATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION, AT THE LATTER END OF THE YEAR 1792.

⁎ *The following are taken as Specimens of the Declarations made by open Aſſociations, corporate Bodies, Meetings of particular Claſſes of Men, and of Pariſhes.*

The Declaration of the Aſſociation at the Crown and Anchor.

At a Meeting of Gentlemen at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, November 20, 1792.

JOHN REEVES, Eſq. in the Chair.

The following Conſiderations and Reſolutions were entered into and agreed upon:

Conſidering the danger to which the public peace and order are expoſed by the circulating of miſchievous opinions, founded upon plauſible but falſe reaſoning; and that this circulation is principally carried on by the induſtry of clubs and ſocieties of various denominations in many parts of the kingdom:

It appears to us, That it is now become the duty of all perſons, who wiſh well to their native country, to endeavour, in their ſeveral neighbourhoods, to prevent the ſad effects of ſuch miſchievous induſtry; and that it would greatly tend to promote theſe good endeavours, if ſocieties were formed in different parts of the kingdom, whoſe object ſhould be to ſupport the laws, to ſuppreſs ſeditious publications, and to defend our perſons and property againſt the innovations and depredations that ſeem to be threatened by thoſe who maintain the miſchievous opinions before alluded to.

Theſe opinions are conveyed in the terms—*the Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament*—and others of the like import; all of them, in the ſenſe impoſed on them, expreſſing ſentiments in direct oppoſition to the laws of this land, and ſome of them ſuch as are inconſiſtent with the well-being of ſociety under any laws whatſoever.

It appears to us, the tendency of theſe opinions is, that we are voluntarily to ſurrender every thing we now poſſeſs; our religion and our laws; our civil government and civil ſociety; and that we are to truſt to the formation of ſomething new, upon the principles of equality, and under the auſpices of ſpeculative men, who have conceived ideas of perfection that never yet were known in the world: And it appears, that the miſſionaries of this ſect are aiming at effecting the overthrow of the preſent ſyſtem of government and ſociety, by infuſing into the minds of ignorant men cauſes of diſcontent adapted to their various ſtations: ſome of which cauſes are wholly imaginary, and the reſt are ſuch as inſeparably belong to civil life; have exiſted, and ever will exiſt, under all forms of government; cannot be removed by any change, and will be aggravated and multiplied, a hundred fold, by the change propoſed.

It appears from hiſtory and obſervation, that the inequality of rank and fortune in this happy country, is more the reſult of every man's own exertions, than of any controuling inſtitution of the ſtate. Men become great, who have greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the application of talents natural or acquired. Men become rich, who have perſevered with induſtry in the application to trade and commerce, to manufactures, and other uſeful employments. How many perſons now of great rank and fortune, who were born without either! how many rich merchants and traders, who begun their career in the loweſt employments of the ſhop and counting-houſe!

In the progreſs to this advancement they have all, in their ſtations, contributed their ſhare towards the ſhow of opulence, both public and private, which is to be ſeen in every part of this iſland. It is by the effects of this induſtry, that the gentleman is enabled to ſupport his rank and ſtation; and the merchant and tradeſman to employ his clerks, journeymen, and apprentices. Hence comes the price of the farmer's corn, and the wages of ſervants of every deſcription. By this happy *Inequality*, and dependence of one man on another, employment is found for all, in their ſeveral vocations to which they have been called by deſign or accident. This Inequality and dependence is ſo infinitely diverſified in this country, that there is no place upon earth where there are ſo many ways, in which a man by his talents and induſtry may raiſe himſelf above his equals. This has hitherto been thought a pre-eminent happineſs that was peculiar to ourſelves, and ought to be cheriſhed: it has been aſcribed to the protecting influence which property has always enjoyed under equal laws; and it has encreaſed of late years in a wonderful degree, by the proſperity which was cauſed, and can only be continued by the ſame influence.

We are, upon the fulleſt deliberation, of opinion, that propoſing to pull down this goodly fabric, which has been gradually reared by the ſucceſſive virtue and induſtry of all the great and good men who have lived in this iſland for centuries, and to ſubmit to begin afreſh upon a new ſyſtem of *Equality*, as it is called, ſeems a propoſition that can be ſuggeſted only by the moſt undiſguiſed wickedneſs, and entertained by the groſſeſt folly.

Becauſe, if ſo wild a plan was to be carried into execution, and all men were made equal, they would from that moment begin to ſtruggle, who ſhould firſt riſe above his equals; and it is beyond all queſtion, if there was any induſtry, or any virtue; if there was peace, and public proſperity; if there was private happineſs and public, in ſuch new-formed ſociety, there would gradually ariſe an inequality of rank and fortune.

We foreſee, from recent experiment in a neighbouring country, that in the operation of bringing to paſs ſuch a tranſition, the lives and properties of all perſons in this iſland would be expoſed to the arbitrary diſpoſal of ſelf-opiniated philoſophers, and a wild and needy mob, deluded and inſtigated by them; that with the introduction of equality in rank and fortune, an expectation would be raiſed in the lower orders, which muſt firſt be gratified with plunder, and afterwards would ſink into a ſtate of diſappointment and abject poverty. When all were equalized, there would no longer be a ſuperfluity to pay the hire of ſervants, or purchaſe the productions of art or manufacture; no commerce, no credit; no reſource for the active, but in robbery, and in all thoſe public diſorders which make life miſerable. Thus would the preſent generation be certainly ruined; that which is to follow could not propoſe to itſelf a remedy, but in purſuing the ſame arts of peace which had been ſo capriciouſly abandoned; and the more they proſpered in that purſuit, the more they would contribute to reproduce the inequality which had been before condemned and exploded.—Where then are the bleſſings of this reform, and to what purpoſe is miſery to be brought on the preſent generation?

It is with grief we ſee that in a neighbouring country the carrying into practice of this wild doctrine of *Equality* and *the Rights of Man*, has already produced theſe evils, and others ten thouſand times greater. It is not yet publickly known, nor can it enter into the gentle heart of a *Briton* to conceive, the number of atrocious crimes againſt God and Man, that have been committed in ſupport of theſe opinions. Murders and aſſaſſinations have been deliberately planned, and juſtified by ſome of theſe pretended philoſophers, as the means to attain their ends of reform. With all their pretences and promiſes, they have proceeded to violate every right, civil and natural, that ſhould have been obſerved towards their equals;—the people, who have only changed their maſters, groan under new tyrannies of which they never heard or dreamed: and are ſubjected to the chaſtiſement of one deſperate leader after another. The exceſſes of theſe ruffian demagogues have no bounds; they have already ſurpaſſed the wildeſt phrenzies of fanaticiſm, ſuperſtition, and enthuſiaſm! plundering and murdering at home, and propagating their opinions by the ſword in foreign countries;—impoſture, fallacy, falſehood, and bloodſhed;—their philoſophy is the idle talk of ſchoolboys; and their actions are the ſavage ferociouſneſs of wild beaſts.

Such are the *new lights* and the *falſe philoſophy* of our pretended reformers, and ſuch the effects they have produced, where, alone, they have unfortunately been tried. But, however theſe poor pretences may have impoſed on the underſtandings of men, in a neighbouring country, bred in ignorance, oppreſſion, and poverty, they can have no influence on the good ſenſe and gravity of Britons, who have been uſed to the enjoyment of true liberty, and every day feel the bleſſings of abundance derived from a productive induſtry, protected by equal laws, and a free government. It is well known, that thoſe who are virtuous and honeſt have

have many more means of acquiring eaſe and comfort, wealth and diſtinction, and in a ſuperior degree, in this country than in any other;—it is well known, that we already poſſeſs, and have long poſſeſſed, really and truly that which the pretended reformers would perſuade ignorant people they alone can beſtow. It has been the pride of *Britons* to boaſt of their *Liberty* and *Property*; and although theſe viſionary reformers have choſen to ſubſtitute the notion of *Equality* in the place of the latter, it is truſted there are enough who know too well the value of their property, acquired under the influence of true liberty, to ſurrender it in exchange for an empty name. It is well known, and we feel it daily, that we have as much of theſe pretended new inventions, as is neceſſary and convenient for a well-ordered ſociety. Every one has all the *Rights of Man* that leave him at liberty to do good to himſelf and his neighbour, and (what is worth conſidering) to protect his perſon and property againſt open or ſecret plunderers. He has as much of *Equality* as one man can poſſeſs without diminiſhing the equality of his neighbour. We are told by our religion (for *We* have a religion,) that we are *to do unto all Men as we would that Men ſhould do unto us*; and this is realized to us by the firm adminiſtration of the law, which ſuffers no injury to go without a remedy, and affords a remedy equally to the proudeſt and the pooreſt.

Such are *The Rights of Man*; ſuch *The Liberty and Equality* which we have long enjoyed; under theſe we have lived and proſpered, both in public and private, beyond the example of any country: and to maintain them, as they are, unimpaired by the fancies of pedant-politicians, or the rude hands of ruffian levellers, every true *Briton* ought to ſhed his blood.

Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments in favour of our happy eſtabliſhment, and alarmed by the miſchievous endeavours, that are now uſing by wicked men, to miſlead the uninformed, and to ſpirit up the diſcontented by furniſhing them with plauſible topics, tending to the ſubverſion of the ſtate, and incompatible with all government whatſoever:

We do, as private men, unconnected with any party or deſcription of perſons at home, taking no concern in the ſtruggles at this moment making abroad, but moſt ſeriouſly anxious to preſerve the true liberty, and unexampled proſperity we happily enjoy in this kingdom, think it expedient and neceſſary to form ourſelves into an *Aſſociation* for the purpoſe of diſcouraging, in every way that lies in our power, the progreſs of ſuch nefarious deſigns as are meditated by the wicked and ſenſeleſs reformers of the preſent time; and we do hereby reſolve, and declare as follows:

1ſt. That the perſons preſent at this meeting do become a ſociety for diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing ſeditious publications, tending to diſturb the peace of this kingdom; and for ſupporting a due execution of the laws made for the protection of perſons and property.

2d. That this ſociety do uſe its beſt endeavours occaſionally to explain thoſe topics of public diſcuſſion which have been ſo perverted by evil-deſigning men; and to ſhew, by irrefragable proof, that they are not applicable to the ſtate of this country, that they can produce no good, and certainly muſt produce great evil.

3d. That this ſociety will receive with great thanks all communications that ſhall be made to it for the above purpoſes.

4th. That it be recommended to all thoſe, who are friends to the eſtabliſhed law, and to peaceable ſociety, to form themſelves, in their different neighbourhoods, into ſimilar ſocieties for promoting the ſame laudable purpoſes.

5th. That this ſociety do meet at this place or elſewhere, every Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday.

6th. That theſe conſiderations and reſolutions be printed in all the pnblic papers, and otherwiſe circulated into all parts of the kingdom.

By order of the ſociety,
J. Moore,
Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Society at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, November 29, 1792.

John Reeves, Eſq. in the Chair.

The following gentlemen are of the committee for conducting the buſineſs of this ſociety:

John Reeves, Eſq.
John Topham, Eſq.
John Bowles, Eſq.
John Roberts, Eſq.
Alex. Maxwell Bennet, Eſq.
Mr. John Sewell.
Peter Nouaille, Eſq.
Tho. Law, Eſq.
Mr. John Sargeaunt.
John Tho. Batt, Eſq.
Mr. Geo. Potter.
Cha. Townſhend, Eſq.
Dr. Halifax.
Mr. Alexander Brodie.
Hon. G. Hobart.
Tho. Plumer, Eſq.
C. Yorke, Eſq.
George Ward, Eſq.
W. Devaynes, Eſq.

Sir Joſeph Andrews, Bart.

and one or two other gentlemen were afterwards added to this committee.

The Declaration of the Aſſociation at the St. Alban's Tavern.

We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being unanimouſly and decidedly of opinion, that for the ſecurity and happineſs of all claſſes of our fellow-ſubjects, for the maintenance of our own rights and liberties, and for the deareſt intereſt of our poſterity, it is in the preſent moment incumbent upon us to give to the *executive government* a vigorous and effectual ſupport, in counteracting the numerous efforts of ſedition, in detecting and bringing to legal puniſhment the perſons concerned therein, and in ſuppreſſing in their beginnings all tumults or riots, on whatever pretence they may be excited: do hereby publicly declare our determination, to take all ſuch ſteps for theſe purpoſes, as are within the limits of our duty, in the ſeveral ſtations in which the conſtitution of our country has placed us; and to afford, by our individual exertions, that active aſſiſtance to the authority of the lawful magiſtrate, and to the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed government, which is at all times due from the ſubjects of this realm, but which we feel to be more particularly neceſſary under the circumſtances of the preſent time.

For theſe purpoſes, and to this intent, we are reſolved, and do declare.

Firſt, That we will jointly and individually uſe our utmoſt endeavours to diſcover the authors, publiſhers, and diſtributors of all ſeditious writings which ſhall be publiſhed and diſtributed within the city and liberty of Weſtminſter and its environs; and particularly all perſons who ſhall be engaged in any illegal aſſociations or conſpiracies, for the publication and diſtribution of ſuch writings, or for the exciting tumult and riot within this ſaid diſtrict.

Secondly, That in order to carry the above reſolution into the fulleſt effect, we do hereby mutually bind ourſelves to each other, that whenever it ſhall come to our knowledge, that any perſon or perſons have, within the ſaid diſtrict, publiſhed or diſtributed ſeditious writings, or engaged themſelves in ſuch aſſociation or conſpiracies, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, we will uſe our utmoſt endeavours to put the laws ſtrictly in force againſt him or them.

Thirdly, That we will on every occaſion exert ourſelves on the firſt appearance of tumult or diſorder, to maintain the public peace, and to act in ſupport of the civil authority for ſuppreſſing all riots, and for bringing the promoters of them to legal puniſhment.

Thoſe who agree in the principles here ſtated, are invited to ſet their names to this declaration; copies of which will be left for that purpoſe at the St. Alban's tavern, where any ſubſcriptions will be received, from ſuch perſons as may be willing to contribute towards defraying the expences which may be incurred in carrying into execution the meaſures here ſtated, and in counteracting the miſtaken and pernicious notions which are ſo induſtriouſly circulated.

Rt. Hon. W. Windham, M. P.
Rt. Hon. Lord Mulgrave, M. P.
Sir G. Beaumont, Bart. M. P.
Sir John Stanley, Bart.
Hon. Charles Yorke, M. P.
Edward Laſcelles, Eſq. M. P.
John Anſtruther, Eſq. M. P.
Thomas Manners Sutton, Eſq.
Hon. Spencer Percival
Robert Steele, Eſq.
Samuel Sneyd, Eſq.
Peter Thelluſſon, Eſq.
John Neſbitt, Eſq. M. P.
R. M. Trench Chiſwell, Eſq. M. P.
George Sumner, Eſq. M. P.
Henry Partridge, Eſq.
John Mitford, Eſq. M. P.
Thomas Williams, Eſq. M. P.
Joſhua Iremonger, Eſq.
John Campbell, Eſq.
William Grant, Eſq. M. P.
Edward Hatton, Eſq.
Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart.
John Henniker Major, Eſq.
Right Hon. Earl of Harrington
Heneage Legge, Eſq.
Lord Sheffield, M. P.
John Dent, Eſq. M. P.
William Sayer, Eſq.

Reſolutions of the Common Council of London.

SANDERSON, Mayor.

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall

hall of the city of London, on Thurſday, the 29th Day of November, 1792.

Reſolved unanimouſly,

That it is the duty of all corporations to preſerve their fidelity to their ſovereign, to be watchful for the ſafety of the ſacred conſtitution of the country, and to maintain, to the utmoſt of their power, the peace, the property, and the perſonal ſecurity of every freeman living under its protection; as it is equally the duty of every freeman to bear true allegiance to the king, and be obedient to the exiſting laws of the land.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this corporation, regarding the bleſſings which the ſubjects of the Britiſh empire enjoy under the preſent mild and happy government, as ineſtimable, will ſtrengthen its exertions, by every poſſible means, to ſuppreſs all unlawful and ſeditious aſſemblies within this city, and to bring to juſtice every diſturber of the public tranquillity.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this corporation, in the moſt ſolemn manner, doth hereby call upon every good citizen to co-operate with them to the ſame ſalutary end; to diſcourage every attempt which may be made to excite the fears of the metropolis by wicked and deſigning men; and each in his own perſon to be ready at all times to accompany and aſſiſt the magiſtrates of this city in the ſuppreſſion of every tumult.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this court doth remind their conſtituents, the freemen of London, of the oath by which they are bound to this purpoſe, viz.

The firſt, ſecond, and laſt Clauſe of a Freeman's Oath.

"Ye ſhall ſwear that ye ſhall be good and true to our ſovereign lord king George.

"Obeyſant and obedient ye ſhall be to the mayor and miniſters of this city.

"Ye ſhall alſo keep the king's peace in your own perſon. Ye ſhall know no gatherings, conventicles, nor conſpiracies, made againſt the king's peace, but ye ſhall warn the mayor thereof, or lett it to your power."

Reſolved unanimouſly, That it be recommended to the alderman and common council in their reſpective wards, to conſider of the beſt means of preſerving tranquillity, and of ſecuring obedience to the laws.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That theſe reſolutions be printed in all the public papers of the united kingdoms, ſigned by the town clerk.

RIX.

[Moſt of the corporations in the kingdom took ſimilar meaſures.]

Declaration of the Merchants, Bankers, and Traders of London.

Merchant Taylor's Hall,
Dec. 5th, 1792.

At a very numerous Meeting of Merchants, Bankers, and Traders, held here this day, in conſequence of public advertiſement.

SAMUEL BOSANQUET, Eſq. in the Chair.

The chairman having read the

advertiſement by which this meeting was called;

Reſolved, That it is expedient at this time, for the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, to make a public declaration of their firm attachment to the conſtitution, and of their reſolution to ſupport the ſame.

Then the following declaration was read; viz.

Declaration in Support of the Conſtitution of Great Britain.

We the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, perceiving with the deepeſt concern that attempts are made to circulate opinions contrary to the deareſt intereſt of Britons, and ſubverſive of thoſe principles which have produced and preſerved our moſt invaluable privileges, feel it a duty we owe to our country, ourſelves, and our poſterity, to invite all our fellow ſubjects to join with us in the expreſſion of a ſincere and firm attachment to the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, formed in remote and improved in ſucceeding ages, and under which the glorious revolution in 1688 was effected, a conſtitution wiſely framed for the diffuſion of happineſs and true liberty, and which poſſeſſes the diſtinguiſhed merit, That it has on former occaſions been, and we truſt will in future be, found competent to correct its errors and reform its abuſes.

Our experience of the improvements in agriculture and manufactures, of the flouriſhing ſtate of navigation and commerce, and of increaſed population, ſtill further impels us to make this public declaration of our determined reſolution to ſupport, by every means in our power, the ancient and moſt excellent conſtitution of Great Britain, and a government by king, lords, and commons; and to exert our beſt endeavours to impreſs on the minds of thoſe connected with us, a reverence for and a due ſubmiſſion to the laws of their country, which have hitherto preſerved the liberty, protected the property, and increaſed the enjoyments of a free and proſperous people.

And the ſame having been read a ſecond time;

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this declaration be approved, and be ſubſcribed by all ſuch merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, as may approve thereof; and that it do lie at this hall until Saturday next, incluſive, for ſignature.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That

S. Boſanquet, Eſq.
T. Boddington, Eſq.
A. Bracebridge, Eſq.
J. Cotton, Eſq.
E. Forſter, Eſq.
G. Griffin, Eſq.
T. Hankey, Eſq.
J. Harman, Eſq.
R. Hunter, Eſq.
J. Langſton, Eſq.
W. Manning, Eſq.
S. Smith, Eſq.
T. Pritzler, Eſq.
R. M. T. Chiſwell, Eſq.
J. Melliſh, Eſq.
R. Neave, Eſq.
T. Raikes, Eſq.
J. Cottin, Eſq.
E. Payne, Eſq.
B. Winthrop, Eſq.
J. Read, Eſq.
T. Parry, Eſq. and
D. Giles, Eſq.

be a committee to attend the ſigning of this declaration; and they are hereby requeſted to cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed in the newſpapers, and in any other manner they may think moſt adviſeable.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the committee of the court of aſſiſtants of the merchant taylors company, for the very polite and friendly manner in which the committee afforded the uſe of the hall for the meeting this day; and that the chairman be requeſted to tranſmit a copy of this reſolution.

A motion being made and ſeconded,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to Samuel Boſanquet, Eſquire, for his upright and impartial conduct as chairman of this meeting;

The chairman left the chair.

When the ſaid motion was unanimouſly agreed to.

Then the chairman having reſumed the chair, the meeting was adjourned unanimouſly.

S. BOSANQUET, Eſq.
Chairman.

N. B.—The declaration will lie for ſignatures at Merchant Taylor's hall every day from ten till four o'clock.

[This was ſoon ſigned by more than 8000 perſons.]

Reſolutions agreed to at a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Pariſh of St. George, Hanover-Square, Dec. 18.

Pariſh of St. George Hanover-ſquare.

At a general meeting of the inhabitants of this pariſh, holden by public advertiſement, at the Feſtino-rooms in Hanover-Square, on Tueſday the 18th day of Dec. 1792.

The Rev. Dr. H. R. COURTENAY, Rector, in the chair.

Reſolved, That although, from accidental circumſtances, we are late in aſſembling ourſelves on this occaſion, yet we deſire to be underſtood as not yielding to any of our fellow citizens in a firm attachment to our excellent conſtitution, and a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings we enjoy under it.

That as we hold ourſelves bound in duty and gratitude, at all times, to aſſiſt in endeavouring to ſupport and maintain that conſtitution, ſo we now think ourſelves more eſpecially called upon by the peculiar and critical ſituation of the times, to declare, that we will, all and each of us, in our reſpective ſtations, collectively and individually, contribute every aſſiſtance in our power to the due execution of the laws, the maintenance of civil order and government, and the immediate ſuppreſſion of all riots and tumults, under what pretence ſoever they may be excited; to diſcountenance all illegal meetings, and all ſeditious and inflammatory writings, calculated to miſlead and ſeduce the people from their allegiance, and render them blind to their true intereſt.

That theſe reſolutions be entered in a book to be provided for that purpoſe, and to be left at the board-room in Mount-ſtreet, to receive the ſignature of ſuch inhabitants as ſhall approve thereof.

That a diſtinct book be kept for the ſubſcription of ſuch ſums of money as different perſons may chooſe to advance, toward the expences of carrying the purpoſes of this meeting into execution; it not being at all expected that thoſe who ſign the reſolutions ſhould thereby pledge themſelves to advance any money, but be left entirely to their option in that reſpect. And it is requeſted that no perſon would ſubſcribe more than two guineas, nor leſs than two ſhillings and ſixpence.

That for the better carrying into execution the above purpoſes, a committee be formed, conſiſting of the rector, churchwardens, ſideſmen, and overſeers for the time being, together with any number of other perſons not exceeding fifty, who ſhall meet from time to time, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhall be judged neceſſary; that any nine of the ſaid committee be a quorum empowered to act.

That the following inhabitants be the committee, and that their firſt meeting be at the board-room in Mount-ſtreet, next Monday, at twelve o'clock, viz.

W. Mainwaring, Eſq.
W. Baker, Eſq.
Benj. Caldwell, Eſq.
J. Clerke Jervoiſe, Eſq.
Benj. Keene, Eſq.
Hon. C. Marſham
J. Gladel Vernon, Eſq.
John White, Eſq.
Aſhet. Curzon, Eſq.
Rt. Hon. William Windham
Sir J. Woodhouſe, Bart.
Tho. Bowdler, Eſq.
Wm. Strode, Eſq.
Hen. Legge, Eſq.
Lord John Ruſſell
R. H. Ch. Ja. Fox
G. Hemming, Eſq.
Mr. Ottley
Mr. Henry Turner
Mr. Jonath. Bettle
Mr. J. Armſtrong
Mr. Davis
Mr. J. Nicholas
Mr. R. Faulder
Mr. Walter
T. Powis, Eſq.
Fr. Dickens, Eſq.
Th. Birch, Eſq.
Sir J. Stanley, Bart.
Sir Henry Gough Calthorp, Bt.
Wm. Morton Pitt, Eſq.
Sir. R. Sutton, Bart.
Edw. Baber, Eſq.
Regin. Pole Carew, Eſq.
R. Hallifax, M. D.
Edw. Boodle, Eſq.
Hon. J. Yorke
Tho. W. Coke, Eſq.
Lord R. Spencer
Lord W. Ruſſell
Right. Hon. Col. Fitzpatrick
Mr. Johns
Mr. W. Gray
Mr. James Fiſher
Mr. Willerton
Mr. Butt
Mr. Owen
Mr. Francis Jones
Rev. Mr. Sandilands
Mr. Simpſon.

Reſolved, That the unanimous thanks of this meeting be given to the Reverend Dr. Courtenay, for the zeal and candour which he has exhibited on the preſent occaſion, by propoſing reſolutions which appear to be ſo perfectly well calculated for procuring the peace and ſecurity of the inhabitants of the pariſh of St. George, Hanover-Square.

By order of the meeting,
H. COURTENAY,
Chairman.

[All the wards in London, and all the pariſhes in Weſtminſter, as well as in the vicinity, and in almoſt all parts of the kingdom, held ſimilar meetings. The above ſpecimen was preferred in juſtice to ſome of the illuſtrious perſons whoſe names appear on the committee.]

Counter Addresses and Resolutions of Societies, against whose Proceedings the foregoing Associations were supposed to be directed.

Addreſs of the London Correſponding Society to the other Societies in Great Britain, united for the obtaining a Reform in Parliament.

Friends, and fellow countrymen,

UNLESS we are greatly deceived, the time is approaching when the object for which we ſtruggle is likely to come within our reach. That a nation like Britain ſhould be free, it is requiſite only that Britons ſhould will it to become ſo—that ſuch ſhould be their will, the abuſes of our original conſtitution, and the alarms of our ariſtocratic enemies, ſufficiently witneſs. Confident in the purity of our motives, and in the juſtice of our cauſe, let us meet falſehood with proofs, and hypocriſy with plainneſs; let us perſevere in declaring our principles, and miſrepreſentation will meet its due reward—contempt.

In this view the artifices of a late ariſtocratic aſſociation, formed on the 20th inſtant, call for a few remarks, on account of the declaration they have publiſhed relative to other clubs and ſocieties formed in this nation. It is true that this meeting of gentlemen (for ſo they ſtyle themſelves) have mentioned no names, inſtanced no facts, quoted no authorities; but they take upon themſelves to aſſert that bodies of their countrymen have been aſſociated, profeſſing opinions favourable to the RIGHTS OF MAN, to LIBERTY and EQUALITY; and moreover that thoſe opinions are conveyed in the terms, NO KING, NO PARLIAMENT.—So much for their aſſertions.

If this be intended to include the ſocieties to which we reſpectively belong, we here in the moſt ſolemn manner deny the latter part of the charge, while in admitting the former, we claim the privilege, and glory in the character of Britons. Whoever ſhall attribute to us the expreſſions of NO KING, NO PARLIAMENT, or any deſign of invading the property of other men, is guilty of a wilful, an impudent, and a malicious falſehood.

We know and are ſenſible that the wages of every man are his right; that difference of ſtrength, of talents, and of induſtry, do and ought to afford proportionable diſtinctions of property, which, when acquired, and confirmed by the laws, is ſacred and inviolable. We defy the moſt ſlaviſh and malevolent man in the meeting of the 20th inſtant to bring the remoteſt proof to the contrary. If there be no proof, we call upon them to juſtify an inſidious calumny, which ſeems invented only to terrify independent Britons from reclaiming the rightful conſtitution of their country. We admit and we declare that we are friends to CIVIL LIBERTY, and therefore to NATURAL EQUALITY, both of which we conſider as the RIGHTS OF

MANKIND. Could we believe them to be "in direct oppoſition to the laws of this land," we ſhould bluſh to find ourſelves among the number of its inhabitants. But we are perſuaded that the abuſes of the conſtitution will never paſs current for its true principles; ſince we are told in its firſt charter that ALL ARE EQUAL IN THE SIGHT OF THE LAW, which "ſhall neither be ſold, nor refuſed, nor delayed to any free man whatſoever." Should it ever happen that "right and juſtice" are oppoſed by expence, by refuſal, or by delay, then is this principle of equality violated, and we are no longer free men.

Such are our notions of thoſe rights which it is boldly maintained "are inconſiſtent with the well-being of ſociety." But let us not ſuffer men who avow no principles of liberty, whoſe favourite cry is inequality of property, to eſtrange others of our countrymen from aiding us in ſerving the community, and from recovering to the nation that ſhare of its ſovereignty which has unhappily been ſacrificed to corrupt courtiers and intriguing boroughmongers.

If our laws and conſtitution be juſt and wiſe in their origin and their principle, every deviation from them, as firſt eſtabliſhed, muſt be injurious to the people whoſe perſons and property were then ſecured; if at the Revolution this country was adequately repreſented, it is now ſo no longer, and therefore calls aloud for reform.

If it be true that the people of Britain are ſuperior to other nations, is it that our taxes are leſs burthenſome? or that our proviſions are leſs expenſive? Is it from the various productions of our ſoil that we are rich? Is it owing to the majority of our numbers that we are ſtrong? — Certainly not. France has the advantage in all theſe reſpects, and up to this period ſhe has never been our ſuperior in wealth, in power, in talents, or in virtue. But let us not deceive ourſelves, the difference between us and that nation was formerly that our monarchy was limited, while theirs was abſolute—that the number of our ariſtocracy did not equal the thouſandth part of theirs—that we had trial by jury, while they had none—that our perſons were protected by the laws, while their lives were at the mercy of every titled individual. We, therefore, had that to fight for which to them was unknown—ſince we were men while they were ſlaves.

The ſcene has indeed changed.—Like our brave anceſtors of the laſt century, they have driven out the family that would have deſtroyed them; they have ſcattered the mercenaries who invaded their freedom, and have "broken their chains on the heads of their oppreſſors." If, during this conflict with military aſſaſſins and domeſtic traitors, cruelty and revenge have ariſen among a few inhabitants of the capital, let us lament theſe effects of a bloody and tyrannous manifeſto, but let us leave to the hypocrite pretenders to humanity the taſk of blackening the misfortune, and attributing to a whole nation the act of an enraged populace.

As we have never yet been caſt ſo low at the foot of deſpotiſm, ſo it is not requiſite that we ſhould appeal to the ſame awful tribunal with our brethren on the continent. May our enmities be written in ſand, but may our rights be engraven on marble! We deſire to overthrow no property but that which has been raiſed on the ruins of our liberty. We look with reverence on the landed and commercial intereſts of our country; but we view with abhorrence that monopoly of burgage tenures unwarranted by law or reaſon in this or any other nation in Europe.

Let us then continue, with patience and firmneſs, in the path which is begun. *Let us wait and watch the enſuing ſeſſions of parliament, from whom we have much to hope, and little to fear. The Houſe of Commons may have been the ſource of our calamity, it may prove that of our deliverance. Should it not, we truſt we ſhall not prove unworthy of our forefathers, whoſe exertions in the cauſe of mankind ſo well deſerve our imitation.*

(Signed)
MAURICE MARGAROT,
Chairman.
—— ——,
Secretary.

London, 29th Nov. 1792.

Reſolutions of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, at a Meeting on December the 14th, 1792.

Reſolved, 1ſt. That the object of this ſociety, from its firſt inſtitution to the preſent moment of alarm, has uniformly been to promote the welfare of the people by all conſtitutional means, and to expoſe, in their true light, the abuſes which have imperceptibly crept in, and at laſt grown to ſuch an height as to raiſe the moſt ſerious apprehenſions in every true friend of the conſtitution.

Reſolved, 2d. That this ſociety diſclaims the idea of wiſhing to effect a change in the preſent ſyſtem of things by violence and public commotion; but that it truſts to the good ſenſe of the people, when they ſhall be fully enlightened on the ſubject, to procure, without diſturbing the public tranquillity, an effectual and permanent reform.

Reſolved, 3d. That the intentions of this and of ſimilar ſocieties have of late been groſsly calumniated, by thoſe who are intereſted to perpetuate abuſes, and their agents, who have been induſtrious to repreſent the members of ſuch ſocieties as men of dangerous principles, wiſhing to deſtroy all ſocial order, diſturb the ſtate of property, and to introduce anarchy and confuſion inſtead of regular government.

Reſolved, 4th. That, in order to counteract the operation of ſuch groſs aſperſions, and to prevent them from checking the progreſs of liberal enquiry, it is, at this time, peculiarly expedient that this and ſimilar ſocieties ſhould publicly aſſert the rectitude of their principles.

Proceedings of the Society of the Friends of the People, at Freemaſons Tavern, December 15.

Friends of the People.

Freemaſons Tavern, Dec. 15, 1792.

The Society of the Friends of the People, aſſociated for the purpoſe of obtaining a parliamentary reform, after a careful reviſion of all their declarations, reſolutions, and proceedings, ſince their inſtitution,

tution, as well as the events which have taken place ſince their laſt meeting; and after an attentive conſideration of the preſent ſtate of public affairs—the apparent diſpoſition of the people at this time—the acknowledged conviction of all men, of all parties, of the neceſſity of a parliamentary reform; and with no other difference of opinion, but concerning the extent of the meaſure, or the time for propoſing it; and finally, the ſituation in which this ſociety is placed by their own engagement, and by the expectations formed of their future conduct; have this day

Unanimouſly reſolved, That they hold themſelves bound by every tie of honour and of duty to perſevere in their endeavours to accompliſh, through the known channels of the conſtitution, the object of their aſſociation; namely, an effectual reform in the conſtruction of the houſe of commons, until the object is obtained, or ſhall be found to be evidently unattainable by their efforts, or by any of thoſe means in which they can participate.

That, conſidering the pains inceſſantly taken to traduce the character and principles of this ſociety, firſt, by endeavouring to confound the idea of a reform in parliament with that of diſaffection to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this kingdom, as if a real repreſentation of the commons were incompatible with the ſecurity of a limited monarchy, as if the crown were not ſafe with an honeſt unbiaſſed houſe of commons, or as if the idea of ſuch reform had been at all times reprobated, as it now is, by thoſe who occupy the higheſt ſtation of profit and confidence under the crown; and then by uniting us in the ſame deſcription and obloquy with perſons whom they call republicans and levellers, and with whom, if ſuch doctrines and perſons exiſt, we have no connexion—we think it incumbent on us to declare once more, that we diſclaim the views and principles ſo baſely and falſely attributed to us; and that deteſting, as we do, the corruptneſs and baſeneſs notoriouſly prevailing and increaſing in every branch and department of government, our ſole wiſh and object is to provide a conſtitutional inſtrument and power, by which they may be removed or corrected in a regular parliamentary way,

That, calling, as we have done, for the ſupport of the country in their own cauſe, and for the purpoſes which we have repeatedly declared, and ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of every man who approves of our deſign, and may be deſirous to promote it, we at the ſame time moſt earneſtly exhort and conjure the true friends of the cauſe of reform, to diſcourage, and reſiſt to the utmoſt of their ability, every attempt to ſupport it by any other means, than thoſe which the laws permit, and the conſtitution warrants. Miſtaken zeal is always at the mercy, and too often under the guidance, of real treachery. They who affect moſt to abhor ſedition, are ſometimes found at the bottom of it themſelves; and inſtances are not wanting to prove, that, under the ſpecious pretence of ſtrengthening the hands of government, a deſign may be formed of deſtroying the liberty of the preſs, of calling in the military power, and finally annihilating the civil government of the country.

That whereas we have received aſſurances from numerous and reſpectable aſſociations, in different parts of this united kingdom, of their entire concurrence in our declared views and principles, of their confidence in our integrity and prudence, and of their determination to ſupport us, we earneſtly hope that thoſe aſſociations, as well as all others, who are friends to the ſame cauſe, will confine themſelves to the ſame diſtinct object that we do, and co-operate with us on the principles ſtated in this and our former declarations. In return, we promiſe them, that we will exert, and devote our faculties, and our labours, faithfully, honourably, and ſteadily, to the great cauſe of reform, in which we are engaged and united with them.

In the name and by the order of the ſociety.

(Signed)
SAMUEL WHITBREAD, jun.
Chairman.

Proceedings of the Society of the Friends of the Freedom of the Preſs, Dec. 22.

Liberty of the Preſs.

Freemaſons Tavern, Dec. 22.

At a general meeting of Friends to the Freedom of the Preſs, convened this day by public advertiſement;

GERARD NOEL EDWARDS, Eſq. M. P. in the chair.

Unanimouſly reſolved,

1. That the liberty of the preſs is a right inſeparable from the principles of a free government, and eſſential to the ſecurity of the Britiſh conſtitution.

2. That this liberty conſiſts in the free diſcuſſion and examination of the principles of civil government, and of all matters of public opinion.

3. That no writing ought to be conſidered as a public libel, and made the ſubject of criminal proſecution, unleſs ſuch writing ſhall appear to be publiſhed with a deſign to excite the people to reſiſt the civil magiſtrate, or obſtruct the execution of the exiſting laws.

4. That ſuch publications may become proper objects of proſecution; and that the executive government is entruſted with powers amply ſufficient for that purpoſe.

5. That we have therefore ſeen, with uneaſineſs and alarm, the formation of certain ſocieties, which, under the pretence of ſupporting the executive magiſtrate, and defending the government againſt ſedition, have held out general terrors againſt the circulation of writings, which, without deſcribing them, they term ſeditious, and entered into ſubſcriptions for the maintenance of proſecutions againſt them: — a proceeding doubtful as to its legality, unconſtitutional in its principle, oppreſſive in its operation, and deſtructive to the liberty of the preſs.

6. That ſuch aſſociations have appeared to us the more exceptionable from an attentive obſervation of their proceedings; — whilſt mutually binding and engaging themſelves to enforce the execution of the laws againſt ſeditious libels, they have themſelves produced and circulated publications containing doc-

trines long ſince exploded, and which, if admitted, would prove the revolution to have been an act of rebellion, and the title of the reigning family to the throne of theſe kingdoms, to be founded in uſurpation and injuſtice.

7. That a ſyſtem of jealouſy and arbitrary coercion of the people has been at all times dangerous to the ſtability of the Engliſh government.

8. That, anxious to preſerve the public peace as connected with public liberty, this meeting conſiders it as an indiſpenſable duty to warn their fellow ſubjects againſt all proceedings, which appear to be inconſiſtent with either, on whatever pretext they may be grounded; we are therefore determined to oppoſe, to the utmoſt of our power, every attempt to prejudice any part of the conſtitution, to maintain that which appears to be its beſt ſecurity, the freedom of the preſs; and to uſe our endeavours to counteract the effect of meaſures which ſeem calculated to ſuppreſs that liberal ſentiment and manly freedom of diſcuſſion, which form the life and ſoul of the Britiſh conſtitution.

9. That the thanks of this meeting are particularly due to the hon. Thomas Erſkine, for his conſtitutional defence of the freedom of opinion and the liberty of the preſs, in a late trial; a defence in which he diſplayed ability, independence, zeal, and eloquence never ſurpaſſed on any former occaſion at the Engliſh bar, though that defence was made under circumſtances of ſuch peculiar difficulty and embarraſſment as required his determined ſpirit and unſhaken fortitude to overcome, and though he had to encounter every prejudice which art and induſtry could excite.

By order of the meeting.

(Signed)

Gerard Noel Edwards,

Chairman.

Some Account of the Trial of Mr. Thomas Paine *for a Libel, on* Tueſday, December 18, 1792, *at* Guildhall, London.

(Alluded to in the laſt Reſolution of the Friends of the Freedom of the Preſs.)

THIS trial laſted ſix hours.

Mr. Percival opened the pleadings on this information, which ſtated,

"That Thomas Paine, being a wicked, ſeditious, and ill-diſpoſed perſon, and being greatly diſaffected to our ſovereign lord the king, and to the happy government and conſtitution of this kingdom, as eſtabliſhed at the revolution, publiſhed a falſe and ſcandalous libel of and concerning the ſaid government and conſtitution, &c.:"—which libel he afterwards ſtated.

To this the defendant had pleaded, not guilty.

Mr. Attorney General laid before the jury what appeared to him a plain, clear, and indiſputable caſe. Had it not been that certain circumſtances had rendered it of more expectation than ordinary, he ſhould have literally contented himſelf with reading the different libellous paſſages from the ſecond part of the publication called the Rights of Man, and left them to the judgment of the jury, without ſaying one word upon them; but the accumulated miſchief which had ariſen from this libel, had rendered it neceſſary that he ſhould ſay a few words.

In the firſt place, a report had been propagated that the preſent proſecution did not accord with his private ſentiments. He wiſhed to refute that report, and declared, if it had been true, that he ſhould no longer have been worthy to hold his preſent ſituation, but to be expelled from the ſervice of his ſovereign, and of the public. He certainly thought it his indiſpenſable duty to bring this ENORMOUS OFFENDER before a jury of his country.

He obſerved, the publication in queſtion was not the firſt of the kind which this defendant had ſent forth into the world. He had publiſhed what is called the firſt part of the Rights of Man, which, though it was extremely reprehenſible, he had overlooked on this principle, that he did not wiſh to prevent any kind of ſpeculative diſcuſſion from coming under the public eye. But another was uſhered into the world ſtill more reprehenſible, which had been ſpread over every part of the kingdom with incredible induſtry, and thruſt into the hands of all deſcriptions of perſons in this country. Even children's ſweetmeats were wrapped up with parts of it. The moſt inconceivable induſtry had been exerted to obtrude this book on the minds of the public, who were not converſant with ſuch ſubjects, and of which they could form no proper judgment. He had therefore thought it his duty to put a charge on the record againſt the author of this work.

He ſhould ſtate what he conceived the intention of this writer to be, and they would afterwards conſider whether they were not ſatisfied that it deſerved that deſcription which his duty obliged him to give it.

In the firſt place, he imputed to it a deliberate intention to vilify and diſgrace, and thereby to bring into abhorrence and contempt, the whole conſtitution of the government of this country as explained at the revolution — that ſyſtem of government under which we had the happineſs to live at this day. By theſe means the ſubjects of this country might be impoſed on to their own deſtruction, and be diffident of that which was their ſalvation, and upon which every thing that was dear to them depended. He imputed to this book a deliberate deſign to bring calamity on this country, by deſtroying that love which we had hitherto had for our conſtitution. He imputed to the defendant, that he had repreſented the regal part of the government of this country, bounded and limited as it was, as OPPRESSIVE and ABOMINABLE tyranny; and he farther imputed to the defendant, that he had repreſented the legiſlature of this kingdom as a direct uſurpation.

With reſpect to the laws, they, without one ſingle exception, were founded on this uſurpation, or, to uſe his own words, there was little or no law in this country. Thus it was held out to a community conſiſting of ten or twelve millions of people, that there was no law that bound them, except thoſe obligations which aroſe from morality and religion. According to this defendant, we had no law to defend our lives, our property, or our reputations; but were reduced back to a ſtate of nature, where the weak are a prey to the ſtrong, and where there is no ſecurity to property, nor to any thing that is dear to man.

This, therefore, was the ſweeping imputation on all our laws, that they were null and void. He imputed to the defendant *artifice*, in order to create diſguſt to our conſtitution, by ſtating pure and ſimple monarchy and ariſtocracy repeatedly, without having choſen to ſay one ſingle ſyllable of them as combined with democracy. Farther, he took no notice of unbalanced democracy, which was accompanied with democratical tyranny. Inſtead of reaſoning, he dictated. And to whom was all this addreſſed? To the ignorant, to the credulous, and to deſperate perſons, who were always pleaſed with hearing that there was neither law nor government. The ignorant and credulous in all countries were an eaſy prey to the crafty, who were ever ready to deceive them. The jury would alſo conſider the phraſe, act, and manner of this author. He dealt in ſhort ſentences, and in ſcoffing and contemptuous expreſſions. Our conſtitution had not exiſted for 700 years, as deſcribed by this defendant, but almoſt from eternity. The origin of it could not be traced. Julius Cæſar had deſcribed it as it exiſted when he appeared among our rude anceſtors. It had proceeded from ſtep to ſtep, till it was conſummated at the revolution, when it ſhone forth in all its ſplendor.

The attorney general then read ſix or ſeven paragraphs from the pamphlet to the jury, upon which he animadverted with great ability. He dwelt a conſiderable time upon the paragraph in which Mr. Paine calls the bill of rights "a bill of wrongs and inſults." He alſo read a letter ſent to himſelf (the attorney general) upon the ſubject of the preſent proſecution. This letter is dated from Paris, and in it Mr. Paine avowed himſelf the author of the Rights of Man. In the concluding part of this letter were ſeveral treaſonable reflections upon the king of England and his royal ſons. Mr. Attorney General dwelt upon this part of the letter with great emotion and indignation; which inſpired every perſon in court with the feelings of loyalty and affection to their ſovereign.

The attorney general concluded his excellent ſpeech with a number of ingenious and important obſervations on the libellous matter which he had ſelected from the Second Part of the Rights of Man.

Mr. Attorney General having finiſhed his important obſervations on theſe paſſages, obſerved, that he thought it unneceſſary to trouble the gentlemen of the jury further in this ſtage of the buſineſs. According as they ſhould or ſhould not be of opinion that this book had a dangerous tendency, would be their verdict. He had done his duty by bringing an offender of this ſort before the gentlemen of the jury, and thereby putting the public under the ſhield of their protection.

Several witneſſes were examined, who proved the hand-writing of the defendant, and, that he was the author of the pamphlet in queſtion.

The evidence being finiſhed on the part of the proſecution,

Mr. Erſkine delivered a ſpeech of three hours and twenty minutes long, in favour of the defendant.

After a number of moſt ingenious obſervations on the letter written by his client to the attorney general, he remarked, that his name had been attacked, and his character torn to pieces for maintaining the freedom and integrity of the Engliſh bar, without which the moſt valuable part of this conſtitution would be loſt. He was entitled by the law of England to plead the cauſe of the defendant, and he only ſought a verdict for his client from that law.

The queſtion to be decided was, not whether the conſtitution of our fathers under which we lived, was or was not preferable to the conſtitution of America, France, or any other human conſtitution; in the nature of things, that could not be the queſtion. Suppoſe he addreſſed himſelf to gentlemen who were not friendly to our conſtitution, and who thought that we ſhould be happier under a republic; he ſhould have no difficulty to tell ſuch gentlemen, that they could not on that ground find their verdict for the defendant. He ſhould inform them, that they had no authority but what was conferred upon them by the law of England.

The gentlemen of the jury are therefore to enquire, whether the defendant, in publiſhing this book, had been guilty of an offence againſt the law of England. The learned counſel ſaid, he well knew he was addreſſing himſelf to gentlemen who were in love with the principles of our conſtitution; and he gave them the benefit of knowing that which was not neceſſary then to ſtate, becauſe he had done it in another place—that he profeſſed himſelf to be, and always had been, a man who loved and admired the genuine principles of the Engliſh conſtitution; and therefore, what came from him came from no ſuſpected quarter; and he meant to defend his client on the principle of the liberty of the preſs.

The true queſtion for the deciſion of the jury was, when the defendant wrote his book, did he or did he not believe he was doing that which would be beneficial to the Engliſh nation at large? No matter whether the abuſes which he ſtated exiſted or not. No matter whether the Engliſh conſtitution was ſuperior to the conſtitutions of America, France, or any other country on the face of the globe: yet if Mr. Paine believed that it was not, and under the influence of that belief publiſhed his "Rights of Man," for what he conceived would tend to the benefit of the Engliſh nation, he conceived that was no libel. He addreſſed himſelf to the reaſon of a whole nation; and his client was not a ſubject of criminal juſtice unleſs it could be ſhewn, that at the time he wrote it was not to promote the happineſs but to produce miſery to the ſubjects of this kingdom. This was the principle, the root and foundation upon which the learned counſel erected his moſt ingenious defence.

A number of obſervations had been made by the attorney-general on certain paſſages which he had ſelected from the "Rights of Man;" but the gentlemen of the jury would take alſo the context into their conſideration—they would take the whole book together. He cited a paſſage in which Mr. Paine obſerved, that the end of all political aſſociation is the preſervation of the rights of man, which rights (liberty, property, and ſecurity of the nation) were the ſource of all ſovereignty. All authority was derived from it, and the right of property ought to be held ſacred. There was a difference between opinions and actions; a man had a right to publiſh ſpeculative opinions on government, which he thought would improve it. Had this not been permitted in England—had it not been allowed to publiſh an opinion that was new—we ſhould not now have had our free and excellent conſtitution, under which we enjoyed ſo many bleſſings, and under which he hoped we ſhould ſoon enjoy more in conſequence of a reform of its abuſes. The Engliſh government was capable of reforming all its abuſes.

The learned counſel produced many authorities in point from the moſt celebrated authors in ſupport of his defence on the principle of the liberty of the preſs; particularly from ſome of the political works of Mr. Burke. He alſo cited the authority of Milton, Locke, Hume, Sir George Saville, Dr. Johnſon, Dr. Price, Dr. Paley, Lord Loughborough, and Earl Stanhope.

Mr. Erſkine next proceeded to make a number of remarks on the paſſages that were ſtated in the information to be libellous. In the courſe of theſe obſervations he mentioned a number of noblemen and gentlemen who met ſome years ago for the purpoſe of a parliamentary reform. Among theſe were his grace the duke of Richmond, and the right honourable William Pitt, the preſent miniſter of this country. This meeting of theirs was the very week after parliament had told them they ſhould have no reform. The learned counſel read ſome of their reſolutions, which undoubtedly did not ſpeak very handſomely of the conſtitution of this country, particularly with regard to the unequal repreſentation of the people. How great had been the progreſs of literature, ſcience, and government, in conſequence of the publication of new opinions which were improvements upon the old! Had it not been for that circumſtance, we muſt ſtill have been ſavages among the woods, living in a ſtate of nature. If they attended to the courſe of the world with regard to the diſſemination of truth, they would find that the univerſal God that created us, the author of our nature, was one of the firſt martyrs on account of the diſſemination of truth, when he came to give it propagation. The Saviour of the world expired on a croſs for ſtating that which was the object of ſcorn at the moment it was publiſhed. His bleſſed followers experienced the ſame fate. Our Saviour might have come in the fleſh, like the Mahometan prophet. He might have come like a great ſovereign. He might have appeared at once in dignity and authority. But he came to confound the pride of man, and to preach thoſe univerſal and equal rights which have been the great privileges of mankind in every age of the world; and therefore he came in that low ſtate in which he is deſcribed, and preached his conſolations to the poor.

The learned counſel concluded his ſpeech with the dialogue in Lucian between Jupiter and the countryman, who went on reaſoning very ſnugly together, till Jupiter began to ſhew his thunder; when the countryman immediately ſaid, "I am now in the wrong, I cannot fight with thunder." In like manner, ſaid Mr. Erſkine, I cannot fight againſt the univerſal voice of England. God forbid that I ſhould ever be called upon to fight with them. I am an obedient ſubject of the law. Without tranſgreſſing thoſe rules that have maintained the integrity of the profeſſion, I have only done that which the duties of my ſtation have accidentally caſt upon me.

Mr. Attorney General was about to reply on the part of the proſecution; when the gentlemen of the jury told him there was no neceſſity for giving himſelf the trouble: and immediately found the defendant—*Guilty*.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 13, 1791, to DECEMBER 11, 1792.

Chriſtened	Males	9934	Buried	Males	10276	Increaſed in the Burials this Year, 1453.
	Females	9414		Females	9937	

Total Males and Females Chriſtened 19348.—Total Males and Females Buried 20213.

Died under Two Years	6542	—Thirty and Forty	1807	—Eighty and Ninety	380
Between Two and Five	2161	—Forty and Fifty	2102	—Ninety and a Hundred	49
—Five and Ten	753	—Fifty and Sixty	1830	A Hundred	1
—Ten and Twenty	664	—Sixty and Seventy	1434	A Hundred and Two	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1384	—Seventy and Eighty	1104	A Hundred and Four	1

DISEASES.	
Abortive and Still-born	772
Abſceſs	29
Aged	1165
Ague	6
Apoplexy and Sudden	86
Aithma and Phthiſic	460
Bed-ridden	13
Bleeding	16
Bloody Flux	1
Burſten and Rupture	15
Cancer	69
Canker	
Chicken Pox	1
Childbed	201
Cholic, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	5
Cold	4
Conſumption	5255
Convulſions	4646
Cough and Hooping-Cough	311
Diabetes	
Dropſy	901
Evil	8
Fever, Malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2236
Fiſtula	3
Flux	4
French Pox	32
Gout	90
Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	52
Grief	9
Head-Ach	1
Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	5
Jaundice	63
Impoſthume	1
Inflammation	303
Itch	
Leproſy	1
Lethargy	3
Livergrown	1
Lunatick	57
Meaſles	450
Miſcarriage	1
Mortification	234
Palſy	76
Pleuriſy	21
Quinſy	12
Raſh	
Rheumatiſm	8
Rickets	3
Riſing of the Lights	
Scurvy	5
Small Pox	1568
Sore Throat	13
Sores and Ulcers	11
St. Anthony's Fire	2
Stoppage in the Stomach	13
Suddenly	142
Surfeit	2
Swelling	4
Teeth	419
Thruſh	36
Tympany	
Vomiting and Looſeneſs	3
Worms	7

CASUALTIES.	
BIT by a mad dog	1
Broken Limbs	3
Bruiſed	4
Burnt	15
Choaked	2
Drowned	116
Exceſſive Drinking	15
Executed *	11
Found Dead	9
Fractured	3
Frighted	1
Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	71
Killed themſelves	31
Murdered	6
Overlaid	0
Poiſoned	4
Scalded	7
Stabbed	1
Starved	5
Suffocated	4
Total	309

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* There have been executed in Middleſex and Surrey, 25; of which number 11 only have been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January 1793.

EXPORTED.

1792. ENGLAND.	BRITISH. Quarters.	FOREIGN. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid. £. s. d.
Wheat - - -	220,689	24,525	
Dº Flour - - -	46,606	cwts. qrs. lbs. 11,101 1 14	69,426 0 4 Bo. Drawbacks Nil.
Rye - - - -	14,608	qrs. 1,542	
Barley - - -	25,830	709	
Malt - - - -	18,359		
Oats - - - -	12,160	11,255	
Oatmeal - - -	398	62	
Beans - - -	10,747	846	
Peaſe - - - -	4,355	1,196	
Biſcuit - - - -	Cwt. 48,560		
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - -	qrs. 3,506	qrs. 2,267	1,039 1 3 Bo. Drawbacks Nil.
Dº Flour - - -	cwt. qr. lbs. 1,274 1 4		
Dº Meal - - -	1,334 3 3		
Barley - - -	qrs. 904	64	
Dº, hulled - - -	24		
Malt - - - -	1,661		
Oats - - - -	1,479		
Oatmeal - - -	cwt. qrs. lbs. 525 2 3	Iriſh. cwt. 12 0 0	
Beans - - -	qrs. 63		
Peaſe - - - -	82		
Bear - - - -	1,576		
Biſcuit - - -	cwt. qr. lb. 2,232 3 0		
Groats - - - -	qrs. 3		

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.		
		£.	s.	d.
Wheat	17,515	18,284	12	10
	cwt. qr. lb.			
Dº Flour	7,756 3 6			
	qrs.			
Rye	13,026			
Barley	87,915			
Oats	810,575			
Oatmeal	8,095			
Beans	38,451			
Peaſe	4,800			
Indian Corn	5,677			

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat	2,676	6,327 16 4
Barley	30,610	
Oats	124,330	
Oatmeal	65,399	
Peaſe	6	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the Year 1792.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
5 3½	3 10¼	3 4	2 3¼	3 11

N. B. The price of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1792.

N. B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices which each Stock bore during the Courſe of any Month, are put down oppoſite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Conſol.	4 pr Ct. Conſol.	5 pr Ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bonds	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
January —	207	92 1/4	91 3/4	103 3/8	116 5/8	26 5/8	13 3/4	187	—	99	—	91 1/2	—	1/8	18	17 10 0
	199	88 1/2	89 7/8	102 1/4	116 5/8	25 7/8	12 5/8	186 1/4	—	86	—	88 1/2	—	Par.	—	17 3 6
February —	219	97 1/2	96 1/2	107	120	27 7/8	13 1/2	209 1/2	92	105	94 5/8	96 3/8	96	1/8	19	18 18 0
	207 3/4	92	91 5/8	103 1/4	116 5/8	26 1/8	12 7/8	183	—	95	—	94 1/4	93 1/2	Par.	15	17 7 0
March —	216 1/2	96 5/8	97 1/8	105 5/8	119 7/8	27 7/8	12 7/8	212	—	115	106 1/4	97 1/4	96 3/8	Par.	7	
	216	96 3/8	95 3/4	104 1/4	119 1/4	27 3/4	—	207	—	105	105 3/4	97 1/8	95	95 7/8		
April —	213 3/4	95 5/8	96 5/8	105 1/4	120	27 1/2	12 3/8	213 1/2	—	116	105 1/2	95	95 5/8	1/8	6	0 19 0 prem.
	206 1/4	91 1/2	91 3/4	100 1/4	118 1/2	25 5/8	12 1/8	208	—	103	—	94	95 1/2	Par.	—	0 13 0
May —	209 3/4	93 5/8	94 7/8	101	119 1/8	27	12 1/8	210 1/2	—	108	99	92 1/2	93 1/8	1/8	1/8	16 17 0
	201 1/4	86 3/4	87 1/8	97 1/4	117 5/8	24 7/8	11 3/8	202	—	100	—	86	89 1/2	—	—	16 5 0
June —	206 3/4	92 7/8	91 1/2	100 3/4	119 7/8	26 5/8	12 1/8	208 1/2	—	107	—	92 1/2	92 7/8	1/8	—	16 14 0
	200 1/2	90 3/8	—	99 7/8	118 7/8	26 1/8	11	—	—	98	—	90 3/8	—	—	—	16 9 0
July —	208	93 5/8	—	102 5/8	—	26 5/8	12 1/8	211 1/4	—	113	100 1/4	91 3/4	91 5/8	1/8	—	16 12 0
	202 3/4	91 1/4	—	100 1/4	—	26 1/8	11 5/8	207 1/4	—	102	—	—	91 1/2	—	—	16 7 6
Auguſt —	207 3/4	92 7/8	92 3/8	103	118 1/4	26 5/8	12 3/8	208 3/4	87 1/2	117	—	92 3/4	92 1/2	1/8	20	16 12 0
	202 1/2	90 5/8	89 5/8	100 7/8	116 7/8	26 1/8	12 1/8	203 1/2	86 3/4	111	—	91 5/8	91 1/2	—	17	16 9 6
September —	203	90 5/8	90 3/4	102 1/4	117 3/4	26 1/8	12	210 1/2	—	110	89 7/8	90 7/8	89 7/8	1/8	12	16 16 0
	199 1/4	89 1/4	88 3/8	100 1/2	116 1/4	25 3/4	11 7/8	200 1/2	—	102	89 1/8	—	—	—	Par.	16 10 6
October —	200 7/8	89 3/4	91	100 1/2	118 3/8	25 5/8	11 1/2	211 3/4	—	109	90 5/8	90 1/2	90 1/4	1/2	14	16 16 6
	200 1/4	89 1/2	89 1/8	100 3/8	116	25 1/2	11 3/8	209	—	101	—	89 1/4	89 1/8	1/4	12	16 13 6
November —	200 3/4	89 3/4	90 5/8	100 5/8	118 5/8	25 5/8	12	212	85 1/2	111	—	89 1/2	90 1/4	1 1/2	—	16 16 6
	193 1/2	81 7/8	83 1/8	94 5/8	112 5/8	23 1/4	10 1/2	197	85 1/4	80	—	87	82 1/4	3/8	—	16 13 0
December —	182 1/2	82 5/8	83 1/4	95	113 3/8	23 1/4	10 3/4	197	—	80	84	79 3/8	82 1/4	1 1/2	20d.	16 14 0
	171	73 3/4	74	88 1/2	104	21 3/8	10 1/8	171	—	25 d.	—	77 1/4	—	5 1/2 d.	—	16 7 6

STATE of the BAROMETER and THERMOMETER, for the Year 1792.

N. B.—*The higheſt and loweſt Degree at which the Barometer and Thermometer ſtood in each Month is ſet down.*

	Days.	Barometer.	Days.	Thermometer.
January	2	28—95.	1	45.
	17	30—10.	12	32.
February	3	29—98.	14	32.
	15	28—63.	31	49.
March	1	29—18.	2	50.
	9	29—98.	18	38.
April	12	30— 5.	9	34.
	25	28— 5.	28	51.
May	3	30—35.	13	57.
	17	29—70.	19	44.
June	6	29—94.	1	30.
	29	28—60.	19	57.
July	3	29—88.	19	52.
	11	29— 0.	28	61.
Auguſt	16	29—62.	1	56.
	17	29—01.	17	64.
September	23	28—70.	7	93.
	29	29—69.	30	58.
October	16	29—84.	2	62.
	22	28—70.	24	51.
November	15	28—75.	4	56.
	23	30— 4.	14	46.
December	19	28—68.	9	54.
	20	30—22.	17	44.

Public Acts paſſed in the Second Seſſions of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

FEB. 15.

An act to extend the proviſions of certain acts reſpecting the trials of controverted elections of members of parliament,

MARCH 9.

Land-tax act,

Malt-duty act.

Marine mutiny act.

Act for repealing the duties on female ſervants.

Act for ditto, on window-lights in houſes containing leſs than ſeven windows.

Act for repealing the duties on waggons, &c. granted by an act 23 Geo. III.

MARCH 10.

Mutiny act.

Act for repealing the duties on malt, granted 31 Geo. III.

Act for repealing a part of the duty on tallow candles,

MARCH 30.

Two acts for raiſing money by exchequer bills.

Act regulating the commercial intercourſe with America.

APRIL 5.

Act to make proviſion for the eſtabliſhment of the duke and ducheſs of York, and to ſettle an annuity on the ducheſs, in caſe of the death of his royal highneſs.

Act granting 400,000l. to be paid to the bank, for the reduction of the national debt.

Act for the better execution of warrants againſt offenders againſt the exciſe laws.

Act repealing certain regulations with reſpect to certificates on the exportation of tea into Ireland or America.

Act for the more effectual preventing of frauds on the exciſe by common brewers.

Act to compel auctioneers to declare whether ſales have been held under the notices required by law.

APRIL 30.

Act to raiſe a ſum of money by lottery.

Act for the defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia.

Act to indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices, &c.

Act to prevent frauds on the exciſe in the ſoap manufactory.

Act to enable the bank of Scotland to increaſe their capital ſtock.

MAY 8.

Act granting a certain ſum of money out of the conſolidated fund.

Act to explain and amend an act 31 Geo. II. for the encouragement of ſeamen in the royal navy.

Act to explain and amend an act 26 Geo. III. for the preventing of frauds in the payment of ſeamens' wages.

JUNE 11.

Act for the amendment of the law in proceedings upon information in the nature of quo warranto.

JUNE 15.

Act for the more effectual adminiſtration of the office of a juſtice of the peace in and near the metropolis.

Act granting relief to paſtors, miniſters, and lay perſons of the epiſcopal communion in Scotland.

Act for eſtabliſhing courts of judicature in Newfoundland.

Act to remove doubts reſpecting the functions of juſtices in caſes of libel.

Act for preventing the counterfeiting of certificates in the characters of ſervants.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1792.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 9.			
FOR 16,000 men, including 4,425 marines	832,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 13.			
To diſcharge the navy debt	131,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 14.			
Ordinary, including half-pay	672,482	0	0
Extraordinaries	350,000	0	0
	£. 1,985,482	0	0

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 16.			
For 17,013 men, as guards and garriſons, from December 25, 1791, to June 24, 1792	285,064	12	9
For 15,701 ditto, from June 25 to December 24, 1792	275,140	19	3
Forces in the plantations, &c. from December 1791 to June 25, 1792	170,193	9	6½
Ditto from June 25 to December 24, 1792	149,294	13	5
Difference between Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment, from December 25, 1791, to June 24, 1792	4,250	12	8
Ditto from June 25, to December 24 1792	2,903	4	7
Forces in the Eaſt Indies	8,345	16	2
Recruiting, contingencies, &c.	98,037	15	0
Full pay to ſupernumerary officers	15,064	11	0
General and ſtaff-officers	6,427	0	6
Allowances to the paymaſter general, &c.	52,338	5	2
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	159,797	10	0
Ditto horſe-guards	202	10	0
Officers late in the ſervice of the States-General	3,161	10	10
Reduced officers of Britiſh American forces	55,092	10	0
Allowances to ditto	4,907	10	0
Chelſea penſioners	173,104	3	11
Widows penſions	9,381	13	10
Scotch roads and bridges	4,660	0	0
Garriſon and ſtaff-officers in 1791	1,785	3	8
FEBRUARY 28.			
Extraordinaries in 1791	340,306	8	0
	£. 1,819,460	0	4

ORDNANCE.

February 16.	£.	s.	d.
Ordnance previous to December 31, 1783, not provided for	877	11	2
Ditto, not provided for in 1790	43,225	18	5
Ordnance for 1792	377,898	1	8
	£. 422,001	11	3

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

February 9.			
To diſcharge exchequer bills	5,500,000	0	0
February 14.			
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia	5,376	17	6
Ditto New Brunſwick	4,520	0	0
Ditto St. John's Iſland	2,020	0	0
Ditto Cape Breton	1,800	0	0
Ditto Newfoundland	1,306	7	6
Ditto Bahama Iſlands	4,180	0	0
Chief juſtice of the Bermuda Iſlands	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica	600	0	0
Civil liſt eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	6,565	7	0
Ditto New South Wales	4,726	0	0
February 20.			
To the fund for paying off exchequer bills	100,000	0	0
To the bank for the reduction of national debt	400,000	0	0
February 28.			
Convicts in Langſtone and Portſmouth harbours	6,401	4	8½
Ditto on the Thames	17,023	17	2
Sending proviſions, &c. to New South Wales	22,179	12	6
Secretary of commiſſioners for regulating the ſhipping of ſlaves	100	0	0
Proſecution of Mr. Haſtings	6,347	11	6
To Thomas Cotton, Eſq. to pay bills of exchange	1,920	9	10¾
Compenſation to the owners of ſlave ſhips	4,141	11	7¾
African forts	13,000	0	0
Extraordinary expences of the mint	9,819	18	7
Proſecution of offenders againſt the corn laws	707	3	8
Preſents to the inhabitants of the north weſt coaſt of America	10,329	15	4
March 19.			
Compenſation for loſſes ſuſtained on evacuating the Muſquito Shore	12,262	19	9
Addreſs money	26,043	3	3
American and Eaſt Florida ſufferers	284,992	15	5½
Allowances to American civil officers, ſufferers	28,000	0	0
	£. 6,474,950	15	5½

DEFICIENCY.

FEBRUARY 14.

				£.	s.	d.
Deficiency of grants for 1791 — —				436,990	18	0½
Navy — —	1,985,482	0	0			
Army — —	1,819,460	0	4			
Ordnance —	422,001	11	3			
Miſcellaneous ſervices	6,474,950	15	5½			
Deficiency —	436,990	18	0½			
	£. 11,138,885	5	1			

WAYS and MEANS for raiſing the Supplies for 1792.

FEBRUARY 13.			
Land-tax and malt-duty — — —	2,750,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 20.			
Surplus of conſolidated fund to January 5, 1792 —	155,495	19	0½
Ditto to April 5, 1792 — — —	486,000	0	0
Ditto to April 5, 1793 — — —	2,300,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 28.			
Exchequer bills — — — —	5,500,000	0	0
MARCH 29.			
Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets, at £.6. 5 *s.* each	312,500	0	0
Total Ways and Means —	11,503,995	19	0½
Total Supplies — —	11,138,813	5	1
Exceſs of Ways and Means — —	£. 365,182	13	11½

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An ACCOUNT of the Produce of the TAXES for One Year, to the 5th of January 1792.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	3,723,361	17	7 ½
EXCISE	7,182,107	10	4 ¾
STAMPS	1,277,970	15	11
Total of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and Stamps — £.	12,183,440	3	11 ¼
INCIDENTS.			
Conſolidated letter money, 1787	156,000	—	—
Dº ſalt Dº	382,800	8	10
Seizures ſince 25 October 1760	34,558	9	8
Proffers Dº	622	8	10
Fines of leaſes Dº			
Letter money Dº	173,000	—	—
Alum mines Dº	960	—	—
Compoſitions Dº	5	3	4
Fines and forfeitures Dº			
Rent of a light houſe Dº	6	13	4
Alienation duty Dº	2,086	18	8
6 *d.* deduct. on penſions, &c. 24th June 1710	44,780	—	—
1 *ſh.* Dº on ſalaries, &c. 5 April 1758	40,948	6	6 ½
Houſes and windows, 1766	400,471	—	—
Inhabited houſes, 1779	151,231	4	8 ½
Hawkers and pedlars, 1710	3,498	11	4
Dº 1784			
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1ſt Auguſt 1711	13,100	—	—
Dº 1784	14,600	—	—
Male ſervants 1785	103,349	18	7 ½
Female Dº Dº	34,461	1	4 ¼
Horſes Dº	126,659	15	4 ¾
Four wheel carriages, Dº	173,846	16	3 ¼
Two wheel Dº Dº	41,281	10	1 ½
Waggons Dº	21,105	18	6 ½
Carts Dº	11,953	16	8 ¾
Shops Dº	2,762	4	11 ½
Firſt fruits of the clergy	3,905	9	6 ¾
Tenths, Dº	10,033	1	11 ½
Men ſervants, 1777 (arrears)	2	5	—
Total of incidents — — £.	1,948,031	3	9 ¼
NEW DUTIES.			
Sugars, cuſtoms, 1791	206,257	9	3
Britiſh ſpirits, exciſe, 1791	78,703	—	—
Foreign Dº Dº	88,198	—	—
Malt Dº	146,732	—	—
Bills and receipts Dº	108,637	—	—
Game duty Dº	10,917	—	—
£. 10 per cent. on aſſeſſed Taxes, Do	53,504	8	10 ¼
Total of new duties	692,948	18	1 ¼
Total of cuſtoms, exciſe, and ſtamps	12,183,440	3	11 ¼
Total of incidents	1,948,031	3	9 ¼
Grand total — £.	14,824,420	5	9 ¾

Exchequer, the 6th day of
February, 1792.

WILLIAM ROSE HAWORTH.

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the ſecond Seſſion of the 17th Parliament of Great Britain, on the 31ſt of January, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE many proofs which you have given of your affectionate attachment to my perſon and family leave me no doubt of your participating in the ſatisfaction which I derive from the happy event of the marriage which has been celebrated between my ſon, the duke of York, and the eldeſt daughter of my good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia: and I am perſuaded that I may expect your chearful concurrence in enabling me to make a ſuitable proviſion for their eſtabliſhment.

Since I laſt met you in parliament, a definitive treaty has been concluded under my mediation and that of my allies, the king of Pruſſia and the States General of the United Provinces, between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, on principles which appear the beſt calculated to prevent future diſputes between thoſe powers.

Our intervention has alſo been employed, with a view to promote a pacification between the empreſs of Ruſſia and the Porte; and conditions have been agreed upon between us and the former of thoſe powers, which we undertook to recommend to the Porte, as the re-eſtabliſhment of peace on ſuch terms appeared to be, under all the exiſting circumſtances, a deſirable event for the general intereſts of Europe. I am in expectation of ſpeedily receiving the account of the concluſion of the definitive treaty of peace, preliminaries having been ſome time ſince agreed upon between thoſe powers.

I have directed copies of the definitive treaty, between the emperor and the Porte, to be laid before you, as well as ſuch papers as are neceſſary to ſhew the terms of peace, which have been under diſcuſſion during the negociation with the court of Peterſburgh.

I regret that I am not yet enabled to inform you of the termination of the war in India: But the ſucceſs which has already attended the diſtinguiſhed bravery and exertions of the officers and troops under the able conduct of lord Cornwallis, affords reaſonable grounds to hope that the war may ſpeedily be brought to an honourable concluſion.

The friendly aſſurances which I receive from foreign powers, and the general ſtate of affairs in Europe, appear to promiſe to my ſubjects the continuance of their preſent tranquillity. Under theſe circumſtances I am induced to think that ſome immediate reduction may ſafely be made in our naval and military eſtabliſhments; and my regard for the intereſts of my ſubjects renders me at all times deſirous of availing myſelf of any favourable opportunity to diminiſh the public expences.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

It will, I am perſuaded, give you great ſatisfaction to learn that the extraordinary expences incurred in the courſe of the laſt year have, in a great meaſure, been already defrayed by the grants of the ſeſſion. The ſtate of our reſources will, I truſt, be found more than ſufficient to provide for the remaining part of theſe expences, as well as for the current ſervice of the year, the eſtimates for which I have directed to be laid before you.

I entertain the pleaſing hope, that the reductions which may be found practicable in the eſtabliſhments, and the continued increaſe of the revenue, will enable you, after making due proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice, to enter upon a ſyſtem of gradually relieving my ſubjects from ſome part of the exiſting taxes, at the ſame time giving additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the ſucceſs of which our future eaſe and ſecurity eſſentially depend.

With a view to this important ſubject, let me alſo recommend it to you to turn your attention to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as the ſtate of the funds and of public credit may render practicable and expedient towards a reduction in the rate of intereſt of any of the annuities which are now redeemable.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The continued and progreſſive improvement in the internal ſituation of the country will, I am confident, animate you in the purſuit of every meaſure which may be conducive to the public intereſt. It muſt, at the ſame time, operate as the ſtrongeſt encouragement to a ſpirit of uſeful induſtry among all claſſes of my ſubjects, and, above all, muſt confirm and increaſe their ſteady and zealous attachment to that conſtitution which we have found, by long experience, to unite the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty and order, and to which, under the favour of Providence, all our other advantages are principally to be aſcribed.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, to his Majeſty, for the preceding Speech from the Throne.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Permit us to expreſs to your majeſty, that deeply ſenſible of the many bleſſings which we enjoy under your majeſty's auſpicious reign, we eagerly embrace the firſt opportunity to offer to your majeſty our dutiful congratulations on the happy event of the marriage of his royal highneſs the duke of York with the princeſs royal of Pruſſia; and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty of the ſincere and heartfelt ſatisfaction which we derive from every circumſtance that adds to your majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, and affords us a freſh ſecurity for the continuance of the government of theſe kingdoms in your majeſty's illuſtrious line. Strongly impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we ſhall, with the greateſt chearfulneſs, concur in the neceſſary meaſures for making a ſuitable proviſion for the eſtabliſhment of their royal highneſſes.

We feel great ſatisfaction in learning that the war between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte has, under the mediation of your majeſty and your allies, been terminated by a definitive treaty, on ſuch principles as appear to your majeſty the beſt calculated to prevent future diſputes between thoſe powers; and that a progreſs has been made towards a pacification between the empreſs of Ruſſia and the Porte.

We return your majeſty our ſincere thanks for your condeſcenſion and goodneſs in the communication of a copy of the definitive treaty between Auſtria and the Porte, and of thoſe papers reſpecting the negociation with the court of Peterſburgh, which your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct to be laid before us.

We join with your majeſty in regretting the continuance of the war in India; but we have ſeen with great ſatisfaction the ſucceſs which has already attended the bravery and exertions of the officers and troops under the able conduct of Lord Cornwallis: and we truſt the war will, by their efforts, ſpeedily be brought to an honourable concluſion.

We learn with peculiar ſatisfaction, that the friendly aſſurances which your majeſty receives from foreign powers, and the general ſtate of affairs in Europe, appear to your majeſty to promiſe a continuance of our preſent tranquillity; and we acknowledge your majeſty's paternal goodneſs, manifeſted in your deſire to embrace every opportunity for diminiſhing the public expence by ſuch reduction of the eſtabliſhment as may be found to be practicable and expedient.

Every circumſtance in our preſent ſituation muſt lead us to reflect, with the deepeſt gratitude, on your majeſty's unremitting anxiety for the welfare of your people; and muſt confirm and ſtrengthen, in the minds of all your majeſty's ſubjects, our ſteady and zealous attachment to that conſtitution which we found by long experience to unite the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty and order, and which we conſider as being, under the favour of Providence, the principal ſource of all our preſent advantages.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal addreſs. The expreſſions of your affection towards my perſon and family, and of your zealous attachment to that conſtitution, from which we derive ſo many advantages, are peculiarly acceptable to me. And I receive with great pleaſure your congratulations on the marriage of my ſon, the duke of York, with the eldeſt daughter of my good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, and the aſſurances of your readineſs to concur in making a ſuitable proviſion for their eſtabliſhment.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons for the preceding Speech from the Throne.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, humbly beg leave leave to return your majeſty the thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We embrace the earlieſt opportunity to offer to your majeſty our cordial and dutiful congratulations upon the nuptials of his royal highneſs the duke of York; and to expreſs the great ſatisfaction and joy of your faithful commons on this happy occaſion, which may furniſh an additional ſecurity to the many bleſſings which this country has enjoyed under the mild and auſpicious government of your majeſty, and your illuſtrious family.

Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we ſhall chearfully proceed to make ſuch proviſion for the eſtabliſhment of their royal highneſſes the duke and dutcheſs of York, as ſhall be ſuited to their rank and dignity.

We learn, with ſatisfaction, the progreſs which has been made towards the reſtoration of general tranquillity.

We acknowledge your majeſty's condeſcenſion and goodneſs, in communicating to us the reſult of the negociations in which your majeſty has been engaged with foreign powers; and in having been graciouſly pleaſed to order copies of the definitive treaty between Auſtria and the Porte to be laid before us; together with ſuch papers as are neceſſary to ſhew the terms of peace which have been under diſcuſſion, during the negociation with the court of Peterſburgh.

Although we cannot but regret that your majeſty is not yet enabled to inform us of the termination of the war in India, we reflect with juſt ſatisfaction on the ſucceſs which has already attended the diſtinguiſhed bravery and exertions of the officers and troops under the able conduct of lord Cornwallis; and we rejoice that your majeſty ſees reaſonable ground to hope that the war may be ſpeedily brought to an honourable concluſion.

We are happy to learn that the friendly aſſurances which your majeſty receives from foreign powers, and the general ſituation of affairs, induce your majeſty to think, that ſome immediate reduction may ſafely be made in our naval and military eſtabliſhments; and we obſerve, with the warmeſt gratitude, your majeſty's parental regard for the intereſts of your ſubjects, manifeſted in your deſire of availing yourſelf of any favourable opportunity to diminiſh the public expences.

It cannot but afford us great ſatisfaction to find that the extraordinary expences, incurred in the courſe of the laſt year, have been already defrayed, in a great meaſure, by the grants of the ſeſſion; and we ſhall apply ourſelves, without delay, to the conſideration of the beſt means of providing for the remaining part of thoſe expences, as well as for the current ſervice of the year.

We ſhall proceed to the examination of the ſtate of the public income and expenditure; and it will afford us the higheſt gratification if, on the reſult of ſuch examination, we ſhall find ourſelves enabled to enter on a ſyſtem ſo conſonant to our moſt earneſt and anxious wiſhes, as that of gradually relieving your majeſty's faithful ſubjects from ſome parts of the exiſting taxes; at the ſame time giving additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the ſucceſs of which we are fully ſenſible that our future eaſe and ſecurity muſt eſſentially depend.

With a view to this important object, we ſhall not fail to turn our attention to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures, as the ſtate of the funds, and of public credit, may render practicable and expedient, towards a reduction in the rate of intereſt of any of the annuities which are now redeemable.

We beſeech your majeſty to believe that we ſhall conſider the continued and progreſſive improvement of the internal ſituation of the country, as an additional incentive to the faithful diſcharge of our duty, in the purſuit of every meaſure that can be conducive to the public intereſt.

We cordially join with your majeſty in a juſt expectation and reliance, that this happy circumſtance muſt operate as the ſtrongeſt encouragement to a ſpirit of uſeful induſtry, among all claſſes of your majeſty's ſubjects: and, above all, we rejoice to think that it muſt confirm and increaſe their ſteady and zealous attachment to the principles of that conſtitution which has been found, by long experience, to unite the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty and order; and which we ſhall ever conſider it our firſt duty to preſerve and maintain, as being the cauſe to which, under the favour of providence, all our other advantages are principally to be aſcribed.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for this loyal and dutiful addreſs.

Your cordial and affectionate congratulations on the marriage of my ſon the duke of York with the princeſs royal of Pruſſia, and the aſſurances of your readineſs to enable me to make a ſuitable proviſion for their eſtabliſhment, cannot but afford me the warmeſt ſatisfaction.

I obſerve, with peculiar pleaſure, the expreſſions of your regard to the intereſts of my ſubjects, which cannot be more fully manifeſted than by your conſtant and earneſt deſire to preſerve, unimpaired, the innumerable bleſſings which they derive from our excellent conſtitution.

Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, April 5, 1792, on preſenting to his Majeſty the Bill providing for the Eſtabliſhment of the Duke and Ducheſs of York and Albany; and the Bill granting four hundred thouſand Pounds toward the Reduction of the National Debt.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

IT is my duty to tender to your majeſty two bills, in the name, and on the behalf of, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled.

In purſuance of your majeſty's recommendation, your commons chearfully proceeded to make a proviſion for the eſtabliſhment of their royal highneſſes the duke and ducheſs of York; and they truſt that the bill, which they have paſſed for this purpoſe, will fully manifeſt their juſt ſenſe of what is due to the rank and dignity of their royal highneſſes, as well as the ſatisfaction they derive from an event which, whilſt it promotes the comfort and happineſs of your majeſty and your illuſtrious family, is alſo materially conducive to the intereſts and honour of your people.

Other objects, no leſs intereſting to your majeſty's mind, conſtantly directed as it is to the welfare of your ſubjects, have alſo engaged the attention of your commons. The proſperous and improving condition of the public revenue, and the reductions which have been found practicable in the naval and military eſtabliſhments, afforded the means, of which your commons thought it their duty to avail themſelves, of making a large addition to the fund, to be applied in the courſe of the preſent year, to the reduction of the public debt. Their conduct upon this, as upon other occaſions, was governed by the conviction, that the efficiency and ſucceſs of the plan, which has been eſtabliſhed by parliament for this important purpoſe, muſt eſſentially tend to the future eaſe and permanent ſecurity of theſe kingdoms. In the adoption of theſe meaſures, your commons have felt peculiar ſatisfaction by finding themſelves enabled, at the ſame time, to give ſome immediate relief to your majeſty's ſubjects, whoſe firmneſs in ſuſtaining the burthens, rendered neceſſary by a due regard to the maintenance of public credit, and whoſe ſpirit of enterpriſe, and uſeful induſtry, have ſo effectually contributed to advance to the pre-eminence they have attained, the general intereſts and proſperity of the empire.

Your commons, Sire, contemplate with juſt ſatisfaction the continued and progreſſive improvement in the internal ſituation of the country: to preſerve, augment, and diffuſe the bleſſings, of which we are in poſſeſſion, they conſider as the moſt important of their duties; and, actuated by this principle, which comprehends a zealous and firm attachment to the form of government under which we live, and a faithful and vigilant attention to the intereſts and happineſs of all claſſes of their fellow ſubjects, they are perſuaded that thoſe meaſures, which are the reſult of it, cannot fail to receive your majeſty's moſt gracious approbation.

The bills, which I have in my hand, are ſeverally intituled, &c.

To which your commons, with all humility, intreat your majeſty's royal aſſent.

Proclamation for the preventing of tumultuous Meetings and ſeditious Writings, May 21.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

George R.

WHEREAS divers wicked and ſeditious writings have been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, tending to excite tumult and diſorder, by endeavouring to raiſe groundleſs jealouſies and diſcontents in the minds of our faithful and loving ſubjects, reſpecting the laws and happy conſtitution of government, civil and religious, eſtabliſhed in this kingdom: and endeavouring to vilify and bring into contempt the wiſe and wholeſome proviſions made at the time of the glorious Revolution, and ſince ſtrengthened and confirmed by ſubſequent laws, for the preſervation and ſecurity of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving ſubjects; And whereas divers writings have alſo been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, recommending the ſaid wicked and ſeditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving ſubjects: And whereas we have alſo reaſon to believe that correſpondences have been entered into with ſundry perſons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purpoſes abovementioned: And whereas the wealth, happineſs, and proſperity of this kingdom do, under Divine Providence, chiefly depend upon a due ſubmiſſion to the laws, a juſt confidence in the integrity and wiſdom of parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to the government and conſtitution of the kingdom, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: And whereas there is nothin gwhich we ſo earneſtly deſire, as to ſecure the public peace and proſperity, and to preſerve to all our loving ſubjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: We therefore, being reſolved, as far as in us lies, to repreſs the wicked and ſeditious practices aforeſaid, and to deter all perſons from following ſo pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to iſſue this our royal proclamation, ſolemnly warning all our loving ſubjects, as they tender their own happineſs, and that of their poſterity, to guard againſt all ſuch attempts, which aim at the ſubverſion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconſiſtent with the peace and order of ſociety; and earneſtly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmoſt of their power, to avoid and diſcourage all proceedings tending to produce riots and tumults: And we do ſtrictly charge and command all our magiſtrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent enquiry, in order to diſcover the authors and printers of ſuch wicked and ſeditious writings as aforeſaid, and all others who ſhall diſperſe the ſame: and we do further charge and command all our ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, chief magiſtrates in our cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other our officers and magiſtrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their ſeveral and reſpective ſtations, take the moſt immediate and effectual care to ſuppreſs and prevent all riots, tumults, and other diſorders, which may be attempted to be raiſed or made by any perſon or perſons, which, on whatever pretext they may be grounded, are not only contrary to the law, but dangerous to the moſt important intereſts of this kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every our magiſtrates aforeſaid, that they do, from time to time, tranſmit to one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, due and full information of ſuch perſons as ſhall be found offending as aforeſaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination, for the preſervation of the peace and happineſs of our faithful and loving ſubjects, to carry the laws vigorouſly into execution againſt ſuch offenders as aforeſaid.

Given at our court at the Queen's Houſe, the 21ſt day of May, 1792, in the thirty-ſecond year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

The humble Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty, for the preceding Proclamation, June 1.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

THE lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, have come to the following reſolution and addreſs:

Reſolved, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to aſſure his majeſty that we have taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration his majeſty's royal proclamation, which has, by his majeſty's command, been laid before us; and we beg leave to teſtify to his majeſty our warm and grateful ſenſe of this freſh proof of his majeſty's conſtant ſolicitude for the welfare and happineſs of his people.

That we cannot ſee without indignation the attempts which have been made to weaken, in the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects, the ſentiments of obedience to the laws, and of attachment to the form of government, civil and religious, ſo happily eſtabliſhed within this realm.

That the advantages which, under the government of his majeſty and his illuſtrious anceſtors, have been derived from legal and well-regulated freedom, and the unexampled bleſſings which we actually enjoy, afford to his majeſty's ſubjects peculiar motives to reflect with gratitude on their preſent ſituation, and to beware of thoſe deluſive theories which are inconſiſtent with the relations and duties of all civil ſociety; and we deem it, under the preſent circumſtances, the peculiar duty of every good citizen to diſcourage and counteract every attempt, direct and indirect, againſt public order and tranquillity.

That we are confident that the ſentiments which we now expreſs to his majeſty, are the general ſentiments of the nation; that they muſt feel with us, that real liberty can only exiſt under the protection of law, and the authority of efficient and regular government: they have ſeen, by happy experience, that the mixed form of our legiſlature comprehends and provides for the various intereſts of the community through all its ſeveral deſcriptions, and maintains and preſerves thoſe gradations of property and condition which furniſh the great incentives to uſeful induſtry, and are equally eſſential to the vigour and exertion of every part, and to the ſtability and welfare of the whole; that they therefore know that the collective ſtrength and proſperity of the empire, its wealth, its credit, and its commerce, as well as the only ſecurity for the perſons, the property, and the liberties, of each individual, are eſſentially connected with the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

That, impreſſed with theſe opinions, we think it our duty to aſſure his majeſty of our firm determination to ſupport his majeſty, in the reſolution which his majeſty has adopted; and that we are fully perſuaded, that every exertion which may be neceſſary will be ſeconded by the zeal and gratitude of a free and loyal people.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I thank you very warmly for this loyal, dutiful, and ſeaſonable addreſs.

My utmoſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting to maintain among my people a juſt ſenſe of the advantages of our preſent conſtitution, the ſource of legal and well-regulated freedom; and at the ſame time to ſecure to them, by a due exertion of the laws, a continuance of all the unexampled bleſſings which they now enjoy. It is the greateſt ſatisfaction to me to reflect, that in theſe endeavours I ſhall receive the firm and united aſſiſtance of my parliament; and I feel the ſame conviction and confidence which is expreſſed by you, that all our exertions for this purpoſe will be ſeconded by the zeal and public ſpirit of my people, whoſe happineſs forms the firſt object of all my wiſhes.

Proclamation reſpecting the War between the Moſt Chriſtian King and the King of Hungary, May 25, 1792.

By the King. A PROCLAMATION.

George R.

WHEREAS hoſtilities have broken out between the moſt chriſtian king and the king of Hungary; his majeſty, for the preſervation and continuance of friendſhip and amity between him and their ſaid majeſties, doth by this his royal proclamation (with the advice of his privy council) ſtrictly prohibit and forbid all his ſubjects whatſoever to take any commiſſion at ſea from any foreign prince or ſtate, againſt any other foreign prince or ſtate now in amity with his majeſty, or their ſubjects, or by virtue or under colour of any ſuch commiſſion already taken, or hereafter to be taken, to ſet or employ any veſſel or ſhip of war, or to ſerve as mariners in any ſhip which ſhall be employed againſt any prince or ſtate now in amity with his majeſty, or their ſubjects, during the preſent war. And all his majeſty's ſubjects are required to take notice of this his royal command, and to conform themſelves to the ſame, upon pain of incurring his majeſty's high diſpleaſure, and of being puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity of law and juſtice. And whereas the moſt chriſtian king hath cauſed application to be made to his majeſty, that his majeſty would, conformably to the article of the treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded at Verſailles 26th of September, 1786, renew and publiſh in all his dominions and countries the ſtrict and expreſs prohibitions contained in the ſaid article; his majeſty doth hereby ſtrictly forbid all his ſubjects to receive any commiſſion for arming and acting at ſea as privateers, or letters of repriſals, from any enemy of the moſt chriſtian king, or, by virtue or under colour of ſuch commiſſions or repriſals, to diſturb, infeſt, or any ways damage his ſubjects; or to arm ſhips as privateers, or to go out to ſea therewith, under the ſevereſt puniſhments that can be inflicted on the tranſgreſſors, beſides being liable to make full reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe to whom they have done any damage.

Given at our court, at St. James's the 25th day of May, 1792, in the 32d year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, at the Cloſe of the Seſſion June 15, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Cannot cloſe the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, without returning you my particular thanks for the attention and diligence with which you have applied yourſelves to the diſpatch of public buſineſs, and eſpecially to the important objects which I recommended to your conſideration.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The readineſs with which you have granted the neceſſary ſupplies, and the freſh proof which you have given of your conſtant affection for my perſon and family, in enabling me to provide for the eſtabliſhment of my ſon the duke of York, call for my warmeſt acknowledgments. I have alſo obſerved with the utmoſt ſatisfaction the meaſures which you have adopted for the diminution of the public burthens, while you have, at the ſame time, made additional proviſion for the reduction of the preſent national debt, and eſtabliſhed a permanent ſyſtem for preventing the dangerous accumulation of debt in future.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have ſeen with great concern the commencement of hoſtilities in different parts of Europe. In the preſent ſituation of affairs, it will be my principal care to maintain that harmony and good underſtanding which ſubſiſts between me and the ſeveral belligerent powers, and to preſerve to my people the uninterrupted bleſſings of peace. And the aſſurances which I receive from all quarters, of a friendly diſpoſition towards this country, afford me the pleaſing hope of ſucceeding in theſe endeavours.

The recent expreſſions of your uniform and zealous attachment to the eſtabliſhed government and conſtitution, leave me no room to doubt, that you will, in your ſeveral counties, be active and vigilant to maintain thoſe ſentiments in the minds of my faithful people; and I have the happineſs of receiving continued and additional proofs of their juſt ſenſe of the numerous and increaſing advantages which they now enjoy under the protection and diſtinguiſhed favour of Providence.

Proclamation for calling out the Militia, Dec. 1.

By the King. A PROCLAMATION.

George R.

WHEREAS by an act, paſſed in the 26th year of our reign, intituled, "An act for a-

" mending and reducing into one act " of parliament the laws relating to " the militia in that part of Great " Britain called England," it is enacted, That it ſhall be lawful for us, in the caſes and in manner therein mentioned, the occaſion being firſt declared in council, and notified by proclamation, if no parliament ſhall be then ſitting, to order and direct the drawing out and embodying of our militia forces, or any part thereof: And whereas we have received information, that in breach of our laws, and notwithſtanding our royal proclamation of the 21ſt day of May laſt, the utmoſt induſtry is ſtill employed by evil-diſpoſed perſons within this kingdom, acting in concert with perſons in foreign parts, with a view to ſubvert the laws and eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this realm, and to deſtroy all order and government therein; and that a ſpirit of tumult and diſorder, thereby excited, has lately ſhown itſelf in acts of riot and inſurrection: And whereas, under the preſent circumſtances, it is more particularly neceſſary, that for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch attempts, ſome addition ſhould be made, as the exigency of the caſe may require, to the force which may be in readineſs to act for the ſupport of the civil magiſtrate: We therefore, being determined to exert the powers veſted in us by law for the protection of the perſons, liberties, and properties of our faithful ſubjects, and fully relying on their zeal and attachment to our perſon and government, and to the happy conſtitution eſtabliſhed in theſe kingdoms, have thought fit to declare in our council, our royal intention, for the cauſes and on the occaſion aforeſaid, to draw out and embody ſuch part of our militia forces as may more immediately enable us to provide for the ſaid important objects. And we do hereby, in purſuance of the ſaid recited act, notify to all our loving ſubjects our ſaid intention, and the cauſes and occaſion thereof.

Given at our court at Windſor, the 1ſt day of December, 1792, and in the 33d year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

Whitehall, December 1.

His majeſty has been pleaſed to order and direct the lords lieutenants of the ſeveral counties and ridings undermentioned, to embody ſuch part of the militia forces of the ſaid counties and ridings as has been trained and exerciſed in the preſent year, viz.

Cumberland,
Durham,
Essex,
Kent,
Lincoln,
Norfolk,
Northumberland,
Suffolk,
Westmoreland,
York, N. Riding.
York, E. Riding.

Proclamation for the Meeting of Parliament, Dec. 1.

By the King. A Proclamation.

George R.

WHEREAS by an act, paſſed in the 26th year of our reign, intituled, " An act for amending and reducing into one act of " parliament the laws relating to the " militia in that part of Great Britain called England," it is enacted, That whenever we ſhall cauſe the militia to be drawn out and embodied, on the occaſion and in the manner therein mentioned, if the parliament ſhall then be ſeparated by ſuch adjournment or prorogation as will not expire within 14 days, we may and ſhall iſſue our proclamation for the meeting of the parliament within 14 days; and the parliament ſhall accordingly meet and ſit upon ſuch day as ſhall be appointed by ſuch proclamation, and continue to ſit and act in like manner, to all intents and purpoſes, as if it had ſtood adjourned or prorogued to the ſame day: And whereas we have thought fit, in purſuance of the ſaid act, this day to declare in our council, certain cauſes and occaſions moving us, to order and direct that ſuch part of our militia forces as may more immediately enable us to provide for the important objects therein mentioned, ſhould be drawn out and embodied: And whereas, in purſuance of the ſaid recited act, we have thought fit on this day to iſſue our royal proclamation, notifying the cauſes and occaſions ſo declared in council as aforeſaid: And whereas our parliament now ſtands prorogued to Thurſday the 3d day of January next; We therefore, by the advice of our privy council, do hereby publiſh and declare our royal will and pleaſure, that our ſaid parliamene ſhall, on Thurſday the 13th day of this inſtant December, be held for the diſpatch of divers weighty and important affairs. And the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, and the commiſſioners for ſhires and burghs of the houſe of commons, are hereby required to give attendance accordingly at Weſtminſter, on the ſaid 13th day of December.

Given at our court at Windſor, the 1ſt day of December, 1792, and in the 33d year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

Speech of the Earl of Weſtmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, January 19, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE it in command from his majeſty to acquaint you, that ſince the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, preliminaries of peace have been ſigned between Ruſſia and the Porte, and thoſe powers are now engaged in negociation for a definitive treaty, which his majeſty truſts will compleat the reſtoration of tranquillity among the different powers of Europe.

His majeſty, convinced of the intereſt you take in whatever concerns his domeſtic happineſs, commands me to acquaint you of the marriage of his royal highneſs the duke of York and the princeſs royal of Pruſſia.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the national accounts; and I truſt you will make ſuch proviſions as are neceſſary for the exigencies of the ſtate, and the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The conſtant attention you have ſhewn to the intereſts of Ireland, makes it unneceſſary to recommend to you a continuance of that wiſe ſyſtem of policy, from which your country has received ſuch ineſtimable advantages, in the increaſe of her trade, her credit, and manufactures. It is equally unneceſſary for me particularly to point out the encouragement of your agriculture, and attention to your linen manufacture. The proteſtant charter-ſchools, and other charitable inſtitutions, will receive your accuſtomed conſideration.

You may be aſſured of my zealous co-operation to forward every meaſure that may contribute to the public welfare. I ſhall pay unremitting attention to the due execution of the law, and the maintenance of good order and government, ſo eſſential to the continuance of that freedom, proſperity, and happineſs, which Ireland enjoys under his majeſty's auſpicious reign, and under our excellent conſtitution.

Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, on preſenting the Bills of Supply, April 18, 1792.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

THE commons of Ireland attend with the ſupplies.

While they may look back with a conſcious pride to their ſpirited and ſucceſsful meaſures for preventing an increaſe of national debt, as one great cauſe of the extenſion of trade, agriculture, and manufactures, which has with a rapid and uninterrupted progreſs raiſed this kingdom to a ſtate of proſperity and wealth never before experienced in it, they know that the continuance of that proſperity would ſoon ceaſe if it were not cheriſhed and maintained by our moſt excellent conſtitution; a conſtitution in which liberty and order are ſo happily blended, that every ſubject equally enjoys their influence, and feels his perſon, his induſtry, and property, equally and effectually protected by it.

Its preſervation therefore muſt ever be the great object of their care; and there is no principle on which it is founded ſo eſſential to its preſervation, nor more juſtly dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that which has ſettled the throne of theſe realms on his majeſty's illuſtrious houſe; on it, and on the proviſions for ſecuring a proteſtant parliaments, depends a proteſtant aſcendancy, and with it the continuance of the many bleſſings we now enjoy.

The bills which I hold contain the uſual grants; and I have the moſt ſincere happineſs in preſenting them to your excellency, whoſe knowledge of the true intereſts of Ireland, and whoſe anxiety to promote its welfare, has been proved to us by the firmeſt vigilance and prudence of your adminiſtration.

Theſe ſupplies are contained in the bills which I have the honour of preſenting to your excellency for the royal aſſent.

Speech of the Earl of Weſtmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes

Houſes of Parliament, at the Cloſe of the Seſſion, April 18, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE diſpatch you have given to the national buſineſs, enables me to cloſe the ſeſſion, and to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

His majeſty commands me to thank you for the ſupplies you have voted for the public ſervice; you may depend upon their faithful application to the purpoſes for which they were granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have his majeſty's commands to expreſs his approbation of the wiſdom that has guided your proceedings during the preſent ſeſſion, eſpecially in the liberal indulgences you have afforded to your Roman catholic brethren, by eſtabliſhing the legality of intermarriage, by admitting them to the profeſſion of the law and the benefits of education, and by removing all reſtrictions upon their induſtry in trade and manufactures.

Your knowledge of the true intereſts of your country is plainly marked in the meaſure you have adopted for carrying into effect a reciprocal preference in the corn trade with Great Britain; a ſyſtem beneficial to both countries, and peculiarly advantageous to the agriculture of Ireland, that ſource of your wealth and proſperity. The further ſteps you have taken to check the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and your wiſe regulations for the charitable inſtitutions, prove your attention to the intereſts of the lower orders of the people.

I ſhall firmly rely on your cordial co-operation for the ſupport of public order, and the enforcing obedience to the laws, by which alone the fruits of national induſtry can be ſecured; and when you reflect upon the flouriſhing reſources, the increaſing wealth, and unexampled proſperity of the country, you will not fail to impreſs upon the minds of the people, that the maintenance of our free and happy conſtitution will enſure the continuance of theſe invaluable bleſſings.

Leading Articles in the Treaty between their Majeſties of Great Britain *and* Pruſſia, *preceding the Marriage of the Duke of* York.

I. THE king of Pruſſia gives to the princeſs his daughter a portion of 100,000 crowns in *Frederics d'or*; viz, 40,000 crowns, as being the uſual portion of the princeſſes of the houſe of Pruſſia, and 60,000 crowns, as paraphernalia. In caſe the princeſs ſhould happen to die before her huſband, without leaving iſſue, both the ſums, as well for the portion, as for the paraphernalia, ſhall revert to the king and his ſucceſſors, in as far as her royal highneſs ſhall not have diſpoſed of the latter; but the produce thereof ſhall belong to his royal highneſs her huſband ſurviving. His majeſty has beſides provided her royal highneſs with a *trouſſeau* ſuitable to her birth and rank.

II. The princeſs renounces, and by the act ſigned Sept. 20, 1791, has renounced, conformably to the uſage and family compact of the houſe of Pruſſia and Brandenburgh, in favour of the male ſucceſſion, all right of inheritance ariſing from the ſaid houſe, in the ſame manner, in the ſame terms, with the ſame reſervations, and the ſame validity of engagement, as the princeſſes of Pruſſia and Brandenburgh have, on their marriage, done to this time. And his majeſty the king of Great Britain, in his own name, and in that of his ſon the duke of York, confirms this renunciation in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner.

III. The duke of York having promiſed to give to the princeſs his wife, as the gift on the day after the marriage, called by the name of *Morgengabe*, the ſum of 6000 l. ſterling, the intereſt of which was to be paid from Sept. 15, 1791; and to make part of the ſum fixed for pin-money, and for the annual expences of her royal highneſs, without her royal highneſs having, however, any power of diſpoſing of the capital during the life of her huſband. The king of Great Britain confirms this engagement.

IV. The duke of York having promiſed to pay annually, and during the whole time of her marriage, to her royal highneſs, for her pin-money and daily expences, known by the name of *Kleider, Hand and Sprelgelder*, the ſum of 4000 l. ſterling, of which her royal highneſs ſhall have the free diſpoſal, for her own uſe, without defraying out of that ſum the charge of the maintenance of the perſons attached to her ſuite, and intended for her ſervice; The king of Great Britain takes upon himſelf the full and entire execution of the ſaid engagement; and his majeſty in conſequence promiſes and engages to ſecure to the dutcheſs of York the annual payment of 4000 l. ſterling, including the intereſt of the ſum of 6000 l. ſterling, mentioned in the third article.

V. The king of Great Britain grants, as a counterportion to the portion given by the king of Pruſſia, the like ſum of 100,000 crowns in gold. His Britannick majeſty alſo engages to ſecure to the princeſs, in caſe of the unhappy event of mournful ſeparation by the death of the duke of York, the annual ſum of 8000 l. ſterling for her jointure, together with a reſidence, and a ſuitable eſtabliſhment.

VI. This treaty ſhall be ratified by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, and the letters of ratification exchanged in the ſpace of ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature. In witneſs whereof, we the plenipotentiaries of the king of Great Britain, and of the king of Pruſſia, with full powers, have ſigned the preſent treaty, and put thereto the ſeals of our arms. Done at Berlin, January 26, 1792.

(L. S.) M. EDEN.
(L. S.) CH. WILL. COUNT DE FINKENSTEIN.
(L. S.) F. W. COUNT DESCHULENBERG.
(L. S.) P. C. D'ALVENSLEBEN.

The Definitive Treaty with Tippoo Sultaun.

Definitive treaty of perpetual friendſhip, for the adjuſtment of affairs between the honourable Engliſh

Eaſt India Company, the Nawaub Aſſoph Jah Behauder, and Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, and Tippoo Sultaun, in virtue of the authority of the right hon. Charles, earl Cornwallis, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, governor general, &c. &c. inveſted with full powers to direct and controul all the affairs of the ſaid company in the Eaſt Indies, dependent on the ſeveral preſidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and of the Nawaub Azeem ul Omrah Behauder, poſſeſſing full powers on the part of the Nawaub Aſſoph Jah Behauder, and Hurry Ram Pundit Tantia Behauder, poſſeſſing equal powers on the part of the Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder; ſettled the 17th day of March 1792 of the Chriſtian æra, anſwering to the 23d day of the month Rejeb, 1206 of the Hejeree, by ſir John Kenneway, baronet, on the part of the right honourable Charles, earl Cornwallis, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, &c. and Meer Aulum Behauder, on the part of the Nawaub Azeem ul Omrah Behauder, and Buchajee Pundit on the part of Hurry Ram Pundit Tantia Behauder, on one part; and by Golam Ally Khan Behauder, and Ally Reza Khan, on the behalf of Tippoo Sultaun, according to the under-mentioned articles, which, by the bleſſing of God, ſhall be binding on their heirs and ſucceſſors as long as the ſun and moon endure, and the conditions of them be invariably obſerved by the contracting parties.

Article I.

THE friendſhip ſubſiſting between the honourable company and the Sircar of Tippoo Sultaun, agreeably to former treaties, the firſt with the late Nawaub Hyder Ally Khan, bearing date the 8th day of Auguſt, 1770, and the other with Tippoo Sultaun, of the 11th day of March 1784, is hereby confirmed and increaſed, and the articles of the two former treaties are to remain in full force, excepting ſuch of them as by the preſent engagement are otherwiſe adjuſted; and the 8th article of the ſecond abovementioned treaty, dated the 11th day of March, 1784, correſponding with the 18th of the month Rubbie ul Saany 1198 Hejeree, confirming all the privileges and immunities of trade which the deceaſed Nawaub Hyder Ally Khan granted to the ſaid company, by the treaty entered into in the year 1770, is alſo, by virtue of the preſent treaty, renewed and confirmed.

Art. II. In the fourth article of the preliminary treaty, entered into between the allied powers and the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun, dated the 22d of February, 1792, correſponding with the 28th of the month Jemadie ul Saany 1206 Hejeree, it is written, "until the due performance of "the three foregoing articles," (the firſt article ſtipulating the ceſſion of half the country, the ſecond the immediate payment of half of the ſum of money agreed to be paid, and the remainder in ſpecie, only at three inſtalments, not exceeding four months each inſtalment, and the third engaging for the releaſe of priſoners) "two of the ſons of the "ſaid Tippoo Sultaun ſhall be detained as hoſtages;" which articles are confirmed by the preſent inſtrument: accordingly the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun ſhall divide the ſum, agreed to be paid at three inſtalments above-mentioned, into three equal parts, and ſhall pay to the ſaid three powers their reſpective ſhares, at the exchange affixed for the amount, to be paid immediately at ſuch places, on the boundaries of the allies, as ſhall be determined on by them; and after the performance of the remaining two articles above-mentioned, that is to ſay, the ceſſion of one half the country, and the releaſe of the priſoners, in caſe the amount of the three inſtalments be paid by Tippoo Sultaun to the three powers prior to the expiration of the period ſtipulated for it, the ſaid ſons of Tippoo Sultaun ſhall be immediately diſmiſſed, and all pecuniary demands between the contracting parties ſhall ceaſe and be at an end.

Art. III. By the firſt article of the preliminary treaty it is agreed, that one half of the dominions, which were in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun at the commencement of the war, ſhall be ceded to the allies, adjacent to the reſpective boundaries, and ſubject to their ſelection. Accordingly, the general abſtract of countries compoſing half the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun, to be ceded to the allies agreeably to their reſpective ſhares, is hereunto ſubjoined; and the detail of them is inſerted in a ſeparate ſchedule, bearing the ſeal and ſignature of Tippoo Sultaun.

Diſtricts ceded to the Honourable Engliſh Company.

Calicut, 63 Talooks	8,48,765 5 4¼
Palgautcherry	88,000 0 0
Dindigul and Pulnaveerpackſhy, 2 Talooks	90,000 0 0
Selem	24,000 0 0
Koork	8,000 0 0
Namkool	16,000 0 0
Sunkagherry	40,000 0 0

Barrah Mohul, 9 Talooks, viz.

Barah Mohul	64,000 0 0		
Coveriputtum	10,000 0 0		
Verbudderdroog	8,000 0 0		
Raycottah	8,000 0 0		
Kangoondie	6,000 0 0		
Darampoory	8,000 0 0		
Pennagur	10,000 0 0		
Tengrycottah	12,000 0 0		
Caverypoor	8,000 0 0		
		1,34,000 0 0	
Ahtoor Anuntgurry		18,000 0 0	
Permuttee		14,000 0 0	
Sadmungul		20,000 0 0	
Vamloor		16,000 0 0	
			P^{s}. 13,16,765 5 4¼

Diſtricts ceded to the Nawaub Aſſoph Jah Bahauder.

Talook Kerpah, 61 Talooks			8,33,649 3 3¼
The Doâb, 15 Talooks		16,48,099 3 2	
Deduct as follows:			
In the Peſhwa's ſhare	13,06,666 6 10		
Remains with Tippoo Sultaun, Anagoomdy	60,101 0 0		
		13,66,767 6 10	
Remains to the Nawaub Aſſoph Jah			2,81,331 6 8
Banganpilly and Chinchinmulla, 2 Talooks			41,804 9 8
Singputtum and Chilevara			20,000 0 0
Oak			20,000 0 0
Hanwantgoond			15,000 0 0
Winipilly Vemla			12,565 0 0
Moaka			12,162 6 14
In Gooty, 4 Talooks, viz.			
Tarputry		19,055 0 4	
Tarmurry		13,072 8 0	
Velanoor		8,800 0 0	
Singunmully		10,855 0 0	
			51,782 8 4
Beſwapoor			5,000 0 0
Buthary, Koorkoor, &c. 2 Talooks		35,000 0 0	
Deduct			
Remains with Tippoo Sultaun, 2 talooks, Koorkoor and Dummoor		12,000 0 0	
Remains to the Nawaub Aſſoph Jah			23,000 0 0
In Koorkoor			370 2 5¾
Pagodas			13,16,666 6 11

Diſtricts ceded to Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder.

The Doâb 15 Talooks			16,48,099 3 2	
Deduct remains with Tippoo Sultaun:				
Anagoudy, 1 Talook		60,101 0 0		
In the Share of the Nawaub Aſoph Jah: Kopel, 8 Talooks	1,06,137 3 9			
Kanechgurry, 1 do.	79,100 0 0			
In Gujenderghur	96,094 2 15			
		2,81,331 6 8		
			3,41,432 6 8	
				13,06,666 6 10

Remains to Row Pundit Purdhaun, viz.

Dawar, 8 Talooks				1,38,536	8	5½			
Hawanoor, 2 ditto				30,604	3	2			
Dummoor				15,394	6	6¼			
Bankapoor, 16 Talooks				2,50,426	6	7¼			
Sirhutty, 4 ditto				64,843	7	10			
Ketoor, 11 ditto				1,43,397	4	3			
Gudduck, 4 ditto				45,297	1	9½			
Jalichal, 5 ditto				73,185	0	14			
Dummul, 4 ditto				49,196	5	12			
Shanore, 26 ditto				3,40,946	7	13			
Lalgurry Soudunty				1,48,953	8	0			
In Gujenderghur 8 Talooks	1,01,977	9	6½						
Deduct in the ſhare of the Nawaub Aſoph Jah	96,094	2	15						
Remains to Row Pundit Purdhaun				5,883	6	7½			
							13,06,666	6	10
From Gooty Sundoor							10,000	0	0
Pagodas							13,16,666	6	0
Grand total							39,50,098	8	9¼

Art. IV. Whatever part of Namkeel, Sunkaghurry, Selem, Caverypoor, Attoor and Permutty, which as above ſtated are compriſed within the diviſion ceded to the aforeſaid company, ſhall be ſituated to the northward and eaſtward of the river Caveri, or if there ſhould be any other talooks, or villages of talooks, ſituated as above deſcribed, they ſhall belong to the ſaid company, and others of equal value ſhall be relinquiſhed by the ſaid company to Tippoo Sultaun in exchange for them; and if, of the above diſtricts, there ſhall be any talooks, or villages of talooks, ſituated to the weſtward and ſouthward of the ſaid river, they ſhall be relinquiſhed to Tippoo Sultaun, in exchange for others of equal value to the ſaid company.

Art. V. On the ratification and mutual exchange of this definitive treaty, ſuch diſtricts and forts as are to be ceded by Tippoo Sultaun ſhall be delivered up without any cavil or demand for outſtanding balances; and ſuch talooks and forts as are to be relinquiſhed by the three powers to Tippoo Sultaun, ſhall in the ſame manner be delivered up; and orders to this effect, addreſſed to the aumils and commanders of forts, ſhall be immediately prepared and delivered to each reſpectively of the contracting parties; on the receipt of which orders, the diſcharge of the money ſtipulated to be paid immediately, and the releaſe of priſoners on all ſides, of which the contracting parties, conſidering God as preſent and a witneſs, ſhall releaſe, without cavil, all that are in exiſtence, and ſhall not detain a ſingle perſon. The armies of the allied powers ſhall march from Seringapatam; ſuch forts and places, nevertheleſs, as ſhall be in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid company, and on the road by which the ſaid armies are to march, ſhall not be given up, until the ſaid armies ſhall have removed the ſtores, grain, &c. and the ſick which are in them, and ſhall have paſſed them on their return: as far as poſſible no delay ſhall be allowed to occur in the ſaid ſtores, &c. being removed.

Art. VI. Whatever guns and ſhot ſhall be left by Tippoo Sultaun in the forts which the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun has agreed to cede to the allied powers, an equal number of guns and ſhot ſhall be left in the forts which the allied powers have agreed to reſtore to Tippoo Sultaun.

Art. VII. The contracting parties agree that zemindars and aumildars being in balance to either party, and repairing to the country of either party, protection ſhall not be given them, and they ſhall be reſtored. If hereafter it ſhould happen that any diſputes ariſe on the boundaries of the allies and the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun, ſuch diſputes ſhall be adjuſted with the knowledge and approbation of all parties.

Art. VIII. The polygars and zemindars of this country, who, in the courſe of the preſent war, have attached themſelves and been ſerviceable to the allies, ſhall not, on that account, in any ſhape or manner, be injured or moleſted by Tippoo Sultaun.

Whenever three copies of this treaty, conſiſting of eight articles, ſhall be delivered by Tippoo Sultaun, bearing his ſeal and ſignature, accompanied by three ſchedules, alſo under the ſeal and ſignature of the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun, ſpecifying the detail of the countries ceded to the three powers, one to the ſaid company with the ſchedule, one to the ſaid Nawaub Aſoph Jah Behauder with the ſchedule, and one to the ſaid Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder with the ſchedule, three counterparts thereof, and of the ſchedule, ſhall be delivered to the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun by the allies; that is to ſay, one counterpart with the ſchedule on the part of the ſaid company, bearing the ſeal and ſignature of the ſaid Earl Cornwallis; one with the ſchedule on the part of the ſaid Nawaub Aſſoph Jah Behauder, bearing the ſeal and ſignature of the ſaid Nawaub, and of Azeem ul Omrah Behauder; and one with the ſchedule on the part of the ſaid Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, bearing the ſeal of the ſaid Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, and the ſignature of the ſaid Hurry Ram Pundit Tantia Behauder.

Signed and ſealed in camp, near Seringapatam, this 18th day of March, 1792.

A true copy.

(Signed) G. F. CHERRY.
Perſ. tranſ. to the gov. gen.

Official

Manifeſto of the French *Nation, decreed by the National Aſſembly,* December 29, 1791, *and ordered to be delivered by the Miniſters to all the Courts in* Europe.

AT a moment when, for the firſt time ſince the epoch of their liberty, the French people may ſee themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of exerciſing the terrible rights of war, their repreſentatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives which have guided their reſolutions, and an expoſition of the principles which direct their conduct. The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with the view of making conqueſts, and will never employ her forces againſt the liberty of any people. Such is the text of the conſtitution; ſuch is the ſacred vow by which we have connected our own happineſs with the happineſs of every other people, and we will be faithful to it.

But who can conſider that as a friendly territory, in which exiſts an army waiting only the proſpect of ſucceſs for the moment of attack?

Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to lend their places not only to enemies who have already declared, but to conſpirators who have long ſince commenced it? Every thing, therefore, impoſes upon the powers eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution for maintaining the peace and the ſafety of the public, the imperious law of employing force againſt rebels, who, from the boſom of a foreign land, threaten to tear their country in pieces.

The law of nations violated—the dignity of the French people inſulted—the criminal abuſe of the king's name employed by impoſtors to veil their diſaſtrous projects—the diſtruſt kept up by ſiniſter rumours through the whole empire—the obſtacles occaſioned by this diſtruſt to the execution of the laws, and the re-eſtabliſhment of credit—the means of corruption exerted to delude and ſeduce the citizens—the diſquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts the moſt vain and the moſt ſpeedily repulſed may expoſe them—the outrages, always unpuniſhed, which they have experienced on the territories where the revolted French find an aſylum—the neceſſity of not allowing the rebels time to complete their preparations, or raiſe up more dangerous enemies againſt their country—ſuch are our motives. Never did more juſt or more urgent exiſt. And in the picture which we have drawn, we have rather ſoftened than overcharged our injuries. We have no occaſion to rouſe the indignation of the citizens in order to inflame their courage.

Nevertheleſs France will in no degree ceaſe to conſider as a friendly people, the inhabitants of the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer them protection. The peaceful citizens whoſe country her armies may occupy, ſhall not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as ſubjects. The public force, of which ſhe may become the depoſitory, ſhall not be employed but to ſecure their tranquillity and maintain their laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, ſhe will never outrage them in other men; jealous of her independence, determined to bury herſelf in her own ruins, rather than ſuffer that any power ſhall dare to dictate laws to her, or even guarantee thoſe ſhe has framed for herſelf, ſhe will never infringe the independence of other nations. Her ſoldiers will conduct themſelves on a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat on it. The involuntary evils which her troops may occaſion ſhall be repaired. The aſylum which ſhe offers to ſtrangers ſhall not be ſhut againſt the inhabitants of countries whoſe princes ſhall have forced her to attack them; they ſhall find a ſure refuge in her boſom. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, ſhe will haſten to fulfil them with a generous exactneſs; but no danger ſhall be capable of making her forget that the ſoil of France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought there to be univerſal. She will preſent to the world the new ſpectacle of a nation truly free, ſubmiſſive to the laws of juſtice amid the ſtorms of war, and reſpecting every where, on every occaſion, towards all men, the rights which are the ſame for all.

Peace, which impoſture, intrigue, and treaſon, have baniſhed, will never ceaſe to be the firſt of our wiſhes. France will take up arms, compelled to do ſo for her ſafety and her internal peace, and ſhe will be ſeen to lay them down with joy the moment ſhe is aſſured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty — for that equality, which is now the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but ſhe loves peace, ſhe feels that ſhe has need of it; and ſhe is too conſcious of her ſtrength to fear making the avowal. When, in requiring other nations to reſpect her repoſe, ſhe has taken an eternal engagement not to trouble others, ſhe might have thought that ſhe deſerved to be liſtened to, and that this ſolemn declaration, the pledge of tranquillity, and the happineſs of neighbouring nations, might have merited the affection of the princes who govern them; but ſuch of thoſe princes as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal agitations in other countries, ſhall learn that the cruel right of repriſal, juſtified by uſage, condemned by nature, will not make her reſort to the means employed againſt her own repoſe; that ſhe will be juſt to thoſe who have not been ſo to her; that ſhe will every where pay as much reſpect to peace as to liberty, and that the men who ſtill preſume to call themſelves the maſters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example.

The French nation is free; and, what is more than to be free, ſhe has the feeling of her freedom. She is free; ſhe is armed; ſhe can never be reduced to ſlavery. In vain are inteſtine diſcords counted on: ſhe has paſſed the dangerous moment of the reformation of her political laws; and, too wiſe to anticipate the leſſon of experience, ſhe wiſhes only to maintain her conſtitution, and to defend it.

That diviſion of the two powers proceeding from the ſame ſource, and directed to the ſame end, that laſt hope of our enemies, has vaniſhed at the voice of our country in danger; and the king, by the ſolemnity of his proceedings, by the frankneſs of his meaſures, ſhews to Europe the French nation ſtrong in all her means of defence and proſperity.

Reſigned to the evils which the enemies of the human race, united againſt her, may make her ſuffer, ſhe will triumph over them by her patience and her courage; victorious, ſhe will ſeek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

Such are the ſentiments of a generous people, which their repreſentatives do themſelves honour in expreſſing. Such are the projects of the new political ſyſtem which they have adopted—to repel force, to reſiſt oppreſſion, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear; and to ſee only brothers in vanquiſhed adverſaries, reconciled or diſarmed.—Theſe are the wiſhes of all the French, and this is the war which they declare againſt their enemies.

Official Letter of Prince Kaunitz Rietbergh, *to the* French *Ambaſſador at* Vienna; *communicated by a Meſſage to the National Aſſembly*, Dec. 31, 1791.

Office of the Chancellor of the Court and State.

PRINCE Kaunitz Rietbergh, chancellor of the court and ſtate, having preſented to the emperor the official communication made by the French ambaſſador, he has been authorized to explain himſelf, in return to the ſaid ambaſſador, on the contents of that diſpatch, and, as far as it relates to his office, with that entire freedom which his imperial majeſty thinks it his duty to obſerve on all ſubjects relative to the important criſis in which the kingdom of France now is.

The chancellor has, in conſequence, the honour to communicate, on his ſide, that the elector of Treves has alſo ſent to the emperor a note, which the miniſter of France was charged to preſent him at Coblentz, as likewiſe the anſwer which the elector gave to the ſaid note; that this prince, at the ſame time, had made known to his imperial majeſty, that he had adopted, reſpecting the aſſembling and arming of the French refugees and emigrants, and with regard to the furniſhing them with arms and warlike ammunition, the ſame principles and regulations which had been put in force in the Auſtrian Low Countries:

But that as diſquiet began to ſpread among his ſubjects and thoſe in the environs, ſo that the tranquillity of his frontiers and ſtates were likely to be troubled by incurſions and violences, notwithſtanding this wiſe meaſure, the elector claimed the aſſiſtance of the emperor, in caſe the event ſhould realiſe his fears.

That the emperor is perfectly tranquil as to the juſt and moderate intentions of the moſt chriſtian king; and not leſs convinced, that above all things it is the intereſt of the French government not to provoke all foreign ſovereign princes by acts of violence againſt one of them. But ſince daily experience does not give ſufficient aſſurances of the ſtability and preponderance of moderate meaſures in France, and a regular ſubordination of powers, eſpecially of the provinces and municipalities, to remove the apprehenſion that ſuch acts of violence may be committed in ſpite of the king's intentions, and in ſpite of the danger of the conſequences; his imperial majeſty ſees himſelf neceſſitated, as well by his friendſhip for the elector of Treves as by the conſideration he owes to the general intereſt of Germany as a co-eſtate, and to his own intereſt as a neighbour, to enjoin marſhal de Bender, commandant-general of the troops in the Netherlands, to march to the ſtates of his electoral highneſs ſpeedy and efficacious ſuccours, in caſe he ſhould be attacked with hoſtile incurſions, or even imminently menaced with ſuch.

The emperor is too ſincerely attached to his chriſtian majeſty, and feels too much concern for the well-being of France, and the general repoſe of Europe, not to deſire ardently the prevention of this extremity, and of the infallible conſequences which it will produce, as well on the part of the chief and the ſtates of the German empire, as of other ſovereigns, who have united in concert for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the ſafety and honour of crowns. It is in conſequence of this deſire that the chancellor prince Kaunitz is ordered to be open and unreſerved to the ambaſſador of France, to whom he has the honour of repeating his aſſurances of having for him the moſt diſtinguiſhed conſideration.

Dated Vienna, Dec. 21, 1791.

Letter from the King to the National Aſſembly, with the preceding Communication.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE charged the miniſter for foreign affairs to communicate to you the official note which the emperor has cauſed to be delivered to the ambaſſador from France at Vienna. This note, I muſt ſay, has cauſed me the greateſt aſtoniſhment. I had a right to reckon on the ſentiments of the emperor, and of his deſire of preſerving with France the good intelligence and all the connexions that ought to ſubſiſt between two allies. I cannot yet think that his diſpoſitions are changed: I wiſh to perſuade myſelf that he has been deceived reſpecting the true ſtate of facts; that he has ſuppoſed that the elector of Treves had fulfilled the duties of juſtice and good neighbourhood; and that, nevertheleſs, this prince had cauſe to fear that his ſtates might be expoſed to violences, or particular incurſions.

In the anſwer which I have given to the emperor, I repeat to him, that I have demanded nothing but what is juſt from the elector of Treves, and nothing but of which the emperor himſelf had given an example. I remind him of the care the French nation took immediately to prevent the aſſembling of the Brabanters, when they attempted it in the neighbourhood of the Auſtrian Netherlands: finally, I renew to him the wiſh of France for the preſervation of peace; but at the ſame time I declare, that if, after the epoch which I have fixed, the elector of Treves ſhall not have really and effectually diſperſed the aſſemblages which exiſt in his ſtates, nothing ſhall prevent me from propoſing to the national aſſembly, as I have already announced, to employ force of arms to conſtrain it.

If this declaration does not produce the effect which I have a right to hope; if the deſtiny of France is, to have to fight with her children and her allies, I ſhall make known to Europe the juſtice of our cauſe. The French people will ſupport it by their courage; and the nation will ſee that I have no intereſt but her's; and that I ſhall ever maintain her dignity and her ſafety, as the moſt eſſential of my duties.

(Signed) Louis.
(Underneath) Delessart.

Poſtſcript

Poſtſcript of a Letter from the Elector Palatine, to Mr. Harman, *his Envoy at* Paris.

(Communicated at the ſame Time with the two preceding Papers, Dec. 31, 1791.)

WHILE I was ſigning my letter, I received yours, in which you tell me that I am regarded as an accomplice of the projects which are in train to effect a counter-revolution in France. I have reaſon to believe that the king, and the miniſter for foreign affairs, are better informed. You may give aſſurances, that no emigrant has taken up his abode in my dominions, and that they only make there a tranſitory ſtay. All is but an invention to lead the national aſſembly and the people into error.

Subſtance of Diſpatches from M. Sainte-Croix, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary of* France *at* Treves, *relative to the Diſperſion of the* French *Emigrants aſſembled there. Communicated by Order of the King to the National Aſſembly, on the* 16*th of* January, 1792.

AN extraordinary courier has been ſent by M. Sainte-Croix with the diſpatches, which have been tranſmitted to him by the miniſter of the elector of Treves. The king has ordered a communication of their principal contents to the national aſſembly.

M. Sainte-Croix has watched with the greateſt attention over the efficacy of the diſpoſitions, which had been made the ſubject of an * ordinance for the diſperſion of the meetings formed by the French emigrants. By this laſt diſpatch he poſitively announces, that the diſperſion is as real and as complete as the nation has deſired and the king directed. The annihilation of every hope of receiving ſuccours from the moſt conſiderable powers; the wiſdom of the government of the Low Countries, and the more ſerious reflections of the elector, are, according to M. Sainte-Croix, the cauſes which have accelerated the ſucceſs of his negociation. M. le Baron de Duminique, with whom he has had a long conference, has promiſed him to take meaſures ſtill more ſevere and more extended than thoſe which were announced by the firſt note of the elector; he has announced to him the following arrangements:

All bodies of Frenchmen formed in the electorate, under whatever denomination, ſhall remove. Many of them are already removed; and at the moment of the departure of the courier, a void was perceivable in conſequence of their removal: there was but one company regularly formed, which was named the body-guards. Many other ſmall corps, for inſtance the company of French guards, compoſed of forty-ſix men, are diſperſed. Uniforms have been proſcribed by an order. Horſes follow men; diviſions of cavalry are departing every day: fourſcore artillery horſes departed on the ſame day with the courier; and, in conſequence of an order of regency, carriages which were lodged in different places have been ſent away. In a word, the emigrants are diſperſed on all ſides; they are all upon their route, by the moſt frightful roads, in ſpite of the ſnow, where ſcarcely twenty five men can halt in one village for want of lodging. They march without any fixed deſtination, and receive no orders till they reach a conſiderable diſtance. It is probable that they will proceed to the country of Naſſau and the neighbouring principalities, and many return into France.

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* This ordinance was communicated to the national aſſembly on the 6th of January. The purport of it will appear ſufficiently from the execution of it here related.

With reſpect to ammunition and arms, M. Duminique has aſſured M. Sainte-Croix that there remain none at the diſpoſal of the emigrants, and that the elector will cauſe the meaſures ordered by the emperor to be exactly executed in his ſtates. He has farther aſſured him that the emigrants have no cannon, and that if they had any they have been obliged to ſell them. That all the contracts for furniſhing them are broken; that the flour will be ſold without delay, and that there will remain to them no magazines of any kind.

There has alſo been tranſmitted to M. Sainte-Croix a note touching the cardinal de Rohan. The emperor has cauſed the moſt lively remonſtrances to be made to him by his vice-chancellor, ſtating, that he will not tolerate on his territories any hoſtile preparations; and that he forbids his ſubjects all enterprizes contrary to the laws of good neighbourhood, and which may give riſe to an invaſion on the part of the French. In fine, M. Duminique has communicated to M. Sainte-Croix a note, by which the emperor announces that he is ready to protect all the ſtates of the empire, and, above all, ſuch as have been injured; but forbidding at the ſame time, that any one of them ſhould diſturb, by aſſemblings, or any act of their chief, the good harmony ſubſiſting between the empire and France.

Note from the Government General of the Netherlands, *to* M. de la Graviere, *Reſident of* France, *at* Bruſſells; *dated* January 15, 1792.

THE government-general of the Low Countries has already marked to M. de la Graviere the ſatisfaction which it received from the meaſures of reciprocity which the king has taken for preventing the aſſembling and arming of certain emigrants, calling themſelves Brabanters, who have directed their inquietudes and ſiniſter projects againſt their country, at Liſle, at Douay, and at Bethune and its environs, under the conduct of a count de *Bethune Charoſt*, who does not take the trouble to conceal his fooliſh deſigns. The meaſures taken by the king are perverted by the ſocieties calling themſelves "*friends of the conſtitution*," whom the ſtates bordering on France cannot but conſider as the friends of licentiouſneſs, of diſorder, and of inſurrection againſt the legitimate authorities: it is in this point of view that the government-general of the Low Countries, has the honour to denounce to M. de la Graviere by the preſent official note, a ſeditious writing entitled *the diſcourſe pronounced by S. J. F. Girard, &c.* which has been profuſely ſpread in print through the Belgic provinces. This writing, ſo contrary to the intentions manifeſted by the national aſſembly and by the king had been preceded by another piece entitled *Seraphin Joſeph Girard, elector of the department of the north, to his fellow citizens, &c.* The protection openly promiſed to the factious by the ſocieties calling themſelves conſtitutional, in France, emboldens them to that extreme that they no longer obſerve meaſures in their conſpiracies, or in publiſhing their projects of open plunder.

The care which the government-general owes to the tranquillity of theſe provinces requires, that, in imparting theſe circumſtances it ſhould ſtrongly inſiſt that the execution of the diſpoſitions ordered by the king and the French government, for ſecuring the public repoſe, and preſerving good neighbourhood on the frontiers, ſhould anſwer without delay to the declarations made in that reſpect, and that thoſe inquietudes be done away which create a neceſſity for meaſures of precaution. When proper means are employed on the part of France for diſſipating the cauſe of ſuch meaſures, it is to be hoped they will be found ſuperfluous on our part.

Decree of the National Aſſembly of France, *preſented by a Deputation to the King*, Jan. 25, 1792.

THE national aſſembly, conſidering that the emperor, by his circular letter of the 25th of November 1791; by a new treaty concluded between him and the king of Pruſſia on the 25th of July 1791, and notified to the diet of Ratiſbon on the 6th of December; by his anſwer to the king of the French, on the notification made to him of the acceptance of the conſtitutional act; and by the official note of his chancellor of the court and ſtate, dated December 21, 1791, has infringed the treaty of the 1ſt of March 1756, endeavoured to excite among divers powers a concert injurious to the ſovereignty and ſafety of the French nation; conſidering that the French nation, after having manifeſted its reſolution not to interfere in the government of any foreign power, has a right to expect for itſelf a juſt reciprocity, of which it will never ſuffer any derogation; and applauding the firmneſs with which the king of the French has replied to the official note of the emperor; after having heard the report of the diplomatic committee, decrees as follows:

Art. 1. The king ſhall be invited by a meſſage to declare to the emperor, that he cannot in future treat with any power, but in the name of the French nation, and in virtue of the powers delegated to him by the conſtitution.

2. The king ſhall be invited to demand of the emperor, whether, as head of the houſe of Auſtria, he intends to live in peace and good underſtanding with the French nation; and whether he renounces all treaties and conventions directed againſt the ſovereignty, independence, and ſafety of the nation?

3. The king ſhall be invited to declare to the emperor, that in caſe he ſhall, before the 1ſt of March next, fail to give full and entire ſatisfaction upon all the points above ſtated, his ſilence, as well as every evaſive or dilatory anſwer, will be conſidered as a declaration of war.

4. The king ſhall be invited to continue to adopt the moſt efficacious meaſures to put the troops in a ſtate to take the field upon the firſt orders they may receive.

Letter from the King to the National Aſſembly, in Anſwer to the preceding Decree.

Paris, Jan. 28.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE examined the invitation, in the form of a decree, which you preſented to me on the 25th inſtant. You know that by the conſtitution it belongs to me alone to entertain political connexions abroad, and conduct negociations; and that the legiſlative body cannot deliberate on war, but on my formal and neceſſary propoſition. Undoubtedly, you may require of me to take into conſideration whatever intereſts the ſafety and the dignity of the nation; but the form you have adopted is open to important obſervations. I ſhall not enter into them at preſent. The importance of circumſtances obliges me to attend more to maintaining the harmony of our ſentiments, than to be continually diſcuſſing my rights.

I muſt therefore acquaint you, that I have demanded of the emperor, more than fifteen days ago, a poſitive explanation on the principal articles which are the object of your invitation. I have obſerved toward him the reſpect which powers mutually owe to one another. If we are to have war, let us not have to reproach ourſelves with having provoked it by any wrong on our part. This certainty alone can aid us to ſupport the unavoidable evils it muſt bring with it.

I feel that it is glorious for me to ſpeak in the name of a nation which diſplays ſo high a degree of courage, and I know how to make the moſt of this incalculable means of force; but what more ſincere proof of my attachment to the conſtitution can I give, than to employ as much circumſpection in the negociations that tend to peace, as celerity in the preparations, which will enable us, if neceſſary, to take the field in ſix weeks. The moſt unquiet diſtruſt can find nothing in this conduct but the conciliation of all my duties. Humanity (and I remind the aſſembly of it) forbids mixing any emotion of enthuſiaſm in our deciſion on war. Such a deciſion ought to be an act moſt maturely conſidered, for it is to pronounce, in the name of our country, that her intereſt requires of her the ſacrifice of a great number of her children. I am watchful, in the mean time, for the honour and the ſecurity of the nation; and I ſhall accelerate, with all my power, the moment of acquainting the national aſſembly, whether we may depend upon peace, or whether I muſt propoſe war.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(Underſigned) M. L. F. DUPORT.

* *Extract from the Inſtructions of* M. Deleſſart, *Miniſter for Foreign Affairs at* Paris, *to* M. Noailles, *Ambaſſador from* France *to the Court of* Vienna.

Paris, Jan. 21ſt, 1792.

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I HAVE already ſpoken to you concerning the official note which was tranſmitted to you by the prince of Kaunitz on the 21ſt of December. I ſhall again ſpeak to you concerning it. This unexpected declaration produced at firſt the greateſt agitation, for it was conceived that the language of the court of Vienna conveyed a degree of menace in its tone. In order to juſtify this opinion, it will be neceſſary to enter into ſome details.

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* This paper is ſo called by the national aſſembly, and is all that was publiſhed.

It was in the month of November that you acquainted the Auſtrian miniſter with the formal invitation which the king had juſt renewed to the elector of Treves, for the purpoſe of procuring a diſperſion of thoſe bodies which were collected in his dominions; and at the ſame time you demanded, in the name of the king, "the interpoſition of the good offices and authority of the emperor, to induce the elector to comply with this act of juſtice." Theſe bodies, the hoſtile preparations, the collection of military corps, were inconteſtibly notorious to every one. The meaſures of the emigrants to excite every where enemies againſt France, were not leſs notorious. The court of Vienna more than any other court, perhaps, was furniſhed with proof. Nevertheleſs, inſtead of attempting to induce the elector of Treves to put a period to this cauſe of fermentation and inquietude, the court of Vienna appeared indifferent to all theſe movements, and thereby added to them a greater degree of power and importance.

It was impoſſible for the nation to view with the ſame indifference the aggreſſion with which it was menaced. The national aſſembly addreſſed itſelf to the king, diſcloſing to him a wiſh that had manifeſted itſelf in all parts of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of inviting him to take the neceſſary precautions which the ſafety of the ſtate required. It was then that the elector of Treves, terrified by this meaſure, requeſted the protection of the emperor; and that, without any communication, or any preparatory elucidations, the prince of Kaunitz declared to you "that the emperor had given orders to the marſhal Bender to march to the aſſiſtance of the elector of Treves, if he ſhould be attacked." It is true, that this order appeared to relate to ſome violence and incurſions committed by the municipalities, in diſobedience of the intentions of the nation and of the king; but allowing even this ſuppoſition, acts of this nature ſhould never have been conſidered but as private operations, againſt which the elector might eaſily have defended himſelf by means in his own power, which were ſuſceptible of an amicable arrangement, and which certainly did not require any movement on the part of marſhal Bender to repreſs them. We are not ignorant in truth that at the very time when the emperor gave this order, he ſent word to the elector of Treves, "to follow a fixed rule with reſpect to the emigrants, and to imitate in every thing the example which had been ſet on this ſubject in the Low Countries." We are not ignorant alſo that on the previous compliance with this condition, depended that aſſiſtance which general Bender was to afford to the elector in caſe of an ulterior attack on our part. Why was not this diſpoſition diſcloſed in the note tranſmitted to you? It will be unneceſſary to explain to you how devoid of veracity that expoſition is which the elector made to the emperor. Every thing which he is obliged to do for the purpoſe of conforming to the rules eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries, gives the lie to the aſſertions he has made, and proves in the cleareſt manner the really hoſtile condition in which the emigrants were in his dominions.

But I cannot paſs over in ſilence that paſſage in the official note in which the elector of Treves affirms;

“ that it is eaſy to diſcover that the king was not free when he ſubſcribed the document which was tranſmitted to him on the part of his majeſty.” This mode of expreſſion ought not to have procured the elector of Treves ſo eaſily that protection which he requeſted.

I paſs on, Sir, to the laſt paragraph of the note of 21ſt December. It is this article, the peruſal of which has produced the greateſt number of reflections, and has left the deepeſt impreſſion.' It is there ſaid, “ that the emperor is too ſincerely attached to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and feels too much concern for the well-being of France, and the general repoſe of Europe, not to deſire ardently the prevention of this extremity, and of the infallible conſequences which it will produce as well on the part of the chief and the ſtates of the German empire, as of the other ſovereigns who have united in concert for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the ſafety and honour of crowns.”

I. It cannot be conceived in what manner particular acts, committed perhaps by certain municipalities, ought to intereſt all Europe; ſince, as has been already obſerved, a ſmall portion of good-will would have terminated ſuch events in an amicable way.

II. The following expreſſions have made a deep impreſſion:—“ The ſovereigns who have united in concert for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the ſafety and honour of crowns.” It has been conceived, that theſe words are an index to a league formed without the knowledge of, and perhaps againſt, France: it has been a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the emperor, the brother-in-law and ally of the king, ſhould not have informed him of this combination of the ſovereigns of Europe, at the head of which his imperial majeſty ſeems to be placed. This obſervation, ſir, naturally leads me to ſpeak to you of the uneaſineſs which has already entered into the minds of many, and to which the words which I have juſt quoted added a great degree of ſtrength. It is apprehended, that there does indeed exiſt a combination between the principal powers of Europe, for the purpoſe of producing ſome change in the French conſtitution. It is ſuppoſed that theſe powers entertain a deſign of eſtabliſhing a congreſs, in which this object will be diſcuſſed between them. Finally, it is imagined that uniting their power and their means, they will endeavour to force the king and the nation to accept thoſe laws which they may make.

I do not doubt that the emigrants have often repreſented this plan as the thing in the world moſt pacific and eaſy to be executed; but I cannot perſuade myſelf that it has been ſo eaſily adopted. I cannot believe, above all, that the emperor, guided as he is by views of wiſdom and juſtice, can have imbibed ſuch ideas. Vain would be the attempt to change by force of arms our new conſtitution: it has become to a great majority of the nation a ſpecies of religion, which they have embraced with enthuſiaſm, and which they will defend with that energy which belongs to the moſt exalted ſentiments.

Thoſe who would draw the foreign powers into violent meaſures, repeat inceſſantly that France is full of malecontents, who wait only for the opportunity of declaring themſelves. There are many who ſuffer and who complain; but I firmly believe, and my belief is commenſurate with the belief of thoſe who know the actual diſpoſition of the public mind, that the firſt moment in which the conſtitution ſhall be attacked, there would be but one party, one ſentiment, one intereſt; and the greateſt part of the malecontents, attaching themſelves to the common cauſe, would become its warmeſt defenders.

At the ſame time that they ſpeak of malecontents, they exaggerate the want of diſcipline in our armies, the diſorder of our finances, and our inteſtine commotions; in a word, they repreſent us in a ſtate of abſolute imbecility. I do not diſſemble, that our embarraſſments are great; but were they ſtill greater, they would much deceive themſelves if they thought they could inſult France with impunity, or if they deſpiſed her power.

You have often informed me, ſir, that the people were extremely aſtoniſhed at Vienna, "at the apparent diſorder of our government, at the want of ſubordination in the different powers, and at the little reſpect with which the king was treated." It ought to be conſidered, that we are but juſt coming out of one of the greateſt revolutions that ever happened; that this revolution, in its eſſential characteriſtic, being at firſt wrought with an extreme rapidity, has been prolonged by diviſions ariſing in the different parts, and by the oppoſition eſtabliſhed between different paſſions and intereſts. It was impoſſible that ſuch oppoſition and ſuch effects, ſuch innovations and ſuch diſaſters, ſhould fail of producing long agitations; and it may reaſonably be expected that the reeſtabliſhment of order can only be produced by time.

Beſides, what is the cauſe of this inteſtine fermentation, at which the court of Vienna ſeems ſo much offended? It is the ſteps which the emigrants have taken, their preparations, their projects, their menaces, and the ſupport, more or leſs conſiderable, which they have received in moſt of the courts of Europe.

There was, without doubt, an epoch in which their cauſe, apparently connected with that of the king, might have excited the intereſt of ſovereigns, and more particularly of the emperor. But when once the king, by the acceptance of the conſtitution, had put himſelf at the head of the new government, the emigrants ought to have created no further intereſt, except from their misfortunes; and it was eaſy to judge that their pretenſions, and movements, in affording hopes to ſome and uneaſineſs to others, would produce troubles in the kingdom, and would perhaps communicate thoſe troubles to a large part of Europe. Hence the document of 21ſt December, which ſeemed to announce an intention of protecting them, produced a kind of exploſion, and gave riſe to ſo many ſuſpicions and reproaches. And upon whom was all this to fall? Upon the king; becauſe malevolence endeavoured to inculate a belief "that there exiſts between the emperor and the king a perfect intimacy; that all their meaſures are concerted; and that it is thus the king, who protects the emigrants, directs the coalition of all the powers of Europe." It would therefore be a great means of calming

ing men's minds, and re-eſtabliſhing order and tranquillity in the kingdom, if a ſtop were put to theſe ſcandalous aſſociations of emigrants, who, without titles, or territories, endeavour to elevate themſelves to power, thinking only to revenge their private injuries, and to make good their perſonal pretenſions.

It appears, ſir, that one of the things which has moſt diſpleaſed the Auſtrian miniſter, is the licence of ſpeech and writing; and that he pretends that a government, in which ſuch exceſſes are tolerated, is in itſelf intolerable. Upon this ſubject we have laid down wiſe principles and eſtabliſhed juſt laws. But it ought to be conſidered, that our organization is only in its infancy; that the reſources of our new government are not yet in poſſeſſion of all their energy; and that in the midſt of diſquietude, occaſioned partly by foreign powers, it is impoſſible that the laws ſhould exerciſe all their dominion in the interior of the kingdom. Let them ceaſe to diſquiet us, to threaten us, and to furniſh pretexts to thoſe who only wiſh to produce diſorder, and order will ſoon be eſtabliſhed. This deluge of libels, with which we have been ſo compleatly innundated, has already diminiſhed, and continues daily to diminiſh. Indifference and contempt are the arms with which this affliction ought to be encountered. Ought all Europe to be irritated againſt the French nation, becauſe it conceals in its boſom ſome declaimers and pamphleteers; and would they do them the honour of anſwering them from the mouth of their cannon? Moreover, if it were poſſible that a miſerable cauſe like this ſhould draw all the powers of Europe into a war, this war, whatever might be the event, would not deſtroy the object againſt which it was undertaken. It would, on the contrary, add to its ſtrength and activity.

I have juſt, ſir, pronounced an important word: a word which occupies every perſon's mind; a word which gives uneaſineſs to ſome, and is the deſire of others. This word is WAR. You will eaſily believe that the king is at the head of thoſe who oppoſe it. His excellent mind, acting in concert with his heart, revolts at the idea. I regard it, even if it ſhould be fortunate, as a calamity to the kingdom, and a ſcourge to humanity. In the mean time I can aſſure you, that the king has been very ſenſibly affected by the document of the 21ſt of December. Every intelligence that has been ſince received, either from Bruſſels or Coblentz, has confirmed the real diſpoſition of the emperor; and his majeſty, deſiring that the national aſſembly ſhould partake in this ſentiment, has required me to communicate ſucceſſively every thing that could tend to this end. But the order given ſo abruptly to marſhal Bender; the apparent intention of ſuccouring the elector of Treves, at the very time that this prince obſerved the moſt hoſtile conduct towards us; the annunciation of a combination unknown to us between the powers of Europe; the tone and temper of the official document, have made an impreſſion which the wiſeſt could not avoid receiving, and which the king has not been able to efface.

I return to that eſſential object, the war. Is it for the emperor's intereſt to ſuffer himſelf to be drawn into this fatal meaſure? I will allow, for the ſake of argument, that the moſt favourable events may attend his armies;—what then will be the conſequence? The emperor will leave off by being more embarraſſed by ſucceſs than he would have been by diſaſters; and the only fruit which he will gather from this war, will be the ſad advantage of having deſtroyed his ally, and of having encreaſed the power of his enemies and his rivals.

I think then, from inconteſtible evidence, that peace is as neceſſary to the emperor as to France; I think that it is prudent for him to preſerve an alliance, which cannot hereafter produce any inconvenience to him, and which may be beneficial; I think that, inſtead of taking part in meaſures which might tend to overthrow the kingdom, he ought, on the contrary, to deſire the preſervation of its power and proſperity.

You ought, ſir, to demand explanations on three points. 1ſt. Upon the document of the 21ſt December. 2d. Upon the emperor's interpoſition in our internal affairs. 3d. Upon the meaning of that expreſſion — "the ſovereigns combined for the ſafety and honour of crowns." Each of theſe explanations, demanded from his juſtice, may be given with that dignity which accords with his perſon and power.

One circumſtance will perhaps embarraſs the imperial court in that explanation, which I will ſuppoſe it may be inclined to give: this is, the affair of the princes having poſſeſſions in Alſace and Lorraine, in which the emperor may think himſelf obliged to interpoſe as chief of the empire. I ſhall firſt however obſerve, that this is a ſeparate tranſaction, and ought to be treated in a way different from that which is the object of the preſent diſcuſſion. I ſhall add, that the decree of the 14th allows this negociation a greater degree of latitude than it has hitherto poſſeſſed; for, except every thing which might tend to re-eſtabliſh the feudal rights on the territories of France, a meaſure which was and will always be impoſſible, every thing elſe is permitted, and the king will certainly never refuſe any reaſonable arrangement. I believe that I may hope that the national aſſembly will be diſpoſed to adopt the propoſition of his majeſty on this ſubject.—In a word, ſir, I expreſs to you the wiſh of the king, that of his council, and I heſitate not in ſaying that of the ſound part of the nation. We wiſh for peace. We aſk that a period ſhould be put to this expenſive ſtate of war into which we have been drawn; we demand a return to a ſtate of peace; but we have received ſo much cauſe of uneaſineſs, that it is neceſſary we ſhould receive a full and ample aſſurance of it.

Inſtructions of the Prince de Kaunitz *to* M. Blumendorff, *the Imperial Miniſter at* Paris, *dated* Vienna, 17*th of* February, 1792.

THE ambaſſador from France at this court has been directed to demand explanations reſpecting the note which I delivered to him on the 21ſt of December; he has acquitted himſelf by communicating to me the following extract of the diſpatch, which was addreſſed to him for that purpoſe by Monſ. Deleſſart on the 21ſt of January laſt.

It might be ſufficient for me to refer, reſpecting the explanations demanded, as well to the notoriety of the facts as to a poſterior note ſent by me to the French ambaſſador on the 5th of January, which without doubt was known at Paris ſixteen days after, at the date of the diſpatch of M. Deleſſart; nevertheleſs, the ſentiments and intentions of the emperor reſpecting France are ſo pure and ſincere, that he is readily inclined to repeat the fulleſt explanations, being ſenſible that it is of infinite importance for them to be juſtly known, and entirely to diſpel the falſe light, in which it is endeavoured to repreſent them, for the purpoſe of endangering their mutual tranquillity.

The explanations that the ambaſſador has been commiſſioned to demand, may be reduced to the two following heads: "The orders given to marſhal Bender; and the concert which ſubſiſts between the emperor and ſeveral other powers for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, and the ſafety and honour of crowns."

Explanation on the Firſt Head—" As to the Orders given to Marſhal Bender."

The emperor, without waiting for a requiſition from France, was the firſt to ſubject the reception of the French emigrants in all his dominions to the moſt ſtrict rules of a ſimple aſylum; and it is alſo not ſecret throughout all Europe, that ſince their aſſembling, the emperor has continually given the moſt poſitive directions and advice to hinder them from any actions that might diſturb the general tranquillity. On what foundation then, or to what purpoſe, does M. Deleſſart reproach the court of Vienna with having appeared indifferent to the movements of the emigrants?

The orders to Marſhal Bender, which is the point in queſtion, were connected with an abſolute condition, that the elector of Treves ſhould fully perform his promiſe "of adhering to the ſame rules which are in force in the Low Countries relative to the emigrants;" and M. Deleſſart confeſſes this to have been known in France. This point required, therefore, no explanation, and I know not what to think of the miniſter's reproach on account of "this diſpoſition not having been expreſſed in the note of the 21ſt of December," when at the ſame time the "aſſiſtance demanded by the elector is there avowedly promiſed in caſe the tranquillity of his frontiers and his ſtates ſhould be infringed, notwithſtanding the wiſe meaſures of that prince in adopting the ſame regulations which were put in force in the Auſtrian Low Countries;" and when at the ſame time, in my ſecond note of 5th January, the declaration on our part, of aſſiſtance, is poſitively limited to the caſe of an invaſion taking place, "in defiance of the moderate and prudent precautions of the princes of the empire, in obſerving a conduct ſimilar to that purſued by the government of the Low Countries." If ſuch manifeſt indications were not ſufficient to clear all doubt, and if in reſpect to himſelf it were poſſible to ſuppoſe the emperor would ſupport armaments which he has forbidden in his own eſtates, what could remain to be deſired, after the letter that the count de Mercy addreſſed you on the 7th of January, and of which, ſir, you acquainted me that you had made an exact communication to M. Deleſſart; by which this ambaſſador enjoins you "to communicate to the French miniſter, that the emperor had declared he would grant no aſſiſtance to the elector, if he did not fully ſatisfy the demand of France, not to permit in his ſtates aſſemblages of emigrants, nor any preparations, nor hoſtile ſteps of any kind whatever; but that he ſhould adopt in every reſpect the ſame impartial conduct, which has always been obſerved in the Low Countries towards the French emigrants?" This official explanation, together with the above indications, is confirmed by the fact, and by the reports of Monſ. de Ste. Croix on the execution of the orders given to prevent theſe aſſemblages. Did it not therefore place in the hands of the miniſter ſufficient motives of ſatisfaction to diſſipate the moſt confirmed and malevolent miſtruſt?

How, therefore, can Monſ. Deleſſart confine the motives for the orders given to marſhal Bender to the ſuppoſition of ſome violence, and ſome incurſions committed by the municipalities? Why does he paſs over in ſilence the other motives which my note of the 21ſt December ſpecified; "that daily experience does not give ſufficient aſſurances of the ſtability and preponderance of moderate meaſures in France, and a regular ſubordination of powers, eſpecially of the provinces and municipalities?" Of all this paſſage, the laſt word only is caught up: is it that the other motives which it expreſſes, and which are found at length in my note of the 5th of January, but on which he alſo obſerves ſilence, are not equally true as important? It is aſſuredly eaſier to paſs them over, than to combat their juſtice and reality.

It was therefore clearer than day, that the emperor, far from being inclined to threaten France, was only inclined to remind her of the obligations he was under, as chief of the Germanic body, as a co-eſtate and neighbour, to ſuccour another ſtate of the empire againſt unjuſt attacks, which evidently were to be apprehended from the extreme violence manifeſted in the temper of the national aſſembly, as well as of the neareſt departments and municipalities, joined to ſuch a precipitation and diſproportion of meaſures, as did not permit any delay in the orders for eventual aſſiſtance. And as it is equally evident, that there did not remain to France a ſhadow of doubt as to the true intentions of the emperor; the reſult of courſe is, that on the firſt head there was no ground for requiring the explanations which have been demanded, if the French miniſter had not been abſolutely determined to ſtart objections.

Explanation reſpecting the Concert of Powers.

"Without doubt," ſays M. Deleſſart, "there was an epoch in which their cauſe, (that of the emigrants) apparently connected with that of the king, might have excited the intereſt of ſovereigns, and more particularly of the emperor."

At this period, which the miniſter fixes before the time that the king, by the acceptance of the conſtitution, placed himſelf at the head of a new government, France gave to Europe the ſpectacle of a lawful king forced by atrocious violence to fly; proteſting ſolemnly againſt the acquieſcence which they had extorted from him; and a little afterwards, together with his family, ſtopped and detained priſoners by his ſubjects.

Yes; it then did concern the brother-in-law and the ally of the king to invite the other powers of Europe to join with him in a declaration to France, "that they all view "the cauſe of his moſt chriſtian majeſty as their own; that they demand that this prince and his family be ſet at liberty, and have "power to go where they pleaſe; "and they require for theſe royal "perſonages inviolability and due "reſpect, which by the laws of na- "ture and of nations are due from "ſubjects to their princes; that they "will unite to avenge, in the moſt "ſignal manner, every further at- "tempt that may be committed or "ſuffered to be committed againſt "the liberty, the honour, and the "ſafety of the king, the queen, and "the royal family; and that, finally, "they will not acknowledge as con- "ſtitutional laws, legally eſtabliſhed "in France, any but thoſe which "ſhall have the voluntary acquieſ- "cence of the king enjoying perfect "liberty. But if, on the other "hand, theſe demands are not com- "plied with, they will in concert "employ all the means in their "reach to put a ſtop to the ſcanda- "lous uſurpation of power, which "bears the appearance of an open "rebellion, and which, from the "danger of the example, it con- "cerns all the governments of Eu- "rope to repreſs."

Theſe are the terms of the declaration, which the emperor propoſed in the month of July 1791 to the principal ſovereigns of Europe to be made to France, and to be adopted as the baſis of a general concert.

He defies a word to be found, which is not ſanctioned by all the principles moſt ſacred in the law of nations: and is it pretended, that the French nation, by its new conſtitution, has raiſed itſelf above the univerſal law of all countries, in all ages? Nay, more; they could not, without contradicting the conſtitution itſelf, give the title of a league againſt France, and an union of powers to oblige the king and the nation to accept laws which they ſhall have made, to a concert, whoſe only view was to ſuccour and ſupport the inviolability of the king and French monarchy, which the new conſtitution acknowledges and ſanctions as an immutable foundation of the government.

To this ſame epoch of the detention of the king and his family, muſt be referred the ſtipulation compriſed in the preliminary articles of a defenſive alliance between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, which were ſigned the 25th of July 1791, importing "that the two courts would jointly conſult, and would employ themſelves to accompliſh a concert on the affairs of France, to which his imperial majeſty ſhould invite the principal powers of Europe;" a ſtipulation which reſts entirely, as plainly appears, on the avowed principles and views of the concert, as does alſo the declaration ſigned in common by the Auſtrian and Pruſſian monarchs at the time of their interview at Pilnitz, on the 27th of Auguſt following.

This concert was on the eve of being conſolidated, when the king and queen were releaſed, the royal authority reſtored, the maintenance of a monarchical form of government adopted as a fundamental principle of the conſtitution, and his moſt chriſtian majeſty declared, in his letter of the 13th of September to the national aſſembly, that "he accepted the conſtitution, though in truth he could not diſcover that energy in the government which would be neceſſary effectually to direct and preſerve the unity of all the parts of ſo vaſt an empire; but he conſented, that experience only ſhould decide."

Then the emperor addreſſed himſelf a ſecond time to the powers whom he had invited to this concert, and propoſed to them to ſuſpend their deſign, as may be proved by the circular diſpatches which for this purpoſe were received by the imperial miniſters at the different courts in the courſe of the month of November; and of which you will make no difficulty of producing the copy hereunto annexed. This propoſed ſuſpenſion was cauſed by the king's acceptance of the conſtitution, and by the appearance that he had done it freely, and in hopes that the dangers which threatened the liberty, the honour, and the ſafety of the king and the royal family, as alſo the exiſtence of the monarchy of France, would ceaſe in future. It is only in caſe theſe dangers ſhould be re-produced, that the concert will again reſume its activity.

Inſtead then of this circular diſpatch containing that which is advanced without proof by the invitation in form of a decree, which the aſſembly preſented to the king on the 25th of January, "that the emperor had endeavoured to excite a concert of different powers inimical to the ſovereignty and ſafety of France," it ſhews the direct reverſe; it ſhews, that his imperial majeſty had ſought to pacify the other powers, by engaging them to participate with him in thoſe hopes which were the motives of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's acceptance of the conſtitution.

Since that time the concert of the emperor with thoſe powers has only eventually exiſted, on account of the apprehenſions which it was natural to entertain in conſequence of a revolution which, to make uſe of Monſ. Deleſſart's own words, "having been wrought with extreme rapidity, was prolonged by diviſions; it being impoſſible that ſo many contrary opinions, ſo many efforts, and ſo many violent exertions, ſhould not leave after them laſting agitation." Theſe fears, and the concert of paſſive obſervation, which is the reſult of them, have a double motive, equally well-founded as inſeparable in its objects.

As long as the interior ſtate of France, inſtead of giving reaſon to expect that the favourable predictions of M. Deleſſart will be realized on the recovery of order, the activity of government, and the execution of the laws, ſhall manifeſt, on the contrary, daily encreaſing ſymptoms of ferments and reſiſtance, the powers, friends of France, will have the moſt juſt motives to fear the repetition of the ſame violences againſt the king and the royal family; and even to apprehend that the French nation will be plunged in the moſt dreadful evil that can attack a great ſtate—popular anarchy. But this is alſo an evil the moſt infectious towards other nations; and as more than one foreign ſtate has already furniſhed fatal examples of its progreſs, other powers muſt be denied the ſame right of maintaining their conſtitutions, which France claims of protecting her own; if it be not allowed, that never did there exiſt a motive of alarm, and a general concert more juſt, more urgent, and more eſſential to the tranquillity of Europe.

The relations too of the beſt authenticated daily events muſt be diſbelieved, to attribute the principal cauſe of the agitation in the interior of France to the ſtand the emigrants have made, to their preparations, their projects, their threats, and to the aſſiſtance they have received. The impotent armaments of the emigrants did not require the collecting of forces thirty or forty times more numerous: the armaments of the emigrants are diſſolved, while thoſe of France continue; and the emperor, ſo far from approving their deſigns, inſiſts that they make no attempt to diſturb the public tranquillity. The princes of the empire follow his example; no power ſupplies them with troops; and the pecuniary aid which may have been afforded them in conſideration of their misfortunes, is hardly ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence.

No; the true cauſe of this ferment, and of all the conſequences which may enſue, is but too manifeſt to the eyes of France, and of all Europe; it is the influence and the violence of the republican party, condemned by the principles of the conſtitution, and proſcribed by the conſtituent aſſembly; a party, whoſe aſcendence in the preſent legiſlature has been viewed with dread by all thoſe who have the good of France at heart.

It is the violence of this party, which produced thoſe crimes and ſcenes of horror, which diſgraced the commencement of the reformation of the French conſtitution, called for and ſecured by the king himſelf, and the conſummation of which Europe would have ſeen with unconcern, had not attempts, forbidden by all laws human and divine, forced foreign powers to unite for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and for the ſafety and honour of crowns.

It is the agitators of this party, who, ſince the new conſtitution has declared the inviolability of the monarchy, invariably ſeek to ſap and overthrow its principles, ſometimes by motions and direct attacks; and ſometimes by a ſettled plan to annihilate it in effect, by leading the legiſlative aſſembly to ſeize the excluſive functions of the executive power, or forcing the king to yield to their wiſhes by exploſions which they excite, and by the miſtruſts and reproaches which their manœuvres bring upon the king.

As they well know that the majority of the nation is unwilling to adopt their ſyſtem of a republic, or, more properly, of anarchy; and as they deſpair of ſucceeding to bring it about, if tranquillity ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the interior of the nation, and peace preſerved with the ſurrounding powers, they direct all their efforts to foſter the internal troubles, and bring on a foreign war.

It is in the firſt of theſe views that they carefully encourage religious diſputes, as the moſt active cauſe of civil commotions, annihilating the effect of the tolerating views of the conſtitution by an intolerance in its execution directly contrary to its ſpirit. It is to this end they endeavour to make the reconciliation of the different parties impoſſible; and the method they take of reclaiming one ſide, which has been alienated by the ſevereſt trials the human heart can ſuffer, is by depriving them of the hope of mitigation or protection; and while they themſelves are ſeen to attack and violate with impunity the new conſtitution in its moſt eſſential principles, they excite the public enthuſiaſm for its immutability and perfection, and yet baffle the deſire of rendering it permanent by the temperate improvements of judgment, and experience, not leſs important towards its eſſential end, the eſtabliſhment of a free monarchy, than neceſſary to reunite all claſſes in unanimity, and reſtore that order and energy which are abſolutely requiſite for internal government.

But knowing well that their exiſtence, and the ſucceſs of their views, depend only on the degree of enthuſiaſm which they may excite in the nation, they have provoked the preſent criſis between France and foreign powers. It is for this purpoſe, therefore, that they have induced the government to laviſh the public revenue, inſufficient for the current expences and the ſupport of the credit of the ſtate, in a war eſtabliſhment of 150,000 men, under the pretext of making head againſt about four thouſand, whom the emigrants did aſſemble, and do no longer aſſemble, in Germany; but in reality with the evident intent that theſe armaments, accompanied with menacing language, ſhall infallibly provoke counter-armaments, and finally an open rupture with the emperor and empire.

This is the reaſon that, inſtead of appeaſing the juſt apprehenſions which the foreign powers have entertained for a long time on account of their dark yet detected projects of ſeducing other nations to anarchy and revolt, they plot at this day, with a publicity of declarations and meaſures without example in the hiſtory of any civilized government. They reckoned that ſovereigns muſt at length ceaſe to oppoſe indifference and contempt to their furious and calumniating harangues, when they ſhould ſee that the national aſſembly tolerates them in its boſom, collects them, and even decrees their publication. They reckoned, above all, that they ſhould drive the emperor to extremities, and force him into ſerious meaſures (which might again be turned to keep up the alarms of the nation) by protecting and ſupporting the new conſpiracy of a revolt which has been lately diſcovered in the Low Countries, and of which it is known, beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, that the focus exiſts at Douay, and that the whole ſcheme was founded on the aſſurances of aſſiſtance from the republican party in France. It is in general againſt the emperor, and to take advantage of the unprepared ſtate of his forces in the neighbouring provinces, that their principal or at leaſt their firſt deſign ſeems directed; expecting, without doubt, to prevent the conſequences of an attack which would become the common cauſe of the powers, by endeavouring with negotiations, and ſeparate deceitful offers, to diſunite them, and to inſpire them in a contrary ſenſe with the ſame emotions of jealouſy, and rivalſhip of alliance, which they will no ways excite at a time when every thing conſpires ſincerely to fix on the firmeſt baſis a ſyſtem of repoſe and general moderation.

It is finally owing to the fatal

influence of this ſame party, and to the ſame object of precipitating a war with his imperial majeſty, that the extraordinary decree of the 25th of January may be attributed; by which, encroaching on the initiative reſerved to the king by the conſtitution, the liberty is taken of reproaching the emperor with having violated the treaty of union and alliance of 1756, becauſe he wiſhed to ſuccour the king of France when a priſoner, and the French monarchy when nearly deſtroyed, at the period of the 21ſt of June laſt, and becauſe afterwards he uſed all his influence to bring the other ſovereigns to an uniſon with the determination and the hopes of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. By this decree the king even is invited to demand an explanation, in the name of France, who is arming for war, of the hoſtile deſigns of the emperor, who has not armed at all, who has put a ſtop to the armaments of others, and whom France obliges at this day to arm in his own defence. By this decree, adding inſult to injuſtice, a right is arrogated, of preſcribing, on reproaches without proof, to a reſpectable ſovereign, the ally of France, a peremptory time of ſatisfaction; as if the rules and regards conſecrated by the public law of nations were to be ſubjected to the arbitration of a French legiſlature.

Notwithſtanding theſe offenſive proceedings, the emperor will give to France the cleareſt proof of the conſtant ſincerity of his attachment, by preſerving on his part that quiet and moderation which his friendly concern for the ſituation of the kingdom inſpires; he does juſtice to the perſonal ſentiments of the king his brother-in-law; he is far from aſcribing ſuch meaſures to the majority of the nation, who either groan under the evils produced by a frantic party, or involuntarily take a part in the errors and prejudices which are inſtilled into them againſt the conduct of his imperial majeſty.

To lay open the details and the true intentions of his conduct towards France, without reſerve and without diſguiſe, to the eyes of the king and the whole nation, is the only weapon to which the emperor wiſhes to have recourſe to baffle the artifices of a cabal, which, eſtabliſhing a ſtate within a ſtate, and founding its aſcendant, forbidden by the law, on troubles and confuſion, has no other means of ſupporting itſelf in the inextricable embarraſſments which it has prepared for the nation, than to precipitate it into ſtill greater embaraſſments and calamities, under favour of which it may accompliſh its plan, of overthrowing the monarchical government confirmed by the conſtitution.

It is with this amicable and ſalutary intention, that the emperor, at the ſame time that he ſought, not only in words but by actions, to diſſipate the uneaſineſs cauſed in France by the emigrants, thought it his duty to remind her of the exiſtence of the concert of powers, and declare to her his reſolution of aſſiſting the ſtates of the empire, in caſe of attack, for the purpoſe of making thoſe who ſhould provoke hoſtilities reſponſible to the king and the nation; and doubtleſs the French miniſter would not ſuffer them to remain ignorant of a declaration word for word ſimilar, which was officially made by the envoy of his Pruſſian majeſty, with the like intention.

Finally, it is with the ſame view that the emperor oppoſes truth to malevolence, being perſuaded that his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and the ſound and major part of the nation, will plainly ſee the profeſſions and actions of a ſincere friendſhip, and be much obliged to him for diſſipating freely, and without management, the illuſions to which it is intended they ſhould fall victims.

You will remit for this purpoſe a copy of this diſpatch to the miniſter for foreign affairs, requeſting him to lay it before the king, and to procure for it the moſt exact and extenſive publicity.

*** *The following five papers were annexed to, or are explanatory of, the foregoing important diſpatch.*

1. *Declaration ſigned in common by the Emperor and the King of* Pruſſia, *at* Pilnitz, *the 27th of* Auguſt, 1791.

HIS majeſty the emperor, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, having heard the wiſhes and repreſentations of Monſieur, and the count d'Artois, do jointly declare, that they look upon the ſituation in which the king of France at preſent finds himſelf, to be an object of common concern to all the ſovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern cannot fail of being acknowledged by all the powers, from whom aſſiſtance is required; and that, in conſequence, they will not refuſe employing, in conjunction with their ſaid majeſties, the moſt efficacious means, relative to their forces, in order to enable the king of France to conſolidate, in the moſt perfect liberty, the baſis of a monarchical government, equally ſuitable to the rights of ſovereigns, and the welfare of the French nation.—Then, and in that caſe, their ſaid majeſties, the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, are determined to act promptly, with mutual concord, and with the forces neceſſary to obtain the common end propoſed.

Mean-while they will give to their troops ſuitable orders, that they may be ready for putting themſelves in a ſtate of activity.

(Signed)
LEOPOLD, and
FREDERIC-GUILLAUME.

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2. *Circular Diſpatch of the Aulic and State Chancellor, Prince de* Kaunitz, *to the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of his Imperial and Royal Majeſty at the ſeveral foreign Courts, dated* Nov. 1, 1791.

Sir,

THE ſtate of detention in which the king and royal family of France were, having ceaſed, the emperor has not heſitated to grant to the French ambaſſador at this court the audience he aſked from him on his return from Prague. He received from his hand the annexed letter, by which the king informed him of his acceptation of the new French conſtitution. His imperial majeſty orders you, ſir, to communicate it to the court where you reſide, and alſo his anſwer to this letter here annexed; and as he thinks he ought to expoſe without reſtraint to his majeſty what he thinks of the new ſtate of things, and the relations which the court of France actually offers, and the deciſion of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, he orders you to accompany theſe communications with the following overtures.

When the emperor propoſed a declaration, and common meaſures for preventing the fatal conſequences of the French revolution; imminent dangers were threatening the liberty, honour, and ſafety of the king and royal family, as well as the preſervation of the monarchical government in France, attacked in its eſſential principles by the progreſs of a popular anarchy which became dangerous to all the governments of Europe.

Theſe perils are no longer preſſing; the late events give hopes of the future.

It ſeems that the greater part of the French nation, ſtruck with the misfortunes ſhe was preparing for herſelf, returns back to more moderate principles, acknowledges the neceſſity of maintaining the only form of government fit for a great ſtate, and endeavours to reſtore to the throne the dignity and influence upon which depends the eſſence of a monarchic government. It appears, in ſhort, that the king yields with confidence to this proſpect; and that his acceptation, grounded upon this confidence, has been voluntary.

On the other hand, it cannot be concealed that ſuch new appearances, imperfect as they are in many reſpects, cannot give ſufficient eaſe, as to the ſolidity and continuance of the events which they announce, and entirely diſpel apprehenſions which the violence and extremity of preceding events do but too well juſtify.

The emperor does not diſſemble that, in the uncertainty which proceeds from this oppoſition of hope and fear, he cannot yet form a definitive advice on the queſtion, whether or not the ſituation of the king and the kingdom of France will continue to be the object of a common cauſe for the other powers; but what ſeems to his imperial majeſty evidently to reſult from this uncertainty itſelf, is, that, as long as it ſhall ſubſiſt, all the powers will have a common concern, that the preſent good appearances, the failure of which would immediately re-produce the neceſſity and the rights of a common interference, ſhould be realized and conſolidated.

The emperor has thought it uſeful not to diſguiſe this manner of thinking, in his anſwer to the letter of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; and as he is perſuaded that, if the other powers were to expreſs ſimilar ſentiments, this would only contribute in an advantageous manner to the encouragement and to the ſucceſs of the moderate party which at preſent prevails in France, his imperial majeſty propoſes to his majeſty to authoriſe his miniſters to give occaſional intimations of this kind.

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3. *Circular Note ſent by the Emperor to the different Powers in* Europe, *on the Subject of the* French *King's Acceptance of the Conſtitution.*

HIS imperial majeſty announces to all the courts to which he has ſent his firſt * circular letter, dated Padua, the 6th July, 1791, and alſo to the governments of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Portugal, that the ſituation of the king of France, which was the cauſe of that letter, being changed, he thinks it proper to expreſs to the ſaid powers his preſent opinions. His majeſty thinks they ought to look upon the king of France as free, and conſequently upon his acceptance of the conſtitution, and the acts which followed, as valid. He hopes that the ſaid acceptance will reſtore good order in France, and that the moderate party may prevail, agreeably to the wiſh of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; but as theſe hopes of the king may, contrary to all appearance, prove deceitful, and all the licentious diſorders and exceſſive violences towards him may be renewed, his imperial majeſty is of opinion that all the powers to whom he addreſſes himſelf, ought not to deſiſt from the meaſures agreed on between them, but hold themſelves in a ſtate of obſervation, and cauſe to be declared, by their reſpective miniſters at Paris, that their coalition exiſts, and that they will always be ready to ſupport, in concert, on the firſt emergency, the rights of the king and the French monarchy.

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* This is incorporated in Prince Kaunitz's inſtructions, ſee above p. 222*.

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4. *Circular Letter addreſſed to all the Miniſters of the Emperor, and of the Empire.*

Vienna, 2d of December, 1791

I Have the pleaſure to confirm to you the news that his majeſty the emperor, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, have accounted it conformable to the reſpective intereſts of their ſtates to enter into a regular ſyſtem of alliance, and that the preliminaries of a defenſive treaty, which will be concluded without delay, have been already ſigned here at Vienna. They flattered themſelves with the pleaſing hope that this agreement and good underſtanding would be univerſally regarded as a ſalutary event, perfectly deſirable for the maintenance of peace in Europe, and of tranquillity in Germany. It is not therefore without great aſtoniſhment that his imperial majeſty has learnt that reports no leſs improbable than odious, deſignedly ſpread by the ill-intentioned, concerning the ſecret views, and poſſible conſequences of theſe new engagements, have cauſed uneaſy apprehenſions in diverſe parts of the empire. His imperial majeſty deſires nothing more ardently than to ſee the co-eſtates of the empire, all without diſtinction, equally convinced of the invariable tendency of his views towards the maintenance of the conſtitution of the empire, and towards the advancement of the general proſperity of Germany. He conſequently learns with chagrin that on an occaſion, which gives no cauſe for ſuch a preſumption, there have been raiſed in diverſe ſtates of the empire ſolicitudes concerning the unfavourable influence of theſe new connections.

Although it is not uſual here to enter into explanations reſpecting invidious rumours, ſpread by the ill-informed or ill-affected, but on the contrary that they have been always and abſolutely left to the judgment of impartial perſons — to that judgment which triumphs in the end over all falſe repreſentations; his majeſty is willing nevertheleſs, in an occurrence ſo important, and particularly from regard to the well-affected, that you ſhall declare to the court at which you reſide, whenever the nature of circumſtances ſhall require, or opportunity ſhall favour it, "that the "maintenance and guarantee of the "Germanic empire, are the fundamental and eſſential baſis of "the connection happily eſtabliſhed "between his imperial majeſty "and his majeſty the king of "Pruſſia: and that their majeſties, "from the firſt moment of their "happy approximation, have ſtrictly "concurred for the defence and "guarantee of the Germanic con"ſtitution."

His imperial majeſty, ſince his advancement to the throne, has given to the world ſo many evident proofs of his juſtice, his equity, and his wiſe moderation; and has ſhewn to each of the co-eſtates of the empire in particular, whenever any occaſion preſented itſelf, ſo much affection for the Germanic body, and taken ſo great a part in the general welfare of Europe, and in that of each individual ſtate, that even independently of this ſacred aſſurance there ought to remain no doubt of the purity of his zeal, his views, and his diſpoſitions. It is therefore to be hoped, in as much as it is deſirable for the good of the ſtates of the empire, that inſtead of ſolicitudes, which are in truth intirely unfounded, we ſhall ſee the moſt unlimited confidence appear; and that every where will be rendered to the probity, the candour, and the true ſentiments of the two courts, that juſtice which they inconteſtably merit, by their ſincere love and indefatigable cares for the empire.

[*** *A circular letter to the ſame effect was alſo ſent by the king of Pruſſia.*]

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5. *Subſtance of a Treaty between the Emperor and the King of* Pruſſia, *ſigned on the 7th of* February, 1792.

1. THERE ſhall exiſt a perfect union and friendſhip between the two courts.

2. All anterior treaties, eſpecially thoſe of Breſlau, Dreſden, Hubertſburg, and Teſchen, are renewed and confirmed by the preſent.

3. The two courts guarantee and protect all their ſtates which they actually poſſeſs at preſent againſt all attacks whatever.

3. In virtue of this guarantee, the two powers will act in concert for the maintenance of peace; and in caſe that either of them ſhould be menaced, they will employ mutual good offices to prevent hoſtilities; and ſhould theſe efforts not prove ſucceſsful, the party ſhall aſſiſt the one threatened with fifteen thouſand infantry and five thouſand cavalry.

5. Theſe troops ſhall be put in motion within two months after the requiſition made, and remain at the diſpoſition of the party attacked during the courſe of the war. If the requiring party demand theſe ſuccours in money, he ſhall receive 600,000 ecus for one thouſand infantry, and 800,000 for one thouſand cavalry, which ſhall be paid in the year, or proportionably each month, and that on the footing of the convention, or of twenty florins.

6. In the caſe theſe ſuccours are inſufficient, the party required will augment them by degrees, according to the urgency of the caſe.

7. The two contracting powers reſerve to themſelves the power of inviting the imperial court of Ruſſia, the two maritime powers of England

land and Holland, the elector of Saxony, to unite with them in defenſive engagements, conformable to the above-mentioned ſtipulations.

8. The two ſovereigns oblige themſelves to maintain the Germanic conſtitution, as it is eſtabliſhed by the preſent laws, and former treaties.

9. They will not contract any more alliances.

10. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified in the ſpace of three weeks, or ſooner if poſſible.

Note addreſſed to the French *Ambaſſador at* Vienna, *by the Prince de* Kaunitz, *on the 19th* February, 1791, *accompanying a Copy of the Diſpatch of the Prince to M. de* Blumendorff.

THE chancellor of the court and the ſtate, prince de Kaunitz Rietberg, cannot diſſemble with the ambaſſador of France, that the emperor has been extremely ſurprized at the demands of explanations contained in the diſpatch of M. Deleſſart of the 21ſt January, as well as at the reproaches and the inſinuations reſpecting conſequences with which they are accompanied. On reflecting that never was an impartial and pacific intention more clearly announced and proved than that of his imperial majeſty in the affair of the aſſemblings in the country of Treves; that the nature and the legitimate end of the propoſals of concert made by the emperor in the month of July, 1791, as well as the moderation and amicable intention of that which he made in the month of November following, could not eſcape the cognizance of the French government, after the one and the other had ſo long tranſpired, and even the public newſpapers had reported the ſubſtance and the eſſential paſſages; his majeſty has aſked himſelf, what is the aim of thoſe who demand explanations on matters ſo well known to them?—Two facts which contradict all their facts, and all their arguments.

But his majeſty will eaſily find the ſolution of the problem in the conſideration of thoſe circumſtances of efferveſcence and exploſion which neceſſitated this meaſure of the French miniſtry, and in the principles and avowed deſigns of the perſons who have brought on thoſe circumſtances of violence. All Europe is convinced, as well as the emperor, that the perſons diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of the Jacobin party, willing to excite the nation to an armament, and then to a rupture with the emperor, after making the aſſemblings in the territories of Treves a pretext for the firſt, are now ſearching to draw pretexts of war by means of explanations which they have brought on with his imperial majeſty, in a manner and with circumſtances viſibly calculated to make it difficult for that prince to reconcile in his anſwers the pacific and amicable intentions which actuate him, with the feeling of his dignity wounded, and his repoſe endangered, by the fruits of their manœuvres. The chancellor of the court and the ſtate doubts not, however, that the anſwer tranſmitted by his orders to the imperial charge des affaires at Paris, and of which the ambaſſador will ſee the contents in the ſubjoined copy, will be judged by France, or at leaſt by the reſt of Europe, as perfectly proper in the preſent ſtate of things.

On

On one hand, the explanations demanded are there given with the greateſt candour, the motives of the emperor's proceedings explained by inconteſtible facts, and the whole evidenced by the very words of his tranſactions, which he ſees himſelf forced to produce, in order to convince the French nation how calumnious are the imputations, in which the liberty has been taken of taxing the emperor with unjuſt attempts againſt the ſovereignty, the independence, and the ſafety of France, in concerts and alliances tending to interfere in its government, and to overturn and change by violence its conſtitution; and that on the contrary his imperial majeſty has not paſſed one ſtep beyond the line of conduct marked out to him by his character of ally, of friend, and of neighbour, and impoſed upon him by the moſt legitimate ſolicitude for the maintenance of public tranquillity. On the other hand the emperor believes it his duty, for the welfare of France, and alſo becauſe he is authorized in ſo doing by the provocations, and by the dangerous ſecret practices of the Jacobin party, to expoſe and denounce publicly a pernicious ſect as the enemies of the moſt chriſtian king, and of the fundamental principles of the preſent conſtitution, and as the diſturbers of peace and public repoſe. Will the illegal aſcendancy of this ſect bear it up in France over juſtice, truth, and the ſafety of the nation? This is the queſtion to which all others are now reduced. Whatever may be the reſult, the cauſe of the emperor is that of all the other powers; and if he feels pain from the preſent ſtate of things, yet it is only in conſequence of his ſentiments and his concern for his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and for a kingdom and nation in friendſhip with Auſtria, that the chancellor of the court and the ſtate is induced to abſtain from entering upon the ſubject of the differences between France and the Germanic empire, with which he is not immediately concerned. He ſhould wiſh in general to meet a more agreeable occaſion for repeating to the ambaſſador of France aſſurances of the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect.

(Signed) KAUNITZ.

Letter from the Count de Goltz, *Envoy Extraordinary of the King of* Pruſſia *in* France, *addreſſed to M.* Deleſſart.

THE underſigned envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of the king of Pruſſia at the court of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, has the honour to remind his excellency M. Deleſſart, that he has repeatedly informed him that an invaſion of the territory of the empire by the French troops cannot but be regarded as a declaration of war againſt the Germanic body, and that in conſequence his Pruſſian majeſty could not avoid oppoſing it, in conjunction with his Imperial majeſty, with all his forces. He has more particularly given this information to the miniſtry of France, on occaſion of the official note which the Imperial court ſent to the ambaſſador of France under date of the 5th of January laſt. He now repeats it in conſequence of a diſpatch dated the 17th of this month, from the chancellor of ſtate and of the court, prince de Kaunitz, to M. de Blumendorff, charge des affaires of his majeſty the emperor, and tranſmitted by the latter to the miniſtry of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; which diſpatch contains the principles on which the courts of Berlin and Vienna are perfectly in concert.

The count de GOLTZ.

Paris, the 28th February, 1792.

Note of the French *Ambaſſador at the Court of* Vienna, *to the Imperial Miniſter,* March 11*th,* 1792.

THE ambaſſador from France to his late imperial majeſty has received inſtructions relative to the official note which the chancellor prince de Kaunitz honoured him with on the 19th of February, and alſo to the other pieces that were joined to that note.

The king had cauſed theſe inſtructions to be ſent to him on the very day the emperor, to whom he had the honour of being accredited, died. The importance of the communications he is ordered to make, do not give him time to wait for new credentials; he would reproach himſelf were he to delay the meaſures preſcribed to him, which have for their object the preſervation of a good underſtanding, and general tranquillity. After all the circumſtances which have given mutual uneaſineſs, he is happy to have it in his power to propoſe means for their termination.

The king thinks that it neither becomes the dignity nor the independence of the nation to diſcuſs objects which he is of opinion relate to the internal concerns of the kingdom: but his majeſty obſerves the aſſurances given in the name of the emperor, "that far from ſupporting the projects and pretenſions of the emigrants, he was deſirous to convince the French nation of the falſehood of thoſe reports which have been propagated againſt his imperial majeſty, and which impute to him deſigns againſt the ſafety and independence of France, by plans and alliances tending to interfere in the government, and overturn the conſtitution."

His majeſty has found in the anſwer of the deceaſed emperor ſome amicable and pacific overtures, and he has received them with pleaſure. As it is however neceſſary to remove all thoſe doubts which have been too much prolonged, he declares, that "conſcious of his attachments to the French nation and the conſtitution, and equally truſting in the attachment of the French people, he cannot behold without uneaſineſs a confederacy, the object of which appears to give juſt cauſe of alarm." He in conſequence demands of his ally to abandon that confederacy, and renew his aſſurances of peace and union. He explains to him his views without reſerve, and relies on the ſame frankneſs and readineſs in his declarations, which he expects as a pledge of mutual friendſhip.

The king has charged his ambaſſador to promiſe that "as ſoon as his imperial majeſty ſhall have engaged to diſcontinue all preparations for war in his dominions, and to reduce his military forces in the Low Countries, and Briſgaw, to the footing they were on at the firſt of Auguſt 1791, his majeſty will alſo diſcontinue all preparations, and will reduce the French troops in the frontier departments to the ordinary ſtate of the garriſons." It is on this determination, the only one becoming the dignity and intereſts of two great powers, that the king has acknowledged the ſentiments he expected from the late emperor his brother-in-law, and the ancient ally of France.

Finally, the ambaſſador has been charged to obſerve, that after a propoſal ſo juſt and ſo formal, the king relies on an anſwer of the ſame deſcription, announcing a reſolution to put a period to a ſituation in which France neither can nor will remain much longer.

Such are the ſentiments which the king ordered his ambaſſador to expreſs to the late emperor the king of Hungary and Bohemia.

Overtures of conciliation and friendſhip are the firſt words that princes, already united by ſo many ties, addreſs to one another. The meaſures propoſed have for their object the inſuring of two nations from the calamities of war. The ambaſſador congratulates himſelf on the opportunity of preſenting this important reflection to the prince de Kaunitz: It will be a pleaſure for him to accompliſh the deſire of a monarch, whoſe chief actions aim at human happineſs. The French ambaſſador has the honour to renew his aſſurances of the greateſt eſteem.

(Signed) NOAILLES.

Anſwer, dated 18*th of* March, 1792, *of the Chancellor Prince de* Kaunitz, *to the Note of* M. Noailles *of the* 11*th of* March.

THE French government having demanded a categorical explanation concerning the intentions and meaſures of the late emperor relative to the preſent ſituation of France, this anſwer is ſent in conſequence of that demand. It is regarded only as an act of complaiſance and friendly reſpect, after the ſteps taken on the ſubject of this queſtion. But with much ſtronger reaſon would it ſuit the dignity of great potentates to refute with open fairneſs, not to diſcuſs by confidential inſinuations which may be diſſembled in a reply, imputations and interpretations with which are mingled the words of *peace* and of *war*, and which are accompanied with every kind of provocation. The juſtice of the motives, and the truth of the aſſertions on which reſt the explanations already given by order of the late emperor, are incontrovertible; and the chancellor of the court and ſtate, the prince de Kaunitz, is therefore the leſs bound to add to them at preſent any new arguments. The king of Hungary and Bohemia fully adopts on this ſubject the ſentiments of his father; and the new demands which the French ambaſſador has ſince been charged to make here, revert to thoſe, which have already been compleatly anſwered.

The king knows not of any armament, or any meaſures in the Auſtrian ſtates, which can be denominated preparations for war. The defenſive meaſures ordered by his late imperial majeſty are not to be compared with the hoſtile meaſures of France; and as to thoſe which his apoſtolic majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary for the ſecurity and tranquillity of his own territories, and above all for ſtifling the troubles which the examples of France and the criminal proceedings of the Jacobin party foment in the Belgic provinces, he neither can nor ever will conſent previouſly to tie up his hands with any one whomſoever, nor has any one a right to preſcribe limits to his conduct. With reſpect to the concert in which his late imperial majeſty engaged with the moſt reſpectable powers of Europe, the king of Hungary and Bohemia cannot anticipate their common opinions and determinations; but he does not believe that they will judge it expedient to diſſolve the concert, until France ſhall have removed the cauſes which provoked or neceſſitated the opening of it. His majeſty on his part expects this the more, as he preſumes too much on the juſtice and reaſon of a nation diſtinguiſhed by its mildneſs and wiſdom, to abandon the hope that it will not be ſlow to withdraw its dignity, independence, and repoſe, from the attempts of a ſanguinary and furious faction, which promotes anarchy, in order to deſtroy by inſurrection and popular violence, all exerciſe of all ſorts of authority, laws and principles; and by an illuſive mockery of words is attempting to rob the moſt chriſtian king of his liberty, to deſtroy every conſtitution, and all regular government, and to violate the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties, and the duties of the moſt ſacred public right.

But ſhould their deſigns and their artifices prevail, his majeſty flatters himſelf that at leaſt the ſound and principal part of the nation will then behold, as a proſpect of conſolation and ſupport, the exiſtence of a concert whoſe intentions are worthy of their confidence in the moſt important criſis which has ever affected the common intereſts of Europe.

This is what the chancellor of the court and ſtate is charged to reply to the anſwer which the French ambaſſador had been ordered to make to his late imperial majeſty; and in requiring him to tranſmit it to his court, he has the honour to repeat his aſſurances of the greateſt eſteem.

(Signed)
KAUNITZ REITBERGH.

Vienna, 18*th March*, 1792.

Letter from M. Dumourier, *Miniſter for Foreign Affairs in France, to* M. Noailles, *French Ambaſſador at the Court of* Vienna.

Paris, March 19, 1792.

Sir,

I HAVE laid before the king your diſpatches of the 29th of January, and the 1ſt and 3d of March.

As the affairs of Auſtria may take a new direction in conſequence of the death of Leopold, the king does not expect an immediate anſwer to the diſpatches tranſmitted you by M. Deleſſart. The diſgrace of that miniſter has been occaſioned in a great meaſure by the feebleneſs with which he conducted his negotiations.

It is unpleaſant that you ſhould have communicated to M. de Kaunitz the confidential letter, of which an extract, properly made, would not have furniſhed that miniſter with the means of a violent declamation, which could not but be injurious to the pacific negotiations, which may be ſeen in the diſpatches of M. de Kaunitz, to have formed a principle of the late emperor's policy. The future negotiation will take a ſimple and direct courſe—ſuch is the intention of the king, and that which he has recommended to me upon entering into the miniſtry, ſo that all the diſpatches which you ſhall in future receive, may without danger be preſented to the miniſter of the new ſovereign.

Peace or war depends entirely upon the cabinet of Vienna. What you have ſaid relative to the character of the king of Bohemia and Hungary, affords room to hope, that he will reflect maturely upon the horrors of an interminable war, of which he alone muſt bear the expences and the loſſes, even if he were to atchieve the ruin of France. I alſo think, that the ſacrifice of an alliance, which has been ſo uſeful to his family, will leave him after the termination of hoſtilities without any ally whatever, and ſo much the more in the power of his natural enemies, in proportion as he fails of ſucceſs.

Certainly, if he ſhould favour the criminal fury of the emigrants, which is a ſubject of ſuch regret to the paternal heart of the king, there would only reſult to himſelf a ſtate of feebleneſs and exhauſtion equal to that in which he ſhould have involved France; and then he would loſe all that aſcendancy which the poſſeſſion of the imperial throne for two hundred years has given to his predeceſſors; he would likewiſe, perhaps, loſe that exalted dignity—and ſhould he afterwards be attacked by his allies of the preſent moment, France, exhauſted and torn in pieces by a civil war, which might laſt even long after the foreign war had ceaſed, would be unable to afford him aſſiſtance againſt his new enemies.

This is a true picture of the dangers attendant upon his ſucceſs. On the contrary, ſhould the iſſue of the war which ſeems to be declared againſt us, prove unfavourable to the attacking powers, the ſucceſs of France would affect the king of Bohemia and Hungary alone, ſince he alone poſſeſſes territories contiguous to our frontiers, over which our victorious armies would ſpread.

It is poſſible, that a ſpeedy coronation may be offered as a bait to this ſovereign, and that it may be made a condition of his accelerating the war, to wage it as the head of the empire: but this diſtinction of head of the empire, and head of the houſe of Auſtria, cannot ſuſtain itſelf for one minute. From that moment all ties will be broken, and the war will become perſonal to him. Thus he alone will have to ſuſtain all its weight, as already obſerved.

Beſides, let us ſee what are the motives of the war with which France is menaced.—The claims upon Alſace and Lorraine?—Theſe can be adjuſted by negotiation alone; and, on the contrary, war will break off all meaſures of accommodation.

The cauſe of the emigrants?—The king atteſts, that he has employed all the means in his power to induce them to return to France. They are acting in open diſobedience to his majeſty, and as criminals to their country. Can the king of Bohemia and Hungary take upon him to defend rebels? and would not the example be dangerous to himſelf?

Our armament?—It was provoked by the treaty of Pilnitz, and by the menacing aſylum granted to the emigrants on our frontiers. It is purely defenſive, and cannot alarm any power in particular, becauſe it is not offenſive againſt any. As a proof of it, the king has not ordered a fleet to be equipped, merely becauſe England has not exhibited any ſymptoms of menace.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the clubs

and pamphlets: this cannot be a motive of war. If it were, all Europe would long ſince have been forced to undertake a cruſade againſt Great Britain. It is in our conſtitution—it is in our new laws—it is in our declaration of rights itſelf, that the chiefs of nations may find our principles, and the foundation of our conduct. The king of the French knows by heart, loves and deſires the conſtitution. His conduct will be invariable, and the open ſincerity of his negotiation may be relied upon. Such is that perſuaſion with which you ought to inſpire the new king and his miniſters, which ought to deprive them of every motive of war.

The head of a great free nation, the king, will do every thing conſiſtent with his dignity to avoid a war founded on motives ſo puerile. If circumſtances, or the blind infatuation of the chiefs of other nations, compel him to defend himſelf, he will preſent to the French nation the negotiations which he ſhall have made, in order to procure peace, and will derive from that nation the reſources and energy neceſſary to carry on war.

The concert of powers is evidently directed againſt him. This concert can hardly exiſt beyond the preſent moment, becauſe it ſtrikes at the root of order and ſound policy. It cannot remain; it muſt neceſſarily ceaſe, either after or during the war. In either caſe, the head of the houſe of Auſtria will remain alone exhauſted of men and money. All this danger might be made to ceaſe on both ſides, by a frank declaration of the court of Vienna, and a mutual diſarming.

The pretext of the neceſſity of a large body of troops in the Low Countries, to prevent the ſpirit of revolution from penetrating there, is by no means a ſufficient motive. The more troops are aſſembled in theſe fine provinces, the more will the inhabitants be haraſſed, oppreſſed, and excited to inſurrection. Armies cannot reſtrain a people when they wiſh to be free. The more force is oppoſed, the greater energy riſes, till it becomes fury. Genoa may afford an example to the houſe of Auſtria. This ſmall town drove a whole army from its boſom.

The French revolution affords an example ſtill more ſtriking. Allow the Belgic provinces to be happy, and to maintain their conſtitution, and they will remain in tranquillity. The court of Vienna well knows who have excited the Belgic diſturbances. It knows well that the conſtituent aſſembly rejected the Belgic provinces, becauſe their theocratic revolution was the reverſe of ours.

To their new allies they are indebted for this bad piece of ſervice; and if they ſhould no longer interfere in the affairs of Flanders, provided it enjoyed a good government, the ordinary garriſons would be ſufficient for its ſecurity. The diminution of the troops in this province is then one of the points neceſſary to prove the good intentions of the king of Hungary, as well as the expulſion of all the emigrants who are convened in arms, from the Auſtrian dominions. This example would influence the inferior ſovereigns of the Germanic league; in a ſhort time the aſſemblement of troops, and ſuſpicions of hoſtilities, would ceaſe on both ſides. All the menaces and preparations of war would diſappear, and nothing remain but to adjuſt in an amicable manner the claims of the princes. This cannot be done amidſt the din and buſtle of armies. As to the concert of powers, as it has only one object, which will no longer exiſt; as it is a political monſter, it will deſtroy itſelf, and there will remain only the means of better ſecuring the peace of Europe.

Such, ſir, is the baſis on which the king orders you to treat with the court of Vienna, that you may obtain an open and deciſive anſwer. I will lay before his majeſty the account of the ſucceſs of your negotiation; and I am perſuaded that, by holding out, with all the energy of truth, theſe powerful interefts to the court of Vienna, you will ſoon be able to determine the iſſue of this political criſis, which cannot be of a long duration.

(Signed) DUMOURIER.

Letter of M. Noailles, *the* French *Ambaſſador at the Court of* Vienna, *to* M. Dumourier, French *Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.*

April 2, 1792.

Sir,

I YESTERDAY received, by the courier Duclos, the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 19th of March. It was on the ſame day that the anſwer went off to the laſt note, which I had been charged to tranſmit to the miniſtry. I conformed entirely to the communication made on the 1ſt of March to the national aſſembly. You will have ſeen, ſir, what has been the reſult. There is no doubt but that affairs in reality have aſſumed a new appearance ſince the death of the emperor Leopold; yet the change which has taken place is far from encreaſing the hopes of thoſe who entertain ſincere wiſhes for the general tranquillity. The young king, as I have formerly informed you, will neceſſarily allow himſelf to be guided in the commencement of his reign; and will ſhew, if not from his own character, at leaſt from that of his miniſtry, a great inflexibility of principle.

I have, ſir, availed myſelf of the letter of M. Deleſſart, under the title of an "Extract, communicated confidentially." I did not communicate the whole letter. I preſerved, however, a great part of it, becauſe the expreſſions were ſo meaſured as to give me reaſon to hope for the greateſt ſucceſs. The experience which I had from a reſidence of nine years, induced me to form this judgment. The Auſtrian miniſter all at once made a declaration of ſentiments which before he had diſſembled—the letter of M. Deleſſart was taken in pieces, and detached paſſages preſented the ſenſe which was deſired.

Theſe reflections are not intended to juſtify myſelf, but to preſent a ſtatement of the real diſpoſitions of the court of Vienna. Can my laſt note have given ground for thoſe violent declamations, which are to be found in the Auſtrian anſwer, and which ſends us back to the very point from which we ſet out laſt July? It is not neceſſary for me now to diſſemble thoſe efforts which I have made to perſuade the miniſtry here, that if they were deſirous to ſecure their own repoſe, and promote ours, they ought to avoid all obſervations tending to cenſure our internal adminiſtration. I have inceſſantly repeated, that ſuch criticiſms, only allowable in private converſation, when committed to miniſterial communications, become the moſt ſenſible affront to the honour of a nation. What effect, ſir, have theſe repreſentations, ſo ſtrongly urged, produced? You have at preſent in your hands the communication of March 18th; the government here have made this communication, and thoſe which preceded it, as public as poſſible, by expoſing to ſale yeſterday the impreſſion, of which I encloſe you three copies, and by announcing that an exact tranſlation of them into German will ſpeedily make its appearance. What can be more glaringly offenſive, or what means can, after ſuch a conduct, remain open for negotiation? So little am I acquainted with any, that I ſhould think myſelf wanting to the honour of the nation, and the dignity of the king, if I took any ſtep with the miniſtry here till you ſhall have the goodneſs to anſwer my diſpatch of the 19th March. I have only taken occaſion to ſend to the chancellary of ſtate a letter of the king to the king of Hungary, preſuming it was an anſwer to the notification of the death of the emperor.

I ſhall ſuſpend ſending back my letters of credence, from thoſe motives of honour which I have mentioned; otherwiſe nothing is hazarded, ſince there is nothing to negotiate.

I ſhall mention, for this laſt reaſon, that I have had the honour of writing to the king to entreat his majeſty to permit me to reſign. I again demand this favour, ſir, through your mediation, and I ſolicit it with all the ardour of a zealous ſervant of his country; who, perceiving that he can no longer be uſeful at his poſt, thinks himſelf bound to yield it to another. I can very well, as I am, continue to attend to the ordinary buſineſs, till the end of this month, and while I wait to receive the final orders of his majeſty.

(Signed) Noailles.

Diſpatch from M. Dumourier *to* M. de Noailles.

Paris, March 27.

Sir,

I HAVE received your letters of the 28th and 29th of February, of the 12th and 13th of March, and alſo one, No. 10, from M. Marbois, dated the 13th. I ſee, by your firſt letter, that the negotiation will be infinitely prolonged, if you do not carry it on according to the ſpirit of my firſt diſpatches; that the king will not be able to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the nation; and that ſhould the opinion of M. Cobentzel prevail, we ſhall be very far from terminating the buſineſs; for it is impoſſible to make us believe that the troops by which we are ſurrounded ought not to give us umbrage. It is impoſſible to make us believe that the court of Vienna ſends troops into the Briſgaw, reinforces thoſe in the Milanois, and is forming an army attended with a train of beſieging artillery and immenſe magazines, for the ſole purpoſe of maintaining tranquillity in the Netherlands.

As the ſpring is approaching, and the troops are reinforcing, as we ſee over all Europe hoſtile preparations making againſt us, it is no longer poſſible to be impoſed on by words.

The opinion of Cobentzel is alſo erroneous, when he attempts to make you believe that there is no reaſon why the concert of the different courts ſhould not continue on the ſame ground as before, that is, depending on events. Whatever M. Cobentzel may ſay, our government is poſſeſſed of ſtrength, and reſts on a firm baſis. It has nothing to do with a republican ſyſtem. The king is inveſted with conſtitutional power, far ſuperior to deſpotic power. It is with a very ill grace aſſerted, that we are likely to cauſe alarms among all the neighbouring nations. If we are plunged in anarchy, we cannot be formidable to other powers. A league formed againſt us muſt therefore be intended for the purpoſe of dividing our ſpoils. If we be in a ſettled ſtate, it is unjuſt to make uſe of menaces againſt us. In every point of view there is therefore no reaſon for forming a league againſt us. The re-union of Avignon is alſo a vain pretext. This country, in the boſom of the ſurrounding ſouthern provinces, has for a great while belonged to France, who never ſuffered her title to be loſt by preſcription. It was ſimply a proceſs between the king of France and the pope; it is now a proceſs between the French nation and the king of the French on one part, and the pope on the other.

At the worſt, it can only be terminated by granting an indemnity, in the ſame manner as to the German princes having poſſeſſions in Alſace.

The miniſtry of Vienna might have known by the conduct of the national aſſembly, and by the conſtitution, which muſt be read, that we may be underſtood—and which conſtitution has been acknowledged by the emperor Leopold, that we renounce all war for conqueſt; it is not, therefore, in our power to deſire the inhabitants of the Netherlands to throw themſelves into the arms of France.

M. de Cobentzel does not, any more than yourſelf, place any confidence in the obſervations which he made to you, which inſtead of tending to a pacific negotiation, would oblige us to break off all kind of negotiations. It is impoſſible that the king can wait any longer, and that, after he has been invited by the national aſſembly to demand a categorical anſwer, he ſhould continue to ſuffer this negotiation, on which the fate of Europe depends, to be farther protracted, and to refute every eight days worn-out arguments, which have the air of being urged ſimply to gain time.

Entruſted with the repreſentation, and the confidence of a great nation, he daily expects a categorical anſwer. By my firſt diſpatches you are informed in what this anſwer muſt conſiſt.

If the ſucceſſor of Leopold be willing to obſerve his treaties with France, he muſt without heſitation break off thoſe which he has made unknown to her, and with hoſtile intentions againſt her; and he muſt withdraw thoſe troops by whom we are threatened, becauſe ſuch a ſtate of perplexity is contrary both to the proceedings of an ancient ally, and even to the intereſts of the court of Vienna. If this declaration be not very ſpeedy and very ſincere, the king will, on the return of the courier whom you ſhall ſend, conſider himſelf as decidedly in a ſtate of war, and he will be ſupported by the whole nation, which is eager for a prompt deciſion. Endeavour, ſir, to finiſh this negotiation, ſome way or other, before the 15th of April. If from this moment to that epoch, we ſhould be informed, that the troops remain on the frontiers, and receive reinforcements, it will no longer be poſſible to reſtrain the juſt indignation of a ſpirited and free nation, which it is attempted to debaſe, to intimidate, or to impoſe upon, until all preparations be ready to attack it. I expect from you, ſir, all the energy which becomes the French nation. You will preserve its dignity, with which you are entruſted, by ſpeaking freely, and by ſpeedily coming ſome way or other to a concluſion.

Letter from M. Noailles *to the* French *Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.*

Sir, *5th April,* 1792.

YOUR diſpatches of the 27th of March were brought to me by the courier Dorville, on the 4th of April. I immediately obeyed the inſtructions contained in them, by viſiting the count Cobentzel, vice-chancellor of the ſtate and of court. I preferred addreſſing myſelf to him, becauſe he is more acceſſible than M. the prince de Kaunitz, and becauſe I was ſure by his means of readily introducing whatever I choſe to the knowledge of the ſovereign.

I ſaid every thing to the vice-chancellor which could produce a definitive explanation, ſuch as you wiſhed. I repreſented to him how much our uneaſineſs increaſed every day upon obſerving the hoſtile preparations which were making, on all ſides, againſt us. I ſaid "it was in vain to object to us our own armaments; that it was well known they had been provoked; that we were deſirous of being able to have as much confidence in the conduct of foreign powers with regard to us, as they had reaſon to be eaſy with regard to our diſpoſitions; that if malice had been leſs exerciſed againſt us, we ſhould have quietly concluded the work of our regeneration; and if the court of Vienna had not begun to form projects againſt us, by granting an aſylum and protection to the emigrants, and countenancing their agents; that at preſent they had aſſembled forces in the Briſgaw, which were to us the more ſuſpicious, as the tranquillity of the Low Countries did not require any thing like it; that we wanted better aſſurances than words; that ſimple pacific aſſurances at preſent appeared to us calculated ſolely to gain time; that at length things were come to that pitch, that I had a poſitive order to demand a declaration by which the court of Vienna ſhould renounce her armaments and the coalition, or to make known, in default thereof, that the king would conſider himſelf as in a ſtate of war with Auſtria, and that he would be ſtrongly ſupported by the whole nation, which was anxious for a ſpeedy deciſion."

Count Cobentzel undertook to juſtify his Court from the hoſtile views imputed to it, "He proteſted that the King of Hungary and Bohemia, was very far from wiſhing to meddle with our interior concerns, and did not deſign by any means to ſupport the intereſts of the emigrants; he repeated what he had often ſaid before, that they had ſent reinforcements to Briſgaw, as they thought them neceſſary to preſerve order and juſtice in the country, and that they might be ready to ſuccour the ſtates of the empire which had requeſted aſſiſtance in the neighbourhood." I obſerved, "that ſo many precautions, after the concert that was known to us, juſtified our alarms. I inſiſted eſpecially upon the ceſſation of this concert, ſo contrary to what we might expect from our ally."

The reply of count Cobentzel confirmed me in the opinion which I always held, that his court did not wiſh to attack us, but would make requiſitions, on which it would be difficult to come to an underſtanding without having tried our mutual ſtrength in arms. He ſaid, that the concert was no longer perſonal to the king of Hungary; that he could not withdraw himſelf, but with other courts; and that this concert would continue to have the ſame object till what remained to be ſettled with France was brought to a concluſion. He ſpecified to me three points:

1. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the princes, who had poſſeſſions in Lorraine and Alſace.

2. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the pope for the Comtat and Avignon.

3. That we ſhould take whatever meaſures we might think proper, but ſuch as that our government ſhould have a ſufficient power to repreſs every thing which might give uneaſineſs to other ſtates.

All the arguments reſpecting theſe different points being exhauſted on our part, and the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed here not having the appearance of being near a change, I aſked count Cobentzel, if, for anſwer to the repreſentations which I had made him, I might ſay, that his court adhered to the official note of the 18th of March. The miniſter finding himſelf cramped in the circle which I had drawn, ſaid, that he would take directions of his majeſty, and immediately inform me of what he ſhould be ordered to ſay.

M. de Bichoffswerder ſet out this day upon his return to Berlin. He would have begun his journey ſooner, but that he waited ſeveral days for the drawing up of a circular letter, which will be addreſſed to the coaleſced courts, and probably to the ſtates of the empire, as *co-eſtates*, demanding from each the aſſiſtance that they have propoſed to give, either in money or men, in caſe of war.

This, I am informed, was the motive of his delay; but I have no certainty as to the fact of this circular letter. M. de Bichoffswerder will ſtop at Prague to ſee the prince of Hohenlohe, and agree with him upon the time and place for an interview between the Auſtrian general and the duke of Brunſwick. This interview is expected to take place at Leipſic in the courſe of a month. According to all my notions, the court of Vienna has adopted a plan purely defenſive, notwithſtanding the inſtances of the court of Berlin for the adoption of another.

(Signed) NOAILLES.

Second Letter from M. Noailles *to* M. Dumourier; *dated* Vienna, April 7*th*, 1792.

I HAVE detained the courier, ſir, for the anſwer of the vice-chancellor Cobentzel; he has juſt informed me, on the part of the king his maſter, "that the note of the 18th of March contains the anſwer to the demands I have been charged to renew; and that the diſpoſition expreſſed in that note could be the leſs altered, ſince it alſo contained the opinion of the king of Pruſſia upon the affairs of France: an opinion agreeing in all reſpects with that of the king of Hungary." The count Cobentzel alſo informed me, that he had received orders from his majeſty to make the ſame communication to M. Blumendorff at Paris.

(Signed) NOAILLES.

Letter from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, to the French *Chargé des Affaires at* Turin, *demanding a categorical Explanation of his* Sardinian *Majeſty's Intentions.*

March 21ſt, 1792.

I COULD have wiſhed, ſir, to find your correſpondence more intereſting: but I cannot accuſe you, becauſe ſince the departure of Mr. Choiſeul, you have received no orders reſpecting your proceedings at the court of Turin. It is the king's pleaſure that you ſhall conſult the miniſter as to the diſpoſition of that court; becauſe the French nation muſt be no longer uncertain of the number of its enemies. The intentions of the king with regard to his Sardinian majeſty, are very amicable: but the aſſembling of troops in Piedmont and the Milaneſe, and the tranſporting of a large train of artillery into Savoy, are circumſtances upon which you are to demand full and prompt explanations. It is not poſſible that France can ſee without inquietude, ſo conſiderable a train of artillery at the gates of Lyons. This train is unneceſſary for checking the inhabitants, whatever intentions they may entertain, becauſe there are garriſons in all the towns: it can therefore announce nothing but hoſtile intentions on the part of the government of Sardinia; particularly when the French emigrants are ſeen aſſembling at Nice, not as in an aſylum, but a cantonment, where they enliſt ſoldiers, purchaſe arms, form magazines, and are ſupported by the court of Turin. The king has already demanded explanations upon ſimilar diſpoſitions from the electors of Treves and Mentz; and theſe two princes have given ſatisfactory anſwers: he owes it to the confidence of the nation to take the ſame meaſures with regard to his Sardinian majeſty, and to demand of him the ſame explanations.

You are to declare to the miniſter, 1ſt. That it is the deſire of France to preſerve peace with all her neighbours, and eſpecially with Sardinia her ally. 2dly. That ſhe hopes to find a reciprocity of ſentiments on the part of his Sardinian majeſty. 3dly. That the king, particularly charged with watching over the external ſafety of the kingdom, demands of his Sardinian majeſty, brief explanations concerning the report which is ſpread that diſpoſitions are made for the troops to enter into Piedmont; as that would require on the part of France the aſſembling of an equivalent force. 4th. The king hopes that, for the ſecurity of France, his Sardinian majeſty will haſten to ſend back into Piedmont the great train of artillery which has been ſent into Savoy, where it is uſeleſs, except an invaſion is intended—That he will order the bodies of French emigrants, aſſembled on the ſide of Nice, and near the frontiers, to be diſperſed, and their magazines to be removed; and forbid them all hoſtile aſſemblings. That to prevent ſuch, his Sardinian majeſty will order them to remove to ſuch diſtance that they may no more diſturb the ſouthern departments, nor menace the ſafety of the frontiers. The king charges you to demand on all theſe points immediate and categorical anſwers. It is impoſſible that a king who is regarded as the father of his people, can be willing to undertake a bloody war, with deſign to ſupport the emigrants, who invoke his aid only to carry fire and ſword into their country. It is to the heart of the king that theſe demands are addreſſed; the ſole object of which are to maintain the harmony which has hitherto ſubſiſted between the two nations.

Anſwer of the French *Chargè des Affaires at* Turin, *ſtating the pacific Intentions of his* Sardinian *Majeſty. Communicated with the preceding to the National Aſſembly,* April 5th, 1792.

THE diſpatches with which you honoured me, dated the 21ſt of March, and which I received on the 27th, by an extraordinary courier, required from me ſuch immediate execution of the king's orders, that the buſineſs admitted of no delay. I therefore went the next morning, the 28th, to the miniſter, to whom I read theſe diſpatches; but the melancholy event, of which I have had the honour to make you a ſuccinct detail, and which happened on that very day, neceſſarily interrupted the courſe of affairs; and the paternal heart of his Sardinian majeſty has been deeply afflicted, without however being ſubdued. On the next day, tranquillity having been reſtored, I ſolicited an anſwer, but the miniſter told me that he had not yet received the king's orders. In diſcuſſing this buſineſs with him I never ſwerved from the ſpirit of the diſpatch. I demanded that an anſwer ſhould be given me on the enſuing Friday; but the council continuing on that day till it was very late, I did not obtain it till the next. On the morning of the 31ſt, the miniſter informed me that he was authorized by the king his maſter to give me the following anſwers to the four articles contained in the diſpatch; anſwers, he added which muſt be ſo much the more conſidered as candid, faithful, and categorical, becauſe they bear upon known facts.

ANSWERS.

1ſt. The king cannot but receive with pleaſure the aſſurances which his moſt chriſtian majeſty has cauſed to be tranſmitted to him, of his deſire of concurring in every thing which may enſure the proſperity of the two ſtates, and the good neighbourhood which ought to ſubſiſt between them.

2d. His majeſty flatters himſelf that he has given ſufficient proofs of the reciprocity of his ſentiments to prevent any doubt of his ſincerity: and it is his deſire that there may be taken in France the ſame care which he has taken in his ſtates, for the maintenance of peace.

3d. Although the king of Sardinia cannot be bound to give explanations upon demands which are founded only on falſe reports, of bodies of men being aſſembled at Nice, and in the neighbouring ſtates, he haſtens to give the explanations demanded, upon all ſuch facts as are within his knowledge. The troops in the Milaneſe are much under the peace eſtabliſhment; his majeſty has given to them no other deſtination than that of guarding his ſtates. It is public and notorious that there exiſts not in Savoy, nor ever has been ſent thither, any great train of artillery: that even the troops which have gone into garriſon there have not taken with them their complement of ſmall pieces of cannon.

4th. His Sardinian majeſty having ſtedfaſtly conformed to the principle of not ſuffering any bodies of emigrants to aſſemble in his ſtates; and having taken care to prevent all ſuch aſſemblies without waiting for any requiſition: having alſo recently given orders for the emigrants to retire into the interior part of the country, far from the frontiers, and there to be only in ſmall number, there cannot be occaſion for any new orders in this reſpect. As the charge of their enrolling men is equally unfounded, becauſe toleration has never been given to any thing of the kind, and that the orders already iſſued have been faithfully carried into execution, no new directions on that point can be requiſite.

According to theſe full and categorical explanations, it is the king's deſign alſo on his part to do no injury to the laws of good neighbourhood, by any means, open or concealed.

Such are the anſwers given me by the miniſter. And in the conferences which I have had with him it appears that the king his maſter was unjuſtly ſuſpected of being diſpoſed to break the harmony which exiſts between the two ſtates. He reminded me of the purchaſing of corn authorized in Savoy, and in Piedmont, for France: and it has appeared to me that the king of Sardinia is wholly occupied in preſerving peace in the interior of his ſtates.

Extract of a Letter from M. Bourgoing, *the* French *Miniſter at the Court of* Spain, *to M.* Dumourier, *the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.*

Aranjuez, the 5th of April, 1792.

* * * * * *

IT would be very vexatious, ſir, if, when every thing ſeems to concur for uniting the two nations, differences purely local ſhould ariſe to diſturb the good intentions of the two governments. We need entertain no farther apprehenſion on account of the hoſtile preparations of Spain. The cordon, which prejudice and exaggeration have made an object of terror, comprehends at the utmoſt, but twelve or thirteen thouſand men from Saint Sabaſtian to Barcelona, which certainly would not be formidable, even if it were deſtined againſt us; but it appears to me to demonſtration, that even the hot-headed Florida Blanca entertained no ſuch idea, and ſtill leſs his ſucceſſor. I think, therefore, ſir, on this ſide, there is nothing to excite our alarms, or cauſe the expenditure of treaſure in preparations. Theſe are facts which it may be proper to make known throughout all France; becauſe they will prevent inquietudes, and conſequently render public credit more ſecure.

The French *King's Speech to the National Aſſembly, on the 20th of* April, 1792; *with the Report then read to the Aſſembly by his Majeſty's order, which had been preſented to his Council on the 18th of* April, *on the Subject of a War with the Emperor.*

THE king's arrival being announced, the members of the aſſembly ſtood up to receive him. His majeſty proceeded to the chair aſſigned for him by the rules, where having ſat down, the deputies ſeated themſelves; the miniſters ſtanding round the king. His majeſty then addreſſed the aſſembly as follows:

"I come into the national aſſembly to communicate to it one of the moſt important objects with which it can be occupied. My miniſter for foreign affairs is going to read to you the report which he has made to my counſel on our political ſituation."

The miniſter for foreign affairs then read the following report:

"Sire.—When you ſwore to maintain the conſtitution which has ſecured your crown; when your heart joined in the will of a great nation, free and ſovereign, you became the object of hatred to the enemies of liberty. Pride and tyranny have agitated all courts; no bond of nature, no treaty, could ſtop their injuſtice. Your ancient allies have eraſed you from the rank of deſpots; but the French have raiſed you to the glorious and ſolid dignity of ſupreme chief of a regenerated nation. Your duties are traced out by the law which you have accepted, and you will fulfil them all.

"The French nation is calumniated; its ſovereignty is contemned; the rebellious emigrants find an aſylum with our neighbours; they aſſemble on our frontiers; they openly threaten to penetrate into their country, and carry thither fire and ſword. Their rage ſhall be impotent; perhaps they would already have had cauſe to repent, if they had not found ſupport from a power which broke all its bonds with us when it ſaw that our regeneration would change the form of our alliance, and neceſſarily render it more equal.

"Since 1756 Auſtria has abuſed a treaty of alliance which France has always too much reſpected. This treaty has exhauſted ſince that period our blood and our treaſure in the unjuſt wars which ambition raiſed, and which ended in treaties dictated by that falſe and crooked policy which always left means ſubſiſting for exciting new wars. Since that fatal period of 1756, France has degraded herſelf even to the extent of playing a ſubaltern part in the bloody tragedies of deſpotiſm; ſhe has been ſubſervient to the ever-reſtleſs ever-buſy ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, to which ſhe has ſacrificed her natural alliances.

"When the houſe of Auſtria ſaw in our conſtitution that France could no longer be the ſervile inſtrument of its ambition, it vowed the deſtruction of that work of reaſon: it forgot all the ſervices which had been rendered it by France; and, in fine, being no longer able to domineer over the French nation, became its implacable enemy.

"The death of Joſeph the Second ſeemed to preſage more tranquillity on the part of his ſucceſſor. Leopold, who had called philoſophy into his government of Tuſcany, ought, it ſeemed, to have occupied himſelf entirely in relieving the calamities which the immeaſurable ambition of his predeceſſor had drawn on his dominions. Leopold did no more than juſt appear on the imperial throne, and yet it was he who endeavoured without ceaſing to excite all the powers of Europe againſt us; it was he who traced out, in the conferences of Padua, of Reichenbach, of the

Hague, and of Pilnitz, projects the moſt fatal againſt us; projects which he covered with the vile pretence of falſe compaſſion for your majeſty, at the time that you declared to the whole univerſe that you were free; at the time that you declared that you had freely accepted, and would with all your power ſupport, the conſtitution.

" It was then, that calumniating the nation, of which you are the hereditary repreſentative, and affronting you by pretending not to credit your freedom, and the purity of your intentions, that prince employed all the engines of a dark and ſubtle policy for increaſing the number of the enemies of France, under pretences very little calculated to ſanction ſuch menacing conduct. It was Leopold, long ſince united with Ruſſia for dividing the ſpoils of Poland and of Turky, who detached from our alliance that northern king, whoſe inquiet activity could only be ſtopt by death, at the moment when he was going to become the inſtrument of the fury of the houſe of Auſtria. It was Leopold who animated againſt France the ſucceſſor of the immortal Frederick, from whom, through fidelity to imprudent treaties, we have for forty years paſt defended the houſe of Auſtria. It was he who declared himſelf the head of a league intended to overturn our conſtitution. It was he, who in thoſe official pieces, of which Europe will judge, incited one part of the French nation to arm againſt the other, thus endeavouring to accumulate on France the horrors of civil and the calamities of external war.

" Such were the injurious attempts of the emperor Leopold againſt a generous nation, which even ſince its regeneration has reſpected former treaties, however diſadvantageous, however fatal they were.

" It is neceſſary to report to your majeſty an official note, dated the 19th February, from the prince of Kaunitz, becauſe it is the laſt piece reſpecting a negociation between the emperor Leopold and your majeſty.

" It is in this official note of the 19th February more eſpecially that his hoſtile projects are diſcovered. This note, which is a real declaration of war, merits ſerious examination.—The prince of Kaunitz, as the organ of his maſter, begins by ſaying, ' that never was an impartial and pacific intention more clearly announced and proved than that of his imperial majeſty in the affair of the aſſemblings in the country of Treves.' In truth the court of Vienna had at that time made the armed emigrants remove from the Low Countries, for fear that the reſentment of the French ſhould carry them into the Belgic provinces, where the firſt aſſemblings were made; where the rebels ſtill have a ſtaff of general officers in uniforms, and bearing the white cockade even at the court of Bruſſels; where, contrary to capitulations and cartels, they have received and do ſtill receive daily, numerous bands, and even entire corps, with arms, baggage, officers, ſtandards, and a military cheſt, thus giving unjuſt protection to the moſt criminal deſertion, accompanied with theft and treaſon. At the ſame time the court of Vienna, on the irregular demand of the biſhop of Bâle, eſtabliſhed a garriſon in the country of Porentru, for opening an eaſy entry into the department of Doubs; violating by the eſtabliſhment of this garriſon the canton of Bâle, and violating the treaties which put the country of Porentru under the guarantee of the canton and of France.

"At the ſame time the court of Vienna conſiderably augmented its garriſons in the Briſgaw. At the ſame time the court of Vienna gave orders to marſhal Bender to proceed with his troops into the electorate of Treves, in caſe the French ſhould go thither to diſperſe their rebellious emigrants. It is true that the court of Vienna ſeemed to preſcribe to the elector of Treves not to tolerate theſe aſſemblings; it is alſo true that that eccleſiaſtical prince ſeemed for a moment to intend diſperſing theſe aſſemblings; but all this was illuſive; they endeavoured to abuſe your miniſter at Treves by theſe falſhoods, and to intimidate him by affronts. The aſſemblings re-commenced at Coblentz in greater number; their magazines were eſtabliſhed in the ſame ſtate; and France was ſeen to be, through the whole of this affair, the ſport of perfidy, of threats, and violence.

"M. de Kaunitz adds, 'that the nature and the legitimate end of the propoſals of concert made by the emperor in the month of July, 1791, as well as the moderation and amicable intention of that which he made in the month of November following, could not eſcape the cognizance of the French government.' This confeſſion of the prince of Kaunitz confirms the hoſtile deſigns of the court of Vienna; it proves, that in contempt of its alliance, that court urged the other powers of Europe to form againſt France an offenſive league, which was only ſuſpended by the circular letter of the prince of Kaunitz, dated the 12th November.

"M. de Kaunitz adds, that 'all Europe is convinced, as well as the emperor, that the *perſons* diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of the *Jacobin* party, willing to excite the nation to an armament, and then to a rupture with the emperor, after making the aſſemblings in the territories of Treves a pretext for the firſt, are now ſearching to draw pretexts of war by means of explanations which they have brought on with his imperial majeſty, in a manner, and with circumſtances viſibly calculated to make it difficult for that prince to reconcile in his anſwers the pacific and amicable intentions which actuate him, with the feeling of his dignity wounded, and his repoſe endangered, by the fruits of their manœuvres.'

"This obſcure phraſe contains a falſity, an injury. Thoſe whom M. Kaunitz diſtinguiſhes by the *perſons*, are the aſſembly, the whole nation, expreſſing its will by its repreſentatives; it was not a club that demanded categorical explanations; and we ſee, in the diſtinction which the Auſtrian miniſter makes, the perfidious deſign of repreſenting France as a prey to factions which prevent the means of negociating with her. The reſt of this note is an exploſion of his ſpleen againſt what he ſtyles the Jacobin party, which he characterizes by *the pernicious ſect.*

"The death of the emperor Leopold ſhould have led to other principles of negociation; but the ſyſtem of the houſe of Auſtria is always the ſame, and the change of the governing prince makes no variation in it.

"The king of Bohemia and Hungary being ſolicited to anſwer categorically,

gorically, in order to ſtop the inquietudes of the two nations, and give tranquillity to Europe, has made known his ultimate reſolves to your majeſty, in the laſt note of the prince of Kaunitz, dated the 18th March.

"As this note is the *ultimatum* of the court of Vienna; as it is ſtill more provoking than all the other pieces reſpecting this negociation, it merits alſo ſerious examination. The firſt ſentence of this note is artfully injurious. *The French government having demanded categorical explanations*, and ſo forth. Sire, there is no more any queſtion of the king of the French. M. de Kaunitz ſeparates you from the nation, in order to make it be believed that you are not free; that you are as nothing in negociations, and take no intereſt in them. Your majeſty is engaged in honour to contradict this perfidious inſinuation.

"M. de Kaunitz ſays, 'But with much ſtronger reaſon would it ſuit the dignity of great potentates to refute with open fairneſs, not to diſcuſs by *confidential inſinuations*, which may be diſſembled in a reply, imputations and interpretations which are mingled with the words of *peace* and of *war*, and which are accompanied with every kind of provocation.'

"Certainly the miniſter of foreign affairs muſt regret his having introduced in ſuch a negociation confidential inſinuations; but he could not imagine that the prince of Kaunitz would have the perfidy to abuſe them by garbling and perverting. And if this negociation ſhould take a pacific turn, the firſt meaſure of your majeſty ſhould be, to demand of the king of Bohemia and Hungary the puniſhment of a faithleſs prime miniſter, who, by an abuſe of confidence, has endeavoured to alienate the heart of the young monarch, and render irreconcileable two nations formed for mutual eſteem.

"The prince of Kaunitz ſpeaks afterwards of 'the juſtice of the motives and the truth of the aſſertions on which reſt the explanations already given by order of the late emperor;' and he adds that 'the king of Hungary and Bohemia fully adopts on this ſubject the ſentiments of his father.' He afterwards ſays, that 'the king knows not of any armament, or any meaſures in the Auſtrian ſtates which can be denominated preparations for war.'

The contrary is proved, the concert of powers is known; the Auſtrian armies are aſſembling, forts are erected, camps are marked out, generals and armies are appointed; and the prince of Kaunitz oppoſes to ſo many facts a denial deſtitute of the leaſt probability. He tells us, 'that the troubles of the Low Countries were occaſioned by the examples of France, and by the criminal practices of the Jacobins.' As if the troubles in the Low Countries had not preceded the French Revolution; as if it were poſſible for him to have forgot that the conſtituent aſſembly refuſed to take any part in theſe troubles.

"M. de Kaunitz adds, 'with reſpect to the concert in which his late imperial majeſty engaged with the moſt reſpectable powers of Europe, the king of Hungary and Bohemia cannot anticipate their common opinions and determinations; but he does not believe that they will judge it expedient to diſſolve the concert until France ſhall have removed the cauſes which provoked or neceſſitated the opening of it.' Here then we behold the king of Bohemia and Hungary acceding to the league which was formed by his father againſt France; he declares that this league muſt continue until we have ſubmitted our conſtitution to his judgment and reviſion; and thus avows a treaty by which that of 1756 is formally broken.

" ' But ſhould their deſigns and their artifices prevail, his majeſty flatters himſelf that at leaſt the ſound and principal part of the nation will then behold, as a proſpect of conſolation and ſupport, the exiſtence of a concert whoſe intentions are worthy of their confidence in the moſt important criſis which has ever affected the common intereſts of Europe.' He does not even diſſemble, in theſe perfidious expreſſions, the deſign of arming the citizens; and thus does this miniſter of fourſcore hurl into the midſt of us, with a feeble arm, the firebrand of civil war.

" No ſire, the French will never diſunite when France is in danger. Many emigrants will quit the criminal ſtandards under which they ſerved, and, bluſhing at their errors, expiate them by fighting for their country. Your majeſty will give the example of civiſm by reſenting the injuries done to the nation.

" When you charged me with the adminiſtration of foreign affairs, it became my duty to anſwer the confidence placed in me by the nation and you, by employing in your name the energetic language of reaſon and truth. The miniſter of Vienna, ſeeing himſelf too cloſely puſhed by a negociation full of candour, ſhut himſelf up in himſelf, and referred to this note of the 18th of March, of which I have preſented you an analyſis; this note is a real declaration of war, hoſtilities are only a conſequence; for the ſtate of war conſiſts not merely in the diſcharge of cannon, but in provocations, preparations, and inſults.

" Sire, from this expoſition it reſults, Firſt, that the treaty of 1756 is broken by the act of the houſe of Auſtria. Secondly, that the concert of the powers, formed in the month of July, 1791, at the inſtigation of the emperor Leopold, and confirmed by the king of Hungary and Bohemia, in the note of the prince of Kaunitz, of the 18th March, 1792, (which is the *ultimatum* of theſe negociations) being directed againſt France, is a formal act of hoſtility. Thirdly, that having explained, by order of your majeſty, *that you ſhould decidedly regard yourſelf as in a ſtate of war, if at the return of the courier a ſpeedy and full declaration was not ſent in anſwer to the two diſpatches of the 19th and 27th of March*; this *ultimatum* not anſwering thereto is equivalent to a declaration of war. Fourthly, that from that moment it was neceſſary to order M. de Noailles to return to France without taking leave, and to ceaſe all correſpondence with the court of Vienna.

" After making all the reflections to which ſo important a ſubject gives riſe; after weighing, with the moſt rigorous equity, the not ſupporting and avenging the offended ſovereignty of the French nation on one ſide, and the calamities to which war may lead on the other: Conſidering that the imperiouſneſs of our preſent circumſtances, which are becoming every day more urgent, from the approach of different bodies of Auſtrian troops aſſembling from all quarters on our frontiers, has brought us to that moment in which we muſt take a deciſive part;

" That the 29th of November a deputation of the national aſſembly waited on the king, to requeſt him to take the ſtrongeſt meaſures for putting an end to the aſſemblings upon the frontiers, and exacting a reparation in favour of thoſe French citizens who had received injuries:

" The 14th of December the king declared to the national aſſembly the confidence he ſtill had at that period in the good diſpoſitions of the emperor; but added, that he took at the ſame time thoſe military meaſures moſt proper for making his declarations reſpected; and that if they were not hearkened to, there only remained for him to propoſe war. It was then that the national aſſembly decreed a report to be made of the forces which garriſoned the frontiers of the empire:

" The 14th of January the national aſſembly requeſted the king to demand of the emperor, in the name of the French nation, clear and preciſe explanations of his intentions, fixing the term of the 10th of February for his anſwer; and in default of an anſwer, *this procedure of the emperor ſhall be conſidered as a breach of the treaty of* 1756, *and as an act of hoſtility:*

" The 25th of January the national aſſembly paſſed a decree in five articles, by the third of which the final term given to the emperor was prolonged to the firſt of March; and it was added, that *his ſilence, and alſo all evaſive or dilatory anſwers, ſhould be regarded as a declaration of war;*

" Conſidering that the honour of the king of the French, and his good faith, are perfidiouſly attacked by the marked affectation of ſeparating him from the nation, in the official note of the 18th of March, which replies *to the French government,* in the place of replying *to the king of the French:*

" Conſidering that ever ſince the period of its regeneration the French nation has been provoked by the court of Vienna and its agents in a moſt intolerable manner; that it has continually experienced outrages in the perſon of M. Duveyrier, ſent by the king, and detained indignantly in a ſtate of arreſt; in the perſons of a great number of French citizens, outraged and impriſoned in the different provinces of the Auſtrian dominions, in hatred to our conſtitution, for wearing our national uniform, and the diſtinguiſhing colours of our liberty:

" Conſidering that there is in our whole conſtitution no article which authorizes the king to declare that, the nation is in a ſtate of war; that, on the contrary, in article 2d. ſection 1ſt. of chapter 3. *of the exerciſe of the legiſlative power,* it is ſaid that 'war cannot be decided on but by a decree of the legiſlative body, paſſed upon the formal and neceſſary propoſition of the king, and ſanctioned by him;' that ſo it is not advice which the king may aſk, but a propoſition which he muſt neceſſarily make to the national aſſembly:

" Conſidering, in fine, that the vow pronounced by the French nation is to ſuffer no outrage to or any alteration in the conſtitution which it has given itſelf; that the king, by the oath which he has taken to maintain this conſtitution, is become the depoſitary of the dignity and of the ſafety of the French nation; —I conclude, that ſtrong in the juſtice of theſe motives, and in the energy of the French people and their repreſentatives, his majeſty, accompanied by his miniſters, do repair

pair to the national aſſembly, and propoſe to it a war againſt Auſtria.'

When the report was finiſhed, the king ſaid, "You have heard the report which was made to my council. The concluſions were there adopted unanimouſly. I myſelf have adopted the determination. It is conformable to the wiſh ſo many times expreſſed by the national aſſembly, and to that which has been addreſſed to me by many citizens of diverſe departments. It was my duty to try all means of preſerving peace. Now I come, in the words of the conſtitution, formally to propoſe to you war againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia."

The preſident replied, "Sire, the national aſſembly will take into its deepeſt conſideration the formal propoſition which you have made to it. Your majeſty ſhall be acquainted by a meſſage with the reſult."

The king then withdrew.

Decree of War againſt the King of Hungary *and* Bohemia, April 20, 1792.

THE national aſſembly, deliberating on the formal propoſition of the king, conſidering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with ſeveral powers of Europe againſt the independence and ſecurity of the French nation:

That Francis I. king of Hungary and Bohemia, has, by his notes of the 18th of March and 7th of April laſt, refuſed to renounce this concert:

That, notwithſtanding the propoſition made to him by the note of 11th March 1792, to reduce, on both ſides, to a peace eſtabliſhment the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increaſed the hoſtile preparation:

That he has formally infringed the ſovereignty of the French nation, by declaring that he would ſupport the pretenſions of the German princes, poſſeſſionaries in France, to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnifications:

That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them againſt one another, by holding out ſupport to the malcontents in the concert of the powers: Conſidering, in fine, that the refuſal of an anſwer to the laſt diſpatches of the king of the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negociation, the redreſs of thoſe different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war—decrees, That there exiſts a caſe of urgency.

'The national aſſembly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles conſecrated by the conſtitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making conqueſts, and never to employ its force againſt the liberty of any people, only take up arms in defence of its own liberty and independence; that the war into which the French are compelled to enter, is not a war of nation againſt nation, but the juſt defence of a free people, againſt the unjuſt oppreſſion of a monarch. That they will never confound their brothers with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to ſoften the rigours of war; to preſerve property, and prevent it from ſuſtaining any injury, and to bring down upon the heads of thoſe alone, who league themſelves againſt liberty, all the evils inſeparable from war.

That the nation adopts all thoſe foreigners who, abjuring the cauſe of its enemies, ſhall join its ſtandard, and conſecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; that it will even favour, by all the means in its power, their eſtabliſhment in France.

Deliberating on the formal propoſitions of the king, and after having decreed the caſe of urgency—decrees war againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia.

Proclamation of the Government at Bruſſels, *in Anſwer to the Declaration of War on the Part of* France.

Marie Chriſtine, princeſs royal of Hungary and Bohemia, archducheſs of Auſtria, ducheſs of Burgundy, Lorraine, and Saxe-Teſchen, &c.

Albert-Caſimir, prince royal of Poland and Lithuania, duke of Saxe-Teſchen, grand croſs of the royal order of St. Stephen, field marſhal of the armies of his majeſty the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and of thoſe of the holy Roman empire, &c.

Lieutenant-governors, and Captains-general of the Low Countries, &c. &c.

A FACTION, by which the kingdom of France has for four years been torn aſunder, has juſt prevailed on his moſt chriſtian majeſty to ſanction a declaration of war againſt his apoſtolical majeſty, our moſt honoured lord and nephew. The firſt acts of hoſtility ſeem to be directed againſt theſe provinces; and the enemies of all order and power, who are meditating an aggreſſion ſo unjuſt, found their hopes of ſucceſs on the ſpirit of party which was unfortunately diſſeminated during the late troubles.

We will carefully attend to the defence of thoſe provinces with the the government of which we are entruſted, relying with confidence on the protection of the Lord of Hoſts, who is pleaſed to manifeſt the wonderful works of his omnipotence in favour of thoſe who are inſpired with a ſacred reſpect for his laws, and for all powers by him ordained on the earth for the government of human ſocieties.

We flatter ourſelves that every claſs of citizens will be animated with one ſpirit, and that they will vigilantly attend to the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and the preſervation of property, while we order to the frontiers part of his majeſty's troops, full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two laſt reigns; until the concert, formed between ſeveral great powers, ſhall oppoſe a mound to the torrent of ſiniſter projects which menace the overthrow of Europe.

We owe it to the faithful ſubjects of his majeſty, to inform them of the meaſures which we have adopted, during a whole year, in hopes of remaining at peace with France: and to warn them of the innumerable calamities which our enemies are eager to ſpread and perpetuate, under the ſpecious veil of a chimerical liberty, offered to a credulous multitude, by an impious ſect of innovators, *ſoi-diſant* philoſophers, as the infallible reſult of their mad projects. Their's is not to war with the princes of the earth, but againſt the religion of our anceſtors, againſt ſocial order, againſt proſperity, and againſt all the comforts which naturally flow from it. Having already, by the adoption of their abſurd ſyſtems, plunged their country into all the horrors of anarchy; jealous of the proſperity of thoſe nations who ſtill enjoy the fruits of ſocial order, they have formed, for their own protection, the barbarous project of inſpiring them with a ſimilar delirium, of inoculating them with their errors, and all the calamities with which the kingdom of France is at this time afflicted.

They have been, during a whole year, meditating and inventing pretexts for the aggreſſion on which they had reſolved. Having driven away from the boſom of France, by dint of perſecutions, all thoſe citizens who were attached to the eſtabliſhed religion, and to the prerogatives, hitherto held ſacred by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, they have attempted to prevent them from enjoying, in any part of the world, the ſweets of hoſpitality which men reciprocally owe to each other. We have been extremely careful not to afford the ſlighteſt grounds of complaint, reſolved not to meddle, in the leaſt degree, with the political government of any neighbouring ſtates. We have taken care to prevent that any thing ſhould be plotted, or even written, in theſe provinces, againſt the conſtitution juſt given to the kingdom of France; and, as a reward for our ſtrict attention to the laws of good neighbourhood, a horde of factious vagabonds has been aſſembled on our frontiers, meditating the blackeſt plots. The moſt pernicious writings againſt religion, and againſt the conſtitutional authority of the ſovereign, have been diſperſed in theſe provinces. Theſe writings were a mere publication of ſpeeches delivered in the midſt of authorized ſocieties, in which the moſt atrocious crimes have been recommended as virtues, with a view to flatter the criminal propenſities of a ſet of men, whom it was the object to attach to a ſyſtem, which in hiſtory will be the diſgrace of the preſent generation.

All our remonſtrances on this ſubject have been made in vain; and whilſt we paid the greateſt attention to complaints relative to armaments which had no exiſtence, and to pretended inſults offered to Frenchmen, all kinds of exceſſes have been multiplied againſt the ſubjects of his majeſty, and committed on his territories, and we have never obtained, on ſo many ſubjects of complaint, any thing more than promiſes of ſatisfaction, which have in no inſtance been performed; and when we have, on our part, exerciſed that vigilance, which was become neceſſary on the conduct of emiſſaries, who it was boaſted openly were ſent into theſe provinces on purpoſe to excite inſurrections and to create anarchy, a clamour has been made againſt thoſe precautions which were conſtrued into attempts againſt the ſafety and the liberty of French travellers. Yet on the other hand, we were applauded for having given orders to confine and reſtrain the aſſembling of the unfortunate French gentlemen who had emigrated from the kingdom, and to oblige them to conform moſt ſtrictly to the laws of ſimple hoſpitality, in order to preclude the poſſibility of their arming and forming themſelves into military corps.

Theſe meaſures, which France ſeems now to have forgotten, were quoted to the princes of the empire as an example proper for them to imitate in the reſpective ſtates, and with which the deſpotic agents of the French government would be ſatisfied.

We ſhould avoid taking notice of all the calamities with which France is afflicted—we ſhould leave to time the detection of the fallacies, which a ſet of inſidious writers endeavour to perpetuate by their dangerous publications, were it not evident that, at the moment of the intended aggreſſion againſt theſe provinces, a reſolution is taken to ſpread the poiſon of a ſeductive illuſion on the pretended advantages of the French conſtitution, with a view to make thoſe partakers of it who may be deluded by this means; but it is neceſſary that the people who are confided to our government be reminded and informed that the kingdom of France groans at this time, in the name of liberty, under the moſt hateful ſlavery, of every ſort of vice, of the moſt unbridled paſſions, and of a ſpecies of anarchy which is without example; that rights and property are aboliſhed; that the holy religion which we profeſs is there trodden under foot; that the altars are profaned, their true miniſters plundered, ill-treated, perſecuted even in their retreats among foreign nations, and replaced by intruders who have no miſſion from the hierarchy of the church; that they have gone the length of ſtripping the paſtors of the people of the diſtinctive dreſs by which they ought to be known to their flocks; that in a monſtrous code, rights have been extolled which man cannot enjoy in ſociety, and which he tacitly renounces for his happineſs, by being born in civilized aſſociations; that, purſuant to thoſe chimerical rights, attempts have been made to aboliſh, overturn, and confound thoſe real rights which have been tranſmitted, under the protection of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, from generation to generation, to thoſe venerable claſſes to which the French nation had, in every reſpect, the higheſt obligations; that real property has given way to the name, by ſeizing the eſtates of thoſe who had been ſolemnly inveſted with them by time, by the laws, and by an uninterrupted poſſeſſion, a hundred times renewed and confirmed by the true repreſentatives of the nation; and all this under the deceitful colour of an equality of chimerical rights, not exiſting in fact, and annihilated, if it could for a moment exiſt, by that variety of character, impreſſed on all mankind at their birth, by which they ſhare, in very unequal proportions, moral faculties, the very diſproportion of which has always determined and will ever determine the aſcendency of genius, ſtrength, patience, induſtry, and economy, over the oppoſite qualities, together with all the advantages which may lawfully ariſe from them, and which may be transferred like every other ſpecies of property.

Finally, it is neceſſary that the faithful ſubjects of his majeſty be informed that, whilſt pains are taken to extol the pretended glory and proſperity of the kingdom of France, lately the moſt flouriſhing in Europe, there is now no commerce, no circulation of ſpecie or goods, no public force, no juſtice, no police, and that the philoſophical perſecutors of all thoſe who are not of their ſect, know no bounds to the exceſſes, which they excite the people to commit, except a ſatiety of crimes.

Who, after this, could be ſo blind or ſtupid as to place the leaſt confidence in the promiſes, and in the inſidious aſſurances made by theſe tyrants to the nations whom they wiſh to ſubdue; that they will reſpect their property, their religion, their rights, their privileges, and their conſtitution; tyrants, who ſince they have uſurped the public power and force in France, have trodden under foot, with an effrontery and audacity hitherto unheard of, the moſt ſolemn public treaties, all laws, human and divine, and every thing which is held moſt ſacred over all the world; who, the moment they ſhould become maſters of one province, would ſeize, as they have in their own country, the eſtates of the clergy and the nobility, and the property of the citizens.

Once more, having never had any inclination to meddle with the internal government of any neighbouring ſtate, we ſhould not have entered on theſe afflicting details, relative to ſubjects which are foreign to the government with which we are entruſted, were it not that French writings and French emiſſaries, and even the acts of the new legiſlature of France, have a tendency to render univerſal a ſyſtem of innovation, whether good or bad for the French nation, certainly and decidedly ruinous to the people under our government; becauſe it is ſubverſive of all that political organization delineated by a conſtitution, which they love, which the ſovereign has engaged to maintain, and on which the happineſs of Belgium has for ages been founded.

It was our duty to warn the people of the imminent dangers with which they are threatened. We have laid before them truths which all well-meaning perſons will acknowledge to be ſtriking; and they will, of courſe, uſe their utmoſt endeavours to maintain peace and public tranquillity within theſe provinces; and we ſhall conſider thoſe as enemies to the ſtate, and treat them as ſuch, who ſhall attempt to diſturb them.

(Signed) Marie Albert.
(Counterſigned) Baron de Feliz.
Done at Bruſſels, April 29, 1792.

Confidential Letter from the King of the French *to the King of* England.

Paris, May 1.

Sir—My brother,

I SEND this letter by M. Chauvelin, whom I have appointed my miniſter plenipotentiary at your majeſty's court. I embrace this opportunity to expreſs to your majeſty how ſenſible I am of all the public marks of affection you have given me. I thank you for not having become a party to the concert formed by certain powers againſt France. From this I ſee you have formed a better judgment of my true intereſts, and a more correct opinion of the ſtate of France. Between our two countries new connections ought to take place. I think I ſee the remains of that rivalſhip which has done ſo much miſchief to both, wearing daily away. It becomes two kings, who have diſtinguiſhed their reigns by a conſtant deſire to promote the happineſs of their people, to connect themſelves by ſuch ties as will appear to be durable, in proportion as the two nations ſhall have clearer views of their own intereſts. I have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with your majeſty's ambaſſador at my court. If I do not give the ſame rank to the miniſter whom I have ſent to yours, you will nevertheleſs perceive, that by aſſociating in the miſſion with him M. de Tallerand, who by the letter of the conſtitution can ſuſtain no public character, I conſider the ſucceſs of the alliance in which I wiſh you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the higheſt importance. I conſider it as neceſſary to the ſtability, to the reſpective conſtitutions, and the internal tranquillity of our two kingdoms; and I will add, that our union ought to command peace to Europe.

I am your good brother,
(Signed) LOUIS.

Tranſlation of a Note delivered by Monſieur Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville, May 12th, 1792.

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his majeſty the king of the French is ordered by his court to tranſmit to his excellency lord Grenville, ſecretary of ſtate to his Britannic majeſty for the department of foreign affairs, the following note:

The king of the French, in ſending a miniſter plenipotentiary to London, has eſpecially charged him to commence his miſſion by manifeſting to the Britiſh government the powerful reaſons which have determined France to a war with the king of Hungary and Bohemia. He has thought that he owes this manifeſtation to the purity of the intentions which animate him, as well as to the laws of good neighbourhood, and to the value which he attaches to every thing which may maintain confidence and friendſhip between two empires, who have at this moment, more than ever, reaſons for drawing near each other, and uniting themſelves together.

Having become king of a free nation, after having ſworn to ſupport the conſtitution it has given herſelf, he cannot but deeply feel all the attacks deſigned againſt that conſtitution; and his probity alone would have induced him to prevent and combat them.

The king has ſeen a great conſpiracy formed againſt France, the agents of this league concealing, under an inſulting pity for him, the preparations of their deſigns; and his majeſty has had the grief to count among them Frenchmen, whoſe fidelity appeared to be guaranteed by ſo many powerful motives and private ties.

The king has not been ſparing of the means of perſuaſion to bring them back to their duty, and to break this threatening league, which ſupported and ſtrengthened their guilty hopes. But the emperor Leopold, the promoter and declared leader of this great conſpiracy, and after his deceaſe Francis king of Hungary and Bohemia, have never ſincerely anſwered any of the candid and reiterated demands of the king.

After being wearied by delays and vague anſwers, the impatience of the French increaſing daily by new provocations, thoſe princes have ſucceſſively avowed the coalition of the powers againſt France. They never juſtified themſelves for the part they had taken in it, or for that they were ſtill taking. Far from ſhewing themſelves diſpoſed to diſſolve it by their influence, they have ſought to connect it with facts, which in the firſt place were foreign to it, and upon which France has never refuſed doing juſtice to the intereſted parties. And, as if the king of Hungary were deſirous of conſecrating the perpetuity of the attack he makes on the ſovereignty of the French empire, he has declared that this coalition, equally injurious to the king and to the nation, could not ceaſe until France ſhould remove the ſerious cauſes which had given riſe to it; that is to ſay, ſo long as France, jealous of her independence, would not give up the ſmalleſt part of her new conſtitution.

Such an anſwer, preceded and ſupported by preparations moſt evidently hoſtile, and by an ill-concealed protection of the rebels, muſt have appeared to the national aſſembly, to the king, and to all France, as a manifeſt aggreſſion; for it is commencing war to announce that troops are aſſembled and called in all quarters, in order to conſtrain the inhabitants of a country to alter the form of government which they have freely choſen, and ſworn to defend.

Such is the ſenſe, and as it were the ſubſtance, of all the evaſive anſwers of the emperor and king of Hungary's miniſters to the ſimple and candid explanations which the king required of them.

Thus the king ſaw himſelf forced into a war which was already declared againſt him; but, religiouſly faithful to the principles of the conſtitution, whatever may finally be the fate of arms in this war, France rejects all ideas of aggrandizement. She will preſerve her limits, her liberty, her conſtitution, her inalienable right of reforming herſelf, whenever ſhe may think proper: ſhe will never conſent, that under any relation, foreign powers ſhould attempt to dictate, or even dare to nouriſh a hope of dictating laws to her. But this very pride, ſo natural and ſo juſt, is a ſure pledge to all the powers from whom ſhe ſhall have received no provocation, not only of her conſtantly pacific diſpoſitions, but alſo of the reſpect which the French will know how to ſhew at all times for the laws, the cuſtoms, and all the forms of government of different nations.

The king, indeed, wiſhes it to be known, that he would publicly and ſeverely diſavow all thoſe of his agents at foreign courts in peace with France, who ſhould dare to depart an inſtant from that reſpect, either by fomenting or favouring inſurrections againſt the eſtabliſhed order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the interior policy of ſuch ſtates, under pretence of a proſelytiſm, which, exerciſed in the dominions of friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations.

The king hopes that the Britiſh government will ſee in this expoſition the incontrovertible juſtice, and the neceſſity of the war which the French nation maintains againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia; and that he will moreover find in it that common principle of liberty and independence of which they ought not to be leſs jealous than France. For England is free likewiſe, becauſe ſhe determined to be ſo; and aſſuredly ſhe did not ſuffer other powers to attempt to compel her to alter the conſtitution ſhe had adopted, to lend the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance to rebellious ſubjects, or to pretend to interfere, under any pretence, in her interior diſputes.

Perſuaded that his Britannic majeſty is not leſs ardently deſirous than himſelf of ſeeing the good underſtanding and union between the two countries conſolidated and ſtrengthened, the king demands, that conformably to the 4th article of the treaty of navigation and commerce of the 26th September, 1786, his Britannic majeſty ſhall remind all his ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and publiſh it in the accuſtomed manner in thoſe two kingdoms, and in the iſlands and countries dependant upon them, an expreſs prohibition to exerciſe againſt France, or againſt the ſhips of France, any hoſtility, by cruizing on the ſeas, or to take out any patent, commiſſion, or letters of repriſals from the different princes or ſtates who are or ſhall be at war with France; or to make uſe in any manner of ſuch patents or commiſſions.

The king requires beſides, that all the articles of the aforeſaid treaty, which relate to the caſe of one of the contracting powers being at war, and eſpecially the 3d, 16th, 24th, 39th, 40th, and 41ſt articles, ſhall be punctually obſerved and executed, in the ſame manner as his majeſty is determined to act on his part reſpecting all the ſtipulations of this treaty.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of France,

CHAUVELIN.

London, 12th May, 1792,
4th year of French liberty.

Tranſlation of a Note from Lord Grenville *to Monſieur* Chauvelin, *dated* May 24*th*, 1792.

THE underſigned ſecretary of ſtate to the king has had the honour of laying before his majeſty the official note which Monſieur Chauvelin tranſmitted to him the 15th inſtant. He has orders to teſtify to that miniſter how truly ſenſible his majeſty ever is to the proofs of friendſhip and confidence which he receives on the part of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and with how much ſincerity he returns them by ſentiments perfectly reciprocal.

His majeſty could not learn without the deepeſt regret that a war has broken out between his moſt chriſtian majeſty and his majeſty the king of Hungary and Bohemia. This ſentiment is equally inſpired by his love for humanity, by the intereſt he takes in the maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, and by his ſincere wiſhes for the perſonal happineſs of their moſt chriſtian and apoſtolic majeſties, and for the proſperity of their dominions. In the preſent circumſtances he thinks it right to abſtain from entering into a diſcuſſion of the motives and the ſteps on each ſide which have brought on a rupture ſo afflicting to a ſovereign, the neighbour and friend of the two belligerent parties.

Confining himſelf, therefore, to expreſſions of the wiſhes he will never ceaſe to form for the ſpeedy and permanent re-eſtabliſhment of peace, he does not heſitate, however, to give to his moſt chriſtian majeſty the direct and poſitive aſſurance of his readineſs to fulfil in the moſt exact manner the ſtipulations of the treaty of navigation and commerce of which his moſt chriſtian majeſty requires the execution.

Faithful to all his engagements, his majeſty will pay the ſtricteſt attention to the preſervation of the good underſtanding which ſo happily ſubſiſts between him and his moſt chriſtian majeſty; expecting with confidence, that animated with the ſame ſentiments, his moſt chriſtian majeſty will not fail to contribute to the ſame end, by cauſing, on his part, the rights of his majeſty and his allies to be reſpected, and by rigorouſly forbidding any ſtep which might affect the friendſhip which his majeſty has ever deſired to conſolidate and perpetuate for the happineſs of the two empires.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Whitehall, 24th May, 1792.

Tranſlation of a Note from M. Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville, *24th May*, 1792.

THE under-ſigned miniſter plenipotentiary from the king of the French to his Britannic majeſty has the honour to ſtate to his excellency lord Grenville, miniſter of ſtate for foreign affairs,

That the royal proclamation, publiſhed on the 21ſt of this month, and communicated to the two houſes of parliament, contains ſome expreſſions which might, contrary to the intentions of the Britiſh miniſtry, give weight to the falſe opinions which the enemies of France endeavour to circulate with reſpect to her intentions towards Great Britain.

If certain individuals of this country have eſtabliſhed a correſpondence abroad, tending to excite troubles therein, and if, as the proclamation ſeems to inſinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, that is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French nation, to the legiſlative body, to the king, and to his miniſters; it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates againſt every principle of juſtice, and which, whenever it became known, would be univerſally condemned in France. Independently of thoſe principles of juſtice, from which a free people ought never to deviate, is it not evident, from a due conſideration of the true intereſts of the French nation, that ſhe ought to deſire the interior tranquillity, the continuance and the force of the conſtitution of a country which ſhe already looks upon as her natural ally?

Is not this the only reaſonable wiſh which a people can form, which ſees ſo many efforts united againſt its liberty? The miniſter plenipotentiary, deeply ſenſible of theſe truths, and of the maxims of univerſal morality upon which they are founded, had already repreſented them in an official note, which he tranſmitted to the Britiſh miniſtry the 15th of this month, by the expreſs orders of his court; and he thinks it his duty to repeat, on the preſent occaſion, the important declarations it contains.

"Religiouſly faithful to the principles of its conſtitution, whatever may be definitively the fortune of her arms in this war, France repels every idea of aggrandiſement; ſhe wiſhes to preſerve her own limits, her liberty, her conſtitution, and her inalienable right of reforming herſelf, whenever ſhe ſhall judge proper: ſhe will never conſent that foreign powers ſhould in any ſhape dictate, or ſhould dare to nouriſh a hope of dictating laws to her; but this very pride, ſo natural and ſo juſt, is a pledge to all the powers from whom ſhe ſhall have received no provocation, not only of her conſtantly pacific diſpoſitions, but alſo of the reſpect which the French will at all times know how to pay to the laws, the uſages, and all the forms of government of different people. The king alſo deſires that it may be known, that he would diſavow, decidedly and ſeverely, all thoſe of his agents in foreign courts at peace with France, who might dare to deviate a moment from this reſpect, either by fomenting or by favouring revolts againſt the eſtabliſhed order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the internal politics of thoſe ſtates, under pretext of making proſelytes, which, exerciſed towards friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations.

“The king hopes that the Britiſh government will ſee in this expoſition the incontrovertible juſtice, and the neceſſity of the war, which the French nation carries on againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and that it will further find therein, that common principle of liberty and independence, of which it ought not to be leſs jealous than France; for England alſo is free, becauſe ſhe would be ſo, and certainly ſhe has not ſuffered that other powers ſhould conſtrain her to change the conſtitution which ſhe has adopted, that they ſhould lend the leaſt aſſiſtance to her rebellious ſubjects, nor that they ſhould pretend to interfere, under any pretext, in her internal diſcuſſions.”

The honour of France, her deſire of preſerving and augmenting a good underſtanding between the two countries, and the neceſſity of clearing up every doubt as to her diſpoſitions, requiring that they ſhould be as publicly known as poſſible, the under-ſigned miniſter plenipotentiary requeſts that Lord Grenville would communicate this official note to the two houſes of parliament, previous to their deliberating on the proclamation of his Britannic majeſty of the 21ſt of May.

He ſeizes this opportunity of renewing to his excellency the aſſurances of his high eſteem and reſpect

The miniſter plenipotentiary
of France,
(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.
London, May 24th, 1792,
Fourth Year of French Liberty.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Lord Grenville *to Monſieur* Chauvelin, May 25, 1792.

Whitehall, 25th May, 1792.

I HAVE already had the honour, ſir, to acknowledge the receipt of the note which you addreſſed to me, dated yeſterday.

Deſiring, with ardour and ſincerity, to maintain, in all the affairs that I may have the honour to treat with you, that harmony and cordiality which correſpond with the intentions of the king, it is with regret that I find myſelf under the neceſſity of making to you the following obſervations on the ſubject of that paper:—I am perſuaded that it was not at all your intention to deviate from the rules and forms eſtabliſhed in this kingdom for the correſpondence of the miniſters of foreign courts with the king's ſecretary of ſtate for this department. But it was impoſſible for me not to remark that in your laſt note, the only queſtion relates to a communication which you deſire me to make to the two houſes of parliament, before they deliberate upon an object which you appear to believe they were about to diſcuſs. It is neceſſary for me to obſerve to you, ſir, that in my quality of ſecretary of ſtate to his majeſty, I cannot receive any communication from a foreign miniſter, but in order to lay it before the king, and to receive his majeſty's commands thereupon; and that the deliberations of the two houſes of parliament, as well as the communications which his majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to make to them, relative to the affairs of the kingdom, are objects abſolutely foreign to all diplomatic correſpondence, and upon which it is impoſſible for me to enter into any diſcuſſion whatever with the miniſters of other courts.

This, ſir, is the only anſwer which it will be poſſible for me to return to the note in queſtion; which, as well in its form as in its object, cannot be conſidered as a regular and official communication. I ſhall always feel the greateſt pleaſure in reporting to his majeſty the aſſurances which you may be authoriſed to give me for that purpoſe, of the friendly diſpoſitions of your court; and I deſire you to accept the expreſſion of the eſteem and high regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Monſieur Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville, May 25*th*, 1792.

Portman-Square, May 25*th*, 1792.

I HAVE this moment, my lord, received the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me on the ſubject of the note which I ſent you yeſterday, the 24th inſtant. I have the honour to thank you for the obliging manner in which it is expreſſed. You have done juſtice to my intentions, in believing that I did not intend to depart from the eſtabliſhed rules and forms of this kingdom.

I by no means thought, when I preſented that note to you, that the demand contained in it ought not, as well as all others, to be laid before the king of Great-Britain; it was expreſsly in the intention of giving to his majeſty freſh aſſurances of deference and reſpect for the Britiſh government, that I did myſelf the honour of making that laſt notification: and it being my deſire to make this manifeſtation of the diſpoſitions of the French government as public as poſſible, I thought it beſt to beg you to communicate it to both houſes of parliament.

In making this requeſt, my lord, I intended to obviate the falſe interpretations which might be occaſioned in the two houſes by the article of the proclamation, which is the ſubject of it; I flattered myſelf by this means to contribute towards the maintenance of that harmony, and of that cordiality between the two ſtates, of which I with joy remarked the expreſſion in the aſſurance which you gave me, that it is no leſs deſired by his Britannic majeſty than by the king of the French.

As to the reſt, my lord, any other form which it may ſuit you to adopt, and which may render very public the ſentiments of France, her true diſpoſitions with regard to England, and the orders which I have received from the king of the French, and which I have communicated to you, will equally anſwer the wiſh of the French government.

Pleaſe to accept the homage of the eſteem, and of the high conſideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)
F. Chauvelin.

Tranſlation of a Note from Monſieur Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville, *dated* June 18*th*, 1792.

THE under-ſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his majeſty the king of the French has tranſmitted to his majeſty the official note which Lord Grenville addreſſed to him on the 24th of May laſt, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, in anſwer to that which he had the honour to deliver to him on the 15th of the ſame month, together with the royal proclamation publiſhed in conſequence of it. He is directed to aſſure his Britannic majeſty of the due ſenſe which the king entertains of the friendly diſpoſitions, and of the ſentiments of humanity, of juſtice, and of peace, which are ſo clearly manifeſted in that anſwer.

The king of the French obſerved with care all its expreſſions, and is happy in conſequence to renew to the king of Great-Britain the formal aſſurance that every thing which can intereſt the rights of his Britannic majeſty will continue to be the object of his moſt particular and moſt ſcrupulous attention.

He haſtens, at the ſame time, to declare to him, conformably to the deſire expreſſed in that anſwer, that the rights of all the allies of Great-Britain, who ſhall not have provoked France by hoſtile meaſures, ſhall by him be no leſs religiouſly reſpected.

In making, or rather in renewing this declaration, the king of the French enjoys the double ſatisfaction of expreſſing the wiſh of a people, in whoſe eyes every war which is not rendered neceſſary by a due attention to its defence, is eſſentially unjuſt, and joining particularly in the wiſhes of his Britannic majeſty for the tranquillity of Europe, which would never be diſturbed if France and England would unite in order to preſerve it.

But this declaration of the king's, and the diſpoſitions of his Britannic majeſty, authorize him to hope that he will be induced eagerly to employ his good offices with thoſe allies to diſſuade them from granting, directly or indirectly, any aſſiſtance to the enemies of France, and to inſpire them with regard to its rights, that is to ſay, its independence, with thoſe attentions which France is ready to manifeſt on every occaſion for the rights of all powers who ſhall obſerve towards her the terms of a ſtrict neutrality.

The ſteps taken by the cabinet of Vienna amongſt the different powers, and principally amongſt the allies of his Britannic majeſty, in order to engage them in a quarrel which is foreign to them, are known to all Europe. If public report even were to be credited, its ſucceſſes at the court of Berlin prepare the way for others in the United Provinces. The threats held out to the different members of the Germanic body, to make them deviate from that wiſe neutrality which their political ſituation, and their deareſt intereſts, preſcribe to them; the arrangements taken with different ſovereigns of Italy, to determine them to act hoſtilely againſt France; and laſtly, the intrigues by which Ruſſia has juſt been induced to arm againſt the conſtitution of Poland; every thing points out freſh marks of a vaſt conſpiracy againſt free ſtates, which ſeems to threaten to precipitate Europe in univerſal war.

The conſequences of ſuch a conſpiracy, formed by the concurrence of powers who have been ſo long rivals, will be eaſily felt by his Britannic majeſty: the balance of Europe, the independence of the different powers, the general peace, every conſideration which at all times has fixed the attention of the Engliſh government, is at once expoſed and threatened.

The king of the French preſents theſe ſerious and important conſiderations to the ſolicitude and to the friendſhip of his Britannic majeſty. Strongly penetrated with the marks of intereſt and of affection which he has received from him; he invites him to ſeek, in his wiſdom, in his ſituation, and in his influence, means compatible with the independence of the French nation, to ſtop, whilſt it is ſtill time, the progreſs of that confederacy, which equally threatens the peace, the liberty, the happineſs of Europe, and above all to diſſuade from all acceſſion to this project thoſe of his allies whom it may be wiſhed to draw into it, or who may have been already drawn into it from fear, ſeduction, and different pretexts of the falſeſt as well as of the moſt odious policy.

The miniſter plenipotentiary
of France,
(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.
Portman-Square, June 18, 1792,
Fourth Year of French Liberty.

Tranſlation of a Note from Lord Grenville *to Monſieur* Chauvelin, July *8th*, 1792.

THE under-ſigned ſecretary of ſtate to his majeſty, has had the honour to lay before his majeſty the note which Monſieur Chauvelin ſent him the 18th of June.

The king always receives with the ſame ſenſibility from his moſt chriſtian majeſty the aſſurances of his friendſhip, and of his diſpoſition to maintain that happy harmony which ſubſiſts between the two empires. His majeſty will never refuſe to concur in the preſervation or re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the other powers of Europe, by ſuch means as are proper to produce that effect, and are compatible with his dignity, and with the principles which govern his conduct. But the ſame ſentiments which have determined him not to take a part in the internal affairs of France, ought equally to induce him to reſpect the rights and the independence of other ſovereigns, and eſpecially thoſe of the allies; and his majeſty has thought that, in the exiſting circumſtances of the war now begun, the intervention of his councils, or of his good offices, cannot be of uſe, unleſs they ſhould be deſired by all the parties intereſted.

Nothing then remains for the under ſigned, but to repeat to Monſieur Chauvelin the aſſurances of thoſe wiſhes which his majeſty forms for the return of tranquillity, of the intereſt which he will always take in the happineſs of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; and of the value which he attaches to his friendſhip, and to the confidence which he has ſhewn him.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Whitehall, 8th July 1792.

Memorial tranſmitted to his Excellency the Count de Bernſtorff, *Miniſter of State and of Conference to his* Daniſh *Majeſty, by the Miniſters* *of* Auſtria *and* Pruſſia, *in* June, 1792.

THE under-ſigned envoy extraordinary of his Hungarian majeſty, and the *charge d'affaires* of his Pruſſian majeſty, have the honour of communicating to the miniſter of his Daniſh majeſty the ſubſequent memorial, relative to the affairs of France; and to accompany it with ſome obſervations and requiſitions of their courts on that ſubject. There are at preſent at ſtake the common cauſe of all ſovereigns, and the common intereſts of all government. Hence ariſes the neceſſity of obligation for them all to interfere efficaciouſly, by the union of their means and forces; and their community of efforts requiring neceſſarily a previous concert, for the purpoſe of ſettling with thoſe courts the end of the concert, and the means of effecting it.

The end unites two different objects; the one embraces the injured rights of the princes of the empire, as well as thoſe of the Holy See, and the dangers with which the propagation of French principles threatens, more or leſs, ſooner or later, the other ſtates, if they do not proceed in preventing it: the other relates to the maintenance of the eſſential foundations of monarchical government in France. The firſt of theſe two objects is determined in every point by their declaration itſelf; the ſecond, on the contrary, does not yet admit of a poſitive determination.

All the other powers have by no means a right to require of a great and free power, ſuch as France, that every thing ſhould be entirely re-eſtabliſhed in its former ſtate, and that it ſhould, without alteration, adopt its former mode of government. It follows, that they ſhould and ought to acknowledge, as legal and conſtitutional, ſuch a modification in its ancient government, and its internal adminiſtration, as the king, enjoying full liberty, ſhall accept, in conjunction with the legitimate repreſentatives of the nation. Beſides theſe, ſeveral important conſiderations ſeem to preſcribe to the wiſdom and foreſight of theſe united courts, to diſplay and maintain invariably the greateſt moderation in that reſpect.

As to the means to be employed, they ought to be ſufficient, in order to render the ſucceſs infallible, proportioned to the reſpective forces of the united powers, and regulated upon one general plan of operations.

This concurrence of efforts may be effectuated either by troops, or by ſubſidies of money, proportioned in favour of the powers who ſhall undertake to furniſh a greater number of troops than the amount of their contingent. In both caſes it will be neceſſary to ſpecify the nature and quantum of thoſe means which they ſhall engage to furniſh, as well as the term at which theſe engagements ſhall be fulfilled. In order to proceed to the arrangement of theſe points, his apoſtolic majeſty and his Pruſſian majeſty propoſe the city of Vienna as the centre of the diſtances, with a view to accelerate and abridge the labour as much as poſſible.

But when, in conſequence of the concert, the aſſembling of the armies ſhall be effected from all quarters, and followed by a declaration of powers to the announcing their common intention, and the objects of which they demand the redreſs; and if then it be neceſſary to eſtabliſh a formal armed congreſs, it follows, that this congreſs cannot be held at Vienna, at too great diſtance from France, but in ſome other place that the united powers ſhall judge moſt convenient. Their apoſtolic and Pruſſian majeſties are ready on their part to concur in this manner with all the promptitude and energy poſſible, in ſupport of the common intereſts of all ſovereigns and governments.

The meaſures that the two courts have taken till now being purely defenſive, the active meaſures that they ſhall further purſue will depend upon the fulfilment of the propoſed concert, and conſequently the effective co-operations of the other courts.

It is in virtue of the preciſe orders, and in the name of their reſpective courts, that the underſigned have the honour of inviting the court of Denmark to this concert, and the engagement of furniſhing its miniſter at Vienna with inſtructions, and with full powers neceſſary for that purpoſe, demanding the eventual information of the means that it ſhall contribute to the common end, and the limited time in which it may be able to furniſh them.

As the preſent notorious extremity of the affairs of France, and, above all, the hoſtile invaſion of the territory of Germany, and of the circle of Bourgogne, which it is about to endow, renders urgent the neceſſity of accelerating, as much as poſſible, the execution of the combined meaſures, the underſigned flatter themſelves, that his excellency M. le Comte de Bernſtorff, will not delay to inform them of the intentions of his court relatively to its acceſſion to the propoſed concert.

(Signed) WEGUELIN.
BREUNNER.

The Anſwer of his Excellency the Count de Bernſtorff.

IT is with all the ſentiments worthy of the confidence of the ſovereigns, his friends and allies, and with an equal return of confidence, that his Daniſh majeſty has received and weighed the overtures of their apoſtolic and Pruſſian majeſties. He has there perceived the moſt juſt principles, and the moſt reſpectable ſolicitude for the happineſs and tranquillity of all Europe, evidently threatened by the French anarchy, and by the impoſing appearance of theſe deceitful but ſeducing forms. The propoſal of a perfect concert, to ſecure the general baſis of ſocial order, to ſet bounds to the attempts of thoſe who deſpiſe it, and to reſtore the French again to that proſperity which they once enjoyed, but which has been annihilated, cannot but flatter the king my maſter. If he cannot concur in it, it does not proceed from a difference of opinion or views; it is from reaſons founded on a different poſition, upon greater intereſts, upon duties which ought to form his law and his guide, and which do not permit him to liſten to his inclinations, or conſult his regrets. His majeſty will explain himſelf upon this head with truth, frankneſs, and the utmoſt cordiality. He knows that it is only thus that he can prove his eſteem and friendſhip to the ſovereigns to whom he is attached, and whoſe virtues he knows and reſpects.

It is no longer poſſible to be ſilent, or to maintain peace by a formidable concert. The French have already declared war. The general ſyſtem of the king is the moſt perfect and impartial neutrality, but he cannot entirely reconcile himſelf with one of the belligerent parties in oppoſition to the other, by a re-union which has only taken place ſince the war has in reality commenced. Denmark has acknowledged, as well as the deceaſed emperor and the king of Pruſſia, the conſtitution of France, ſince Louis XVIth has ſolemnly avowed it. There is not yet any direct and public proceeding. The ſovereigns who have not particular reaſons, are not yet called to ſupport or avenge the cauſe of him who believes himſelf free and ſatisfied with the limitation of royal authority, adopted without complaint. There is a wide difference between neutral and diſtant powers, who have not been provoked, and thoſe that have been offended, who ought to defend themſelves, who, by their engagements, their vicinity, their forces, their poſition in general, are under the neceſſity of taking a part, and beſides are able to perform a principal part without inconvenience. Their firſt object, and what is moſt worthy of them, is without doubt to preſerve their ſubjects from the dreadful infection which ſpreads itſelf as the moſt active and dangerous poiſon; his majeſty has prevented its progreſs by means adapted to the genius of his nation; he will not deviate from his ſyſtem.

Denmark is beſides a maritime and commercial power. It has then particular meaſures to purſue, eſpecially with reſpect to a nation with which it is connected by a treaty of commerce, and which requires the moſt careful management. Its proſperity does not ſolely depend upon peace, but likewiſe on the opinion that it ſhall not be interrupted, and that there exiſts nothing which can have this effect; and the king cannot permit himſelf to deſtroy this opinion.

His majeſty was unwilling to delay his anſwer under a pretext of conſulting with others, or waiting till he might be aſſured of the concert or univerſal concurrence of ſovereigns, ſo difficult to be foreſeen or imagined. He has wiſhed to prove how much he was impreſſed by the truths expreſſed with ſo much force and dignity in the memorials which have been communicated to him. He confeſſes and acknowledges alſo his obligation to concur, as a member of the empire, in all the common meaſures which ſhall be employed in its defence, and in the ſupport of its rights. His majeſty will be always equally ready to confeſs and to fulfil his duty.

From the department of foreign affairs, at Copenhagen, the 1ſt of June, 1792.

(Signed) BERNSTORFF.

Proclamation of the King, on the Events of the 20th of June.

June 22, 1792, 4th Year of Liberty.

THE French cannot learn, without grief, that a multitude, excited by ſome factious perſons, have come with arms in their hands into the habitation of the king; have drawn cannon even into the hall of the guards; have forced the doors of his apartment by hatchets: and there, audaciouſly abuſing the name of the nation, have endeavoured to obtain by force the ſanction which his majeſty had conſtitutionally refuſed to two decrees.

The king had to oppoſe to the menaces and to the inſults of the factious, only his conſcience and his love for the public welfare.

The king was ignorant at what limits they would ſtop; but he can aſſure the French nation, that violence, to whatever exceſs it may be carried, will never force his conſent to that which he thinks contrary to the public intereſt.

He expoſes, without regret, his tranquillity and his ſafety; he ſacriſices, without pain, even his enjoyment of the rights which belong to a throne, and which the law ſhould render ſacred with reſpect to him, as with reſpect to all citizens; but, as the hereditary repreſentative of the French nation, he has ſevere duties to fulfil; and if he can make the ſacrifice of his repoſe, he cannot alſo make that of his duties.

If thoſe, who would overthrow his monarchy, require one further crime, they may commit it. In the preſent ſtate of the criſis in which the king finds himſelf, he will give to all the conſtituted authorities an example of that courage and firmneſs, which alone can ſave the empire; in conſequence, he orders all the adminiſtrative bodies and municipalities to watch over the ſafety of perſons and properties.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Proclamation of the King of France *of the* 11*th of* July, 1792, 4*th Year of Liberty, concerning the Arret of the Council of the Department, dated the* 6th *of* July, *which ſuſpends provisionally the Mayor and the Procurator of the Commune of Paris.*

THE king has duly conſidered the arret of the council of the department, dated the 6th of the preſent month of July, concerning the events of the 20th of June, 1792, of which here follows a copy:

"The council of the department extraordinarily aſſembled on account of the events of the 20th of June laſt, and for deviſing means of re-eſtabliſhing order, have cauſed to be laid before them all the papers and letters which paſſed on that occaſion between the director of the department and the municipality of Paris, alſo the different reports, and the minutes of the proceedings of the directory, and all other evidence relative thereto.

From the examination of all theſe documents, it appears,

"That on the demand made to the general council of the commune on the 16th of June, to authorize the citizens of the fauxbourgs of Saint Antoine and Saint Martel to meet in arms on Wedneſday the 20th, for the purpoſe of proceeding to preſent to the national aſſembly and the king *petitions relative to the exiſting circumſtances,* the general council of the commune paſſed to the order of the day, becauſe the law proſcribes all armed meetings, unleſs when they make part of the public force legally called forth, and ordered their reſolution on that ſubject to be ſent to the directory of the department, and the department of police, and communicated to the municipal body.

"That the mayor of Paris was informed, at leaſt from that time, that Paris was threatened with an armed meeting on the twentieth, as the perſons ſtiling themſelves citizens of the fauxbourgs of Saint Antoine and Saint Martel, whoſe demand had been rejected by the general council of the commune, had openly declared that that refuſal ſhould not prevent their aſſembling in arms.

"That the mayor of Paris gave

to the directory of the department no information of the projected meeting, neither did he tranſmit to the directory, until his letter of the *eighteenth*, the reſolution taken by the council general on the *ſixteenth*.

"That, at the aſſembly of the municipal body on the *eighteenth*, the mayor of Paris gave to that aſſembly no information of the ſaid projected meeting, nor even communicated the reſolution of the general council of the commune.

"That on the *nineteenth* the directory paſſed a reſolution, importing, "that the mayor, the municipality, "and the commander in chief, ſhould "be adviſed to take, without delay, "all the meaſures reſpectively pertaining to them for preventing all "meetings which might wound the "law, and to make all the neceſſary diſpoſitions of the public force "for reſtraining and ſuppreſſing the "diſturbers of the public tranquillity."

"That this reſolution was paſſed at three o'clock in the afternoon, in preſence of the mayor and municipal officers, adminiſtrators of police, whom the directory had ſummoned in the morning in order, to concert means of preventing the meeting of the people, or ſtopping it in the beginning.

"That the mayor of Paris, though acquainted with the reſolution of the directory, did not give to the commander in chief the orders neceſſary in conſequence of that reſolution.

"That at midnight the mayor of Paris and the adminiſtrators of police tranſmitted to the directory a letter, by which, inſtead of executing the law, and conforming to the reſolution of the directory, they propoſed to legalize the meeting of the people, by authorizing the battalions to march, and to unite under their ſtandards, and under the orders of their commanders, all armed citizens, whatever might be their arms.

"That this meaſure was at once illegal, diſgraceful to the national guard, and dangerous in itſelf.

"*Illegal,* becauſe none could be admitted under the ſtandard of the national guard but citizens enrolled for the ſervice, poſſeſſing the qualifications required by the law.

"*Diſgraceful to the national guard,* becauſe it propoſed to unite under their ſtandard, and to aſſociate with the ſoldiers of the law, men of whom the greater part were unknown and vagabonds, and all of them already in a ſtate of open rebellion, having armed not only without requiſition, but even in contempt of the prohibition of the magiſtrates; and among whom, as the event has ſhewn, exiſted both robbers and aſſaſſins.

"*Dangerous* in a double reſpect. *Firſt,* becauſe the gathering together of men without ſubordination and without diſcipline, armed with pitchforks, pikes, cudgels, and ſuch other weapons, and mixed with women and children, could not fail to occaſion diſorder among the ranks of the national guard, and thus prevent the public force from moving, and performing thoſe evolutions which they might be commanded to make. *Secondly,* that if the mob, thus evidently in rebellion, ſhould in its march proceed to exceſſes, the mixture of the national guard with that ſeditious troop would hold in a ſtate of inactivity the oppoſing force which it might be indiſpenſably neceſſary to bring againſt them; becauſe, if they were to come to action, it would be one body of national guards acting againſt another.

"That the directory aſſembling immediately to determine on this propoſition, repelled it, by declaring that *no compromiſe can be made with the law*; and that the mayor of Paris, having inſiſted on the point in another letter, was anſwered, at five o'clock in the morning, that *the directory perſiſted in its reſolution.*

"That nevertheleſs the mayor of Paris made not any of thoſe diſpoſitions of the public force neceſſary for executing the law; and that inſtead of employing means for diſperſing the mob which was already formed, he gave it time to increaſe.

"That the mayor of Paris having aſſembled the municipal body at nine o'clock in the morning, the propoſition made during the preceding night to the directory, and by them rejected, was renewed and adopted without any oppoſition on the part of the mayor.

"That the municipal body, by their arret, *charged the general commander in chief of the national guard to give immediate orders for aſſembling under the ſtandards, citizens with every kind of uniform, and every kind of arms, who ſhould march, ſo united, under the command of the battalion officers*; and that at half an hour paſt twelve o'clock the commander in chief, who had been detained till then in the common hall, received this arret as an order to be executed.

"That this meaſure was not only contrary to law and to the reſolution of the directory, but inexecutable at that moment, becauſe in the firſt place, the national guard was not yet commanded forth, and in the other, the mob was already formed and in motion.

"That the mayor of Paris paid no regard to thoſe dangers to which this ſeditious aſſemblage, armed in contempt of the law, expoſed the capital.

"That ſo little did he know the true ſtate of the inſurrection, that according to his report, printed and diſtributed, it was announced to him at the common hall, where he remained till half an hour after two, *that the ſpectacle was fine, that property was reſpected*: that in conſequence he returned to the mayoralty *in full tranquillity and ſecurity*. And yet at that moment the gates of the gardens of the Thuilleries had been already forced.

"That the mayor of Paris did not appear at the caſtle of the Thuilleries until more than two hours after the gate called the *Port Royal* had been forced, and the inſurgents ſpread through the courts and the apartments.

"That the procurator of the commune, who was preſent at the ſeſſion held by the municipal body on the *eighteenth*, had, like the mayor, kept ſilence reſpecting the reſolution paſſed by the general council of the commune on the *ſixteenth of June*, and propoſed nothing tending to fulfil the views of that reſolution.

"That being preſent alſo at the ſeſſion of the municipal body held on the 20th of June, he did not propoſe the execution of the reſolution paſſed by the directory on the preceding evening, with reſpect to which the municipal body contented themſelves with ordering it to be lodged in the office of the ſecretary, but that on the contrary, he (the procurator) ſupported by his arguments the propoſition then made and reſolved on;—namely, to legalize the aſſembling of the mob, by uniting them with the national guards.

"That the procurator of the commune did not repair, as he ought to have done, to the place where the inſurgents were aſſembled, and to the caſtle of the Thuilleries; that he only paſſed an hour in the evening in the garden of the Thuilleries, as a private perſon, and without his ſcarf.

"That other municipal officers are accuſed of having corrupted or drawn away the guard which defended the entrance of the Carouſal by the new wicket, and having by that means facilitated the entrance of the inſurgents into the caſtle, but that theſe acts are denied or contradicted by their reports.

"That M. Santerre, commander of the battalion of Foundlings, marched at the head of his battalion amongſt the inſurgents without legal requiſition. That he is accuſed of having fomented and encouraged the mob; and that other acts ſeriouſly important are imputed to him. That it is proved that the other commanders, who with part of their battalions marched with the mob, did it by conſtraint, and to avoid ill conſequences.

"In fine, that the lieutenant of artillery of the battalion of Val-de-Grace, after having reſiſted the orders of his commander, and ſeparated himſelf from his battalion, pointed his cannon againſt the gate called the *Port Royal*, threw himſelf into the court as ſoon as the gate was opened, and cauſed one of the guns to be drawn into the third room of the king's apartment on the ground floor.

"Having ſeen the ninth article of the law of the 27th of March, 1791, concerning the organization of the adminiſtrative bodies, which imports "that no directory of a diſ-"trict, *no municipality* may, under "pain of ſuſpenſion, publiſh, cauſe "to be poſted up, or perſiſt in cauſ-"ing the execution of any arret "contrary to the arret of the de-"partment or of the diſtrict, or be "wanting in the ſubordination "preſcribed by the law towards the "ſuperior adminiſtration."

"Having ſeen the inſtruction, ſanctioned in the month of Auguſt, 1790, concerning alſo adminiſtrative bodies, which authorizes the ſuſpenſion of municipal officers who cannot be permitted to exerciſe their functions without danger: The 28th article of the law of the 3d of Auguſt, 1791, relative to the employing of the public force againſt mobs, which deſignates *the procurator of the commune* as the perſon among the civil or municipal officers obliged to be the firſt in preſenting himſelf at the place where the mob is aſſembled: The law of the 2d of November, 1791, relative to the ſervice of the public force at Paris, which in caſe of extraordinary ſervice charges the head of the municipality to give to the general commanding the national guard ſuch orders *as the exiſting circumſtances ſhall require*, and by which alſo the head of the municipality is authorized, when there ſhall be any ſudden occaſion for employing the public force, to require immediately of the commanders of the troops of the line, and of the national cavalry, the concurrence of the troops under their command—

"Conſidering, in conſequence, that the mayor and the procurator of the commune are oppoſers of the laws, that they come within the caſes provided againſt by the 6th article of the law of the 27th of March, 1791, and by the inſtruction ſanctioned in the month of Auguſt, 1790—

"Having alſo ſeen the general

articles, making the ſequel to the law of the 14th of October, 1791, relative to the organization of the national guard, which makes all commanders in chief and general officers, commanders of battalions, and captains and officers of companies, *reſponſible to the nation for any abuſe they may make of the public force*; and which alſo charges the adminiſtrations and directories of departments to give notice to the legiſlative bodies of all acts of oppoſition which ſhall tend to compromiſe the ſafety or tranquillity of the citizens:—

"Upon theſe conſiderations THE COUNCIL, deliberating upon the whole, and having heard the procurator-general-ſyndic, decree as follows: That the mayor and procurator of the commune are proviſionally ſuſpended from their functions.

"The general council of the commune, in conſequence of the 32d article of title 1ſt of the municipal code of the city of Paris, ſhall name a municipal officer, who ſhall exerciſe, *ad interim*, the functions of mayor; and for that purpoſe they ſhall be immediately convened by the ſenior ſubſtitute of the procurator of the commune, who ſhall exerciſe, *ad interim*, according to the 43d article of title the 1ſt of the municipal code, the functions of procurator of the commune.

"The council ſhall ſend to the tribunals the mayor of Paris, the procurator of the commune, and ſuch of the municipal officers as are accuſed of having ſuborned or drawn away the guards from the different poſts in the Thuilleries; for which purpoſe the minutes of proceedings, and other pieces relative to them, ſhall be ſent to the juſtices of peace of the ſection of the Thuilleries.

"The general council of the commune ſhall alſo decree, that the procureur-general-ſyndic denounce the acts charged upon M. Santerre, commander of a battalion, and likewiſe the lieutenant of artillery of the battalion of Val-de-Grace, and remit in like manner the pieces which concern them.

"It is recommended expreſsly to the municipality to prevent and diſperſe, by every legal means, all ſeditious meetings.

"And the council, in execution of the law of the 14th of October laſt, relative to the organization of the national guard, denounce to the legiſlative body the acts of oppoſition to this law.

"1ſt. The admitting under the ſtandard of the national guard perſons not regiſtered, and without any previous verification of their being qualified even to be French citizens.

"2d. The marching ſeveral portions of the public force without legal requiſition.

"3d. The abuſe of the national arms, which have been directed and employed againſt the ſafety of the palace where the king reſides.

"It is further decreed that the preſent decree ſhall be addreſſed without delay to the miniſter of the home department, that it may be preſented to the king, and tranſmitted to the legiſlative body.

"That it ſhall alſo be notified without delay to the municipal body, and to the general council of the commune of Paris, and likewiſe to the general commander in chief of the Pariſian national guard."

Done in the council of the department,

partment, the ſixth of July, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two, the fourth year of liberty.

(Signed)
La Rochefoucauld,
preſident.
Blondel,
ſecretary.

The king having likewiſe duly conſidered the law of the 27th of March, 1791, concerning the organization of the adminiſtrative bodies, which imports, in article the 9th, “that no directory of a diſtrict, no municipality may, *under pain of ſuſpenſion*, publiſh, cauſe to be poſted up, *or perſiſt in cauſing the execution of any arret contrary to the arret of the department or of the diſtrict*, or be wanting in the ſubordination preſcribed by the law towards the ſuperior adminiſtration:”

The king having conſidered the inſtruction ſanctioned in the month of Auguſt, 1790, which authorizes the ſuſpenſion of municipal officers *who cannot be permitted to exerciſe their functions without danger:*

The king having alſo conſidered the arret of the general council of the commune of Paris, of Saturday the 16th of June, which “on the demand of many citizens of the ſection of *Quinze-vingts* and of the *Gobelins*, tending to authorize the citizens of the fauxbourgs of *Saint Antoine* and *Saint Martel* to reaſſume the habits which they had borne in 1789, and alſo their arms, on the following Wedneſday, on which day they propoſed to preſent to the national aſſembly and to the king *petitions relative to the exiſting circumſtances*, and to plant the tree of liberty on the terrace of the Fueillans, in memory of the ſeſſion at the tennis-court. After attending to this demand, and hearing the procurator of the commune, the general council paſſed to the order of the day, becauſe that the law proſcribes all armed meetings, unleſs when they make part of the public force legally called forth, and ordered their reſolution on the ſubject to be ſent to the directory of the department, and the department of police, and communicated to the municipal body:”

Having alſo conſidered the arret of the directory of the department of the 19th of June, *paſſed in preſence of the mayor; and after having heard him on the ſubject*, importing, “that being informed by many reports of the reaſon there is to fear that ill-diſpoſed perſons will promote armed meetings, under pretence of preſenting petitions; and conſidering, that the law forbids the citizens to meet armed without previous requiſition; that the municipal code of Paris, by an arrangement which is adverted to in the decree of the municipality of the 11th of February laſt, by which *citizens are permitted to aſſemble without arms* for preparing addreſſes and petitions, but expreſsly on condition that they ſhall depute no more than twenty citizens to preſent the ſaid addreſſes or petitions; but illegally aſſembling, and for the purpoſe of troubling the public peace, *after the general council ſhall have refuſed their aſſent, and aſſigned the reaſons of ſuch refuſal*, would be an outrage to the municipal power, and armed petitioners an offence to the majeſty of the repreſentatives of the people. It is ordered "therefore, that the mayor, the "municipality, and the commander "in chief ſhall be apprized, that "they may take without delay all "the meaſures at their diſpoſal "*for hindering all aſſemblings which* "*may wound the law*, and make all "thoſe diſpoſitions of the public "force which may be neceſſary for "preventing and repreſſing the diſ"turbers of the public repoſe:"

Having conſidered likewiſe the letter addreſſed on the night of the ſame day, by the mayor of Paris and the adminiſtrators of the police, to the directory of the department, in which they propoſe "to legalize "the meeting of the people by au"thorizing the battalions to march, "and to unite under their ſtandards, "and under the orders of their "commanders, all armed citizens, "whatever might be their arms;" and alſo the reply of the directory, which "declares that no compro"miſe can be made with the law, "*which they have ſworn to execute.*" Alſo a ſecond letter from the mayor of Paris, in which he inſiſts on the ſame point. Alſo a poſtſcript at the end of the letter of the department, dated at five o'clock in the morning of the 20th of June, in which "the "department *perſiſts in its reſolu*"*tion*:"

The king having ſtill further conſidered the arret of the municipal body, of the 20th of June, which "*upon the information given by the* "*mayor*, that the citizens were aſ"ſembling in arms in the fauxbourg "Saint Antoine, and that they were "preparing to proceed to the na"tional aſſembly and to the king, *and* "*after hearing the procurator of the* "*commune*, charged the general com"mander in chief of the national "guard to give immediate orders "for aſſembling under the ſtandards "citizens with every kind of uni"form, and every kind of arms; "who ſhould march, ſo united, un"der the command of the battalion "officers:"

And finally, having conſidered the account given by the mayor of Paris, to the general council of the commune, in the ſeſſion of the 23d of June, printed by order of the general council, and in which the mayor agrees, (p. 2) "That the ar"ret of the directory of the 19th of "June was prepared in his preſence, "and from his obſervations, by the "procureur-general-ſyndic:"

The king, profoundly convinced that, impaſſive as the law, of which he is the principal organ (and to the ſevere execution of which the national aſſembly has called him, by refuſing to pronounce ſpecially on this affair, as the king propoſed in his letter of the 7th of July) his majeſty muſt not open his heart to any private ſentiment;

Without attending to the conſequences which his perſonal ſafety might have ſuffered by the diſobedience ſhewn to the arrets of the directory of the department, and obſerving in it only the infraction of the law, the contempt of legitimate authority, the violation, by open force, of the dwelling of one of the conſtituted authorities, the majeſty of the conſtitutional king outraged, and above all, the dangers to which the people found themſelves expoſed by an armed multitude, which might with eaſe have been prevented from aſſembling; fixing eſpecially his attention on the arrangements in the arret of the department relative to the proviſional ſuſpenſion of the mayor and the procurator of the commune, which, according to the words of the conſtitution, is ſubmitted to be examined and confirmed by the king:

His majeſty therefore, conſidering, 1ſt. That the rigorous execution of the law can alone reſtore to the empire peace and good order;

2dly, That the depoſitories of authority ought to be the firſt to give examples of obedience and ſubordination towards ſuperior authorities, that ſo they might be entitled to require it towards themſelves;

3dly, That the laws forbid all armed meetings, unleſs when they make part of the public force legally required;

4thly, That at the period of the 19th of June, the precautions directed by the department would have been ſufficient for preventing the "armed meeting prohibited by "the law:"

5thly, That, bound equally by their own arrets, which they had paſſed and notified to the mayor, as by their different anſwers, and by the directions of the 9th article of the law of the 27th of March 1791, which "denounces the pain of ſuſ-"penſion againſt all municipal of-"ficers *who ſhall perſiſt in cauſing the* "*execution of any arrets contrary to* "*the arrets of the department*:" And in fine by the inſtructions ſanctioned in the month of Auguſt 1790, *which authoriſes the ſuſpenſion of thoſe municipal officers who cannot be permitted to exerciſe their functions without danger*; the department cannot, without a breach of duty, compromiſe with the law of which they are the depoſitaries;

6thly, That the mayor of Paris and the procurator of the commune are violators of the law of the 27th of March 1791, by having promoted, concurred in making, and cauſed to be executed; an arret of the municipal body, entirely contrary to an arret of the directory of the department: That they have failed in their duty, *in not giving information to the municipal body, as the general council of the commune had ordered, of the arret of the ſaid general council of the 16th of June, which imported that* "on the demand for authorizing a "body of armed petitioners, they "had paſſed to the order of the day, "becauſe the law proſcribes all armed "meetings, unleſs when they make "part of the public force legally "required;" *in not requiring the execution of the arret of the directory of the department, dated the 19th of June*, with reſpect to which they contented themſelves with ordering it to be tranſcribed and depoſited in the office of the ſecretary; *and in cauſing the execution of the arret of the municipal body, preciſely contrary to the arrets of the directory of the department, and of the general council*:

Conſidering, in fine, that the ſupreme chief of the adminiſtration is ſtrictly obliged to maintain the ſubordination of the conſtituted powers, and to aſſure the obſervation of the laws, which he has ſworn to execute:

The king, in conformance to the 9th article of the law of the 27th of March 1791, to the inſtruction ſanctioned in the month of Auguſt 1790, and conſequently to the 6th article of the 2d ſection of the 4th chapter of the conſtitutional act, which imports, "That in caſe of the diſ-"obedience of the ſub-adminiſtra-"tors, or if they ſhould compro-"miſe by their acts the public ſafety "and tranquillity; the departments "may ſuſpend them from their "functions, *on condition that they in-*

"*form*

" *form the king thereof,* who may
" either remove or confirm the ſuſ-
" penſion:"

For confirming and to confirm the arret of the council of the department of Paris, of the 6th of this preſent month of July, it is ordered that this arret ſhall be executed according to its form and tenor, and that it be ſent without delay to the directory of the department which is to ſuperintend its execution.

Ordered, that in execution of the 8th article of the ſame ſection of the conſtitutional act, the legiſlature ſhall be acquainted to-morrow with its having been, as it now is, confirmed.

Done in the council of ſtate, held at Paris on the 12th of July, 1792, the 4th year of liberty.

(Signed)
LOUIS.
Counter-ſigned DE JOLY.

*** To this proclamation, beſides the report of M. Rhæderer, the procureur-general-ſyndic of the department, are annexed depoſitions, declarations, or official reports of the following perſons, relative to the events of the 20th of June 1792.

MM. Bonnaud *and* Savin, *commandants of the battalion of Ste. Marguerite.*
Perree, *commander in chief of the battalion of Petits Peres, and ſix others of the ſame battalion.*
Louis Francis Bidault, jun. *grenadier of the battalion of St. Opportune.*
Sieur Lecroſnier, - *Do. of Do.*
Sr. Goſſe, - - - *Do. of Do.*
M. Guiboult, - - *Do. of Do.*
M. de Romainvilliers, *a general officer.*
M. Aclocq, *commander of the twelfth legion.*
M. Jaladon, *an officer of the 4th battalion of the 1ſt legion.*
M. Terrier, *miniſter of the interior.*
M. Lagarde, *adjutant general of the 4th legion.*
M. Carle, *firſt lieutenant colonel of the 30th diviſion.*
M. Maſerey, *active citizen.*
M. A. J. Auguſtus Rulhiere, *colonel of the 29th diviſion of national gendarmerie.*
P. Moiteaux, *gendarme of Do.*
M. J. B. L. F. Laſſus, *firſt captain of Do.*
M. Louis Marotte, *adjutant of Do.*
Jean Foreſt, *gendarme of Do.*
M. de la Cheſnaye, *commander of the 6th legion of the Pariſian national guard.*
M. Le Clerc, *adjutant general of the 1ſt legion of Do.*
M. de Romainvilliers; *2d declaration.*
Pierre Joſeph Bron, *porter of the Thuilleries.*
Sieur Deſmouſſeaux.
M. Mandat, *commander of the 4th legion.*
M. St. Prix, *commander in chief of the battalion of the Section of Vâl-de-Grace.*
M. Pinon, *chief of the 5th legion.*
—— Fontaine, *volunteer of the 8th battalion of the 2d legion.*
Baptiſte-Marie-Louis Lareyne, *volunteer of the battalion of the Iſle of St. Louis.*
J. Baptiſte Turot, *grenadier volunteer of the battalion of Petit St. Antoine.*
P. Muſſey, *ſecond in command of the 4th battalion of Do.*
J. Cuvillier, *corporal of grenadiers of Do.*
F. M. Chauvreau, *fuſileer of Do.*
Florent Corps, *Do. of Do.*
Vincent Balin, *corporal of fuſileers of Do.*
J. Q. Guffroy, *fuſileer of Do.*
F. Michel Le Grand, *active citizen of Paris.*

Counter Declaration of the Court of Vienna *againſt* France.

THE reſult confirms what the court of Vienna has foreſeen and foreboded, that thoſe who actually reign in France, being willing firſt to provoke the nation to arm, and then to a rupture with the late emperor, after having availed themſelves of the aſſemblies in the ſtates of Treves for pretences for the firſt-mentioned, ſought pretences for a war in the anſwers which they compelled his imperial majeſty to give. It was in vain that the court of Vienna attempted to divert the effects of their inimical views, by unmaſking, through repeated elucidations, the unlawfulneſs of all theſe accounts which ſucceſſively followed one another, in proportion as their deceitfulneſs was detected. Theſe very pretences, theſe very endeavours of the court of Vienna for preventing a rupture, are alledged as motives for the war which is declared againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia in the name of his moſt chriſtian majeſty and the French nation.

The firſt of theſe motives, is the public protection granted to the French emigrants. When this protection was alledged, in order to give an appearance to the preparations of France in December laſt, it was only inſomuch as it extended to ſome ſtates of the empire, to the armed aſſemblies of the emigrants, and far from attributing theſe grievances to the court of Vienna, its conduct had acquired, in reſpect, public thanks on the part of the French government. The preſent change of a motive for thanks into a motive for an attack, offers ſo great a contraſt, that it ſaves the trouble of making any further obſervations.

The court of Vienna even uſed its beſt endeavours for cauſing the other German princes, neighbours of France, to adopt a ſimilar behaviour. By this means, the apparent motives of its menacing preparations diſappeared. In order to continue them, a freſh pretence of grievance and reproach was required. It was found in the exiſtence of a concert between the late emperor and ſeveral powers, for maintaining the public tranquillity and honour of the crowns.

The real circumſtances of that concert were completely known to all Europe. All the world knew that it was cauſed through the violences offered to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, followed by the impriſonment of that monarch; that, on the firſt hopes of his having recovered the eſſential degree of liberty, ſafety, and command which is requiſite for putting the ſeal of legality on the conſtitutional laws of a monarchical ſtate, the ſaid concert, from an active one, ſuch as it was, was, through the repreſentation of the court of Vienna, changed into a paſſive one, which was no longer to be put into activity by meaſures, unleſs France ſhould fall again into the ſame ſtate of diſorder and popular violence, which, according to the notions of all ſtates from time immemorial, repreſent a ſtate of anarchy. The moderarion of the powers that formed this concert, was thus conformable to the equity of their principles. The moſt ſimple ideas of a monarchical government entitled them to an union for aſſiſting the lawful king of France, and ſecuring from its utter ruin a form of government, whoſe baſis being acknowledged and confirmed as inviolable by the new conſtitution itſelf, could not be hurt without the event of a manifeſt inſurrection taking place.

On the other hand, theſe powers were obliged, for their own ſafety, to oppoſe the introduction of a ſyſtem of anarchy to propagate the pernicious principles of which, in all the ſtates of Europe, the moſt dangerous means were then employing. In ſhort, the maintenance of public tranquillity required their eventual union, in caſe one or other of them ſhould be attacked; and it was chiefly relative to theſe laſt motives of the concert of powers, that the court of Vienna, being attentive with good reaſon to the French warlike preparations and threats of an invaſion, thought proper to remind France of the exiſtence of ſuch concert; in order to exhort it not to provoke all the ſovereign foreign princes, by violences againſt one or the other of them.

Nothing, therefore, is plainer than the injuſtice of the reproach of attacking the independency and ſafety of the French nation; whereby this concert of the moſt conſiderable powers of Europe was injured, and which they do not fear of producing anew, although the very ſhade of miſunderſtanding and error concerning the nature of this concert has been diſperſed by the declarations of the court of Vienna. It mentioned in it the very terms of the remonſtrances which were determined by its actual opening in the month of July, 1791, and the eventual adjournment till the month of November following.

From this it appeared in the moſt convincing manner that it merely depended on thoſe who at preſent reign over France, to make this concert ceaſe immediately, by reſpecting the tranquillity and the rights of other powers, and to guarantee the eſſential baſis of the French monarchical form of government againſt the infringements of violence and anarchy. Every cauſe of uneaſineſs would have ceaſed, if ſuch diſpoſitions had prevailed in France; and the whole conduct of the court of Vienna, far from juſtifying any blame of its views, would have evinced its ingenuouſneſs and moderation.

Upon the invitation of the French miniſtry, it had entirely withdrawn from the ſaid declaration the claims of the German princes having dominions in Alſace. And if the deceaſed ſovereign of Auſtria was unable to avoid fulfilling his duties as emperor in this reſpect, nothing in the world ſhewed that he ſhould prevent any conciliatory method which was indeed ſufficient and compatible with the conſtitution of the empire, on objects in which Auſtria never was concerned itſelf in a direct manner, and for which reaſon it is the more unjuſt, actually to draw from this a particular motive for a war againſt her, whereas her preſent ſovereign has no greater concern in it than the other members of the German body.

On the other hand, the court of Vienna has given the cleareſt proofs of the good faith of its diſpoſitions, by refraining from accompanying its declarations by armaments adequate to the greatneſs of thoſe that France ſupported her queſtions withal; whilſt the latter aſſembled 130,000 men on the frontiers of the Low Countries and Germany, the court of Vienna did not ſend a battalion more to its Belgian troops, whoſe reinforcements, ever ſince 1790, have generally not exceeded 3 or 4000 men. All its meaſures were confined to augment its interior Auſtrian troops with 4000 men, who, by this reinforcement, were carried to 10,000 men: and it was not till after the 14th of April that diſpoſitions were made for ſending more troops, when the offenſive interpretation which the well-meaning declarations of the court of Vienna met with, and the events which ſoon after happened in France, left no more doubt of the ſpeedy exploſion of an attack.

The propoſal reciprocally to diſarm, delivered on the 11th of March, by the French ambaſſador at Vienna, at a time when France alone had armed for a war, accompanied with a demand of quitting the concert of powers, in a moment when the poſition of that kingdom daily gave more and more uneaſineſs, could not in any reſpect be conſidered otherways than as an ultimate pretence for engaging the French nation in this attack, to which all the preceding ſteps had led, and the execution of which happened almoſt at the ſame period when the ambaſſador delivered the declaration of war.

Thus none of the grievances accumulated in the French declaration of war, without a ſingle proof, have the leaſt appearance of foundation and good faith, and of which the nullity was not already proved; except, indeed, the new grievance which is added to it, as an overplus of injuſtice, by upbraiding the court of Vienna with the hopes it had entertained that the reaſon, the honour, and equity of the more ſound and greater part of the nation would ultimately triumph, and the pains the court of Vienna had taken to diſpel prejudices unjuſtly excited, concerning the nature of the concert.

The complaints alledged againſt the court of Vienna, not only do not furniſh the ſmalleſt apparent motive for an attack, but it is evident that they are ſo many objects of provocation and aggreſſion committed by thoſe who reign in France.

They preſume to blame the court of Vienna for the protection it has refuſed at home, and cauſed to be denied elſewhere to the enterprizes and affairs of the French emigrants; they who did protect and foment the conſpiracies for a rebellion in the Auſtrian Netherlands! Their confeſſions and public meaſures ſince the attack prove, that in the hope of ſucceeding in theſe treacherous actions, and practices of the ſame kind, tending to ſeduce the faithful Auſtrian troops, their chief confidence was placed.

It is they who excited a diſpute between France and the German empire, by depriving ſeveral German princes of rights and enjoyments aſſured by a poſſeſſion of a century and a half, grounded on ſolemn treaties. Their excuſe againſt the obligatory force of theſe treaties, derived from a pretended inconſiſtency with later and ſpontaneous laws of one of the contracting parties, is grounded on a principle that overthrows all treaties. And that decree of the 14th of January, by which the national aſſembly, ſetting up at the ſame time for judge and party, has aſſumed the power of paſſing an arbitrary ſentence on the manner and ſufficiency of a diſpoſition which ought to be free among independent ſtates, and is nothing elſe but one more attempt on the public right of nations.

They, who for ſix months paſt were occupied in making preparations for war and attack on the frontiers of the Auſtrian Netherlands and Germany, complain of the very moderate precaution of the court of Vienna for the ſafety of provinces that are upwards of 200 leagues diſtant from the centre of its dominions.

They pretend that the ſovereignty of the French nation is injured by the eſtabliſhment of a concert, whoſe firſt view has been to ſave the only lawful ſovereign of France, whilſt they, in the mean while, daily attack and provoke all the ſovereigns of Europe in the moſt inconſiderate manner, and with the bittereſt invectives. In ſhort, they diſpute with the crowns the participation and the right of interfering in, or being concerned about the conſequences of their new conſtitution, whilſt they, with all their might, endeavour to ſubvert all governments by ſpreading all over Europe the bane of ſeduction and inſurrection.

The king of Hungary and Bohemia is thus entitled to call in the ſupport of all Europe, in a cauſe that concerns the honour and ſafety of all governments; and he arraigns the abettors of ſo unjuſt and heinous an attack before the tribunal of the univerſe and poſterity, as being anſwerable for all the evils that are the unavoidable conſequences of war.

Vienna, July 5, 1792.

Conciſe Expoſition of the Reaſons which have determined his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia *to take up Arms againſt* France.

HIS Pruſſian majeſty flatters himſelf, that the powers of Europe, and the public in general, did not wait for this expoſition to fix their opinion on the juſtice of the cauſe they are going to defend.

In fact, unleſs from a willingneſs to miſconceive the obligations which the king's engagements and his political relations impoſe on him; to pervert the beſt eſtabliſhed facts, and ſhut their eyes on the conduct of the preſent government of France; there is undoubtedly no perſon who can deny that the warlike meaſures on which his majeſty has determined with regret, are the natural conſequences of the violent reſolutions which the fury of the dominant party has cauſed to be adopted, the fatal conſequences of which it was eaſy to foreſee.

Not content with having openly violated, by the notorious ſuppreſſion of the rights and poſſeſſions of the German princes in Alſace and Lorraine, the treaties which unite France to the Germanic empire; with having given courſe to principles ſubverſive of all ſocial ſubordination, and therefore of the repoſe and felicity of nations, and endeavouring to ſpread in other countries, by the propagation of theſe principles, the germs of that licentiouſneſs and anarchy which have overthrown France; with having tolerated, received, and ſold, even the moſt outrageous writings and ſpeeches againſt the ſacred perſons and legal authority of ſovereigns; thoſe who have ſeized the reins of the French adminiſtration have, at length, filled the meaſure of their guilt by declaring an unjuſt war againſt his majeſty the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and have immediately followed this declaration with effective hoſtilities committed againſt the Belgic provinces of this monarch.

The German empire, of which the Auſtrian Pays Bas is part, as the circle of Bourgogne, is neceſſarily found included in this aggreſſion. But other facts ſtill but too much juſtify the fear of hoſtile invaſions, which the menacing preparations of the French on the frontiers have for a long time given birth to in Germany. The territories of the biſhop of Bâle, an inconteſtible part of the empire, have been occupied by a detachment of the French army, and are remaining in its power, and at its diſcretion.

Incurſions of the troops of the ſame nation, or of rebel corps aſſembled under their auſpices, have laid waſte the country of Liege. It is to be foreſeen with certainty, that, as ſoon as the conveniencies of war appear to adviſe them, the other provinces of Germany will experience the ſame effects; and it ſuffices to know their local poſition, to feel for the imminent danger to which they are conſtantly expoſed.

It would be ſuperfluous to enter into a detail of the facts which are now alledged. They are notorious, and the whole empire has been, and is ſtill, daily witneſſes thereof.

It will alſo equally be diſpenſed with to diſcuſs here the evident injuſtice of the aggreſſion of the French.

If it were poſſible that any doubts could remain on this ſubject in the mind of any perſon whatever, they would be entirely removed by weighing with impartiality the unanſwerable arguments contained on this point in the diplomatic pieces publiſhed by the cabinet of Vienna.

His Pruſſian majeſty has with pleaſure entertained hopes, that at length, after ſo many agitations and inconſequential proceedings, the perſons who direct the French adminiſtration would return back to the principles of moderation and wiſdom, and thereby avoid the extremities to which things are unfortunately come. It was with this ſalutary view, that at the commencement of the military preparations of France on the frontiers, founded on the aſylum granted by ſome ſtates to the French emigrants, that he charged Comte de Goltz, his miniſter at Paris, to declare to the miniſtry of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, (as the *charge des affaires* of his majeſty, the then reigning emperor had alſo orders to do), ‘that he looked upon an invaſion of French troops on the territories of the German empire as a declaration of war, and would oppoſe it with all his forces.’

The ſame miniſter, after receiving orders, found the *charge des affaires* of his majeſty the emperor, in a number of repreſentations, making known in the moſt expreſs manner, that the king was invariably purſuing the ſame line with his apoſtolic majeſty reſpecting the affairs of France. The event has ſhewn how little the hope of the king, as to the effect he promiſed from theſe energetic declarations, was well founded; but at leaſt the party whoſe furious determinations have brought on hoſtilities, can never have any pretence on account of their ignorance of his majeſty's intentions. And it is particularly the general principles publicly manifeſted by the two national aſſemblies—principles which attack all governments, and endeavour to ſhake them in their baſis, that France has to blame for the effuſion of human blood, and the evils which preſent circumſtances have already brought, and may in future bring upon her.

United with his apoſtolic majeſty by the ties of a cloſe and defenſive alliance, his Pruſſian majeſty cannot act contrary to his engagements, and remain a quiet ſpectator of the war declared againſt this ſovereign. He has not then heſitated to recal his miniſter from Paris, and to act with vigour in defence of his ally.

As a principal member of the Germanic corps, he is further obligated by his relations in this quality to march to the ſuccour of his co-eſtates againſt the attacks they have already experienced, and with which they are daily threatened. It is thus, under the double connection of ally of his apoſtolic majeſty, and a powerful ſtate of the empire, that his majeſty takes up arms; and it is the defence of the ſtates of this monarch and of Germany which forms the firſt aim of theſe armaments.

But the king would but imperfectly fulfil the principles he hereby profeſſes, if he did not extend the efforts of his arms to another ſort of defence, which his patriotic ſentiments equally impoſe on him as a duty.

Every body knows how the national aſſembly of France, contrary to the moſt ſacred laws of the *Droit des Gens*, and againſt the expreſs tenor of treaties, have deprived the German princes of their inconteſtible right and poſſeſſions in Alſace and Lorraine, and the reclamations which a number of theſe princes themſelves have publiſhed; the deliberations and arrêts of the diet of Ratiſbon on this important matter, will alſo ſerve to furniſh all thoſe who wiſh to be informed, with the moſt convincing proofs, of the injuſtice of the proceedings of the French government, in this reſpect, which has not hitherto propoſed to grant a full indemnity to the aggrieved parties; but adopting a peremptory language and threatening meaſures, only offered indemnities entirely inſufficient and inadmiſſible. It is worthy of the king and his auguſt ally, to have juſtice rendered to thoſe oppreſſed princes, and thereby to maintain the faith of treaties, the ſole baſis of union and reciprocal confidence between people, and the eſſential foundation of their tranquillity and welfare.

It is, in ſhort, a laſt deſign of the armament of the king, more extenſive ſtill than the former, and not leſs worthy of the ſage and well-intended views of the allied courts. It tends to prevent the incurable evils which ſtill reſult to France, to Europe, to all mankind, from this fatal ſpirit of general inſubordination, of ſubverting all the powers, of licence *(liberté trop grande)*, and of anarchy, of which it might have been expected that an unhappy experience ſhould have already ſtopped the progreſs.

There is not any power intereſted to maintain the balance of Europe, to whom it can be indifferent to ſee the kingdom of France, which hitherto formed ſo conſiderable a weight in this great balance, given up any longer to the interior agitations, and the horrors of diſorder and anarchy, which, it may be ſaid, have deſtroyed its political exiſtence: there cannot be any Frenchman, truly loving his country, who does not ardently deſire to ſee theſe terminated; in ſhort, no man, ſincerely a friend to humanity, who cannot but aſpire to ſee limits put, as well to the progreſs of a miſtaken liberty, a dazzling phantom, which leads the people far from the road of their true welfare, in altering the happy ties of attachment and confidence, which ought to unite them to their princes, their fathers, and their defenders; or eſpecially to the unbridled furies of the wicked, who only ſeek to deſtroy the reſpect due to governments, for the purpoſe of ſacrificing, on the ruins of thrones, to the idol of their inſatiable ambition, or to a vile cupidity.

To put an end to anarchy in France, to eſtabliſh for this purpoſe a legal power, on the eſſential baſis of a monarchical form, and by this giving ſecurity to other governments againſt the incendiary attempts and efforts of a frantic troop; ſuch is the grand objects which the king, conjointly with his ally, ſtill propoſes, being aſſured in this noble enterpriſe, not only of the wiſhes of all the powers of Europe, who acknowledge its juſtice and neceſſity, but in general of the ſuffrages and the wiſhes of every perſon, who ſincerely wiſhes the welfare of mankind.

His majeſty is far from throwing the blame of theſe faults, which have forced him to take up arms, on the whole French nation — he is perſuaded that a part, and without doubt the moſt numerous of this eſteemed nation, abhor the exceſſes of a faction but too powerful; and, ſeeing the dangers to which the intrigues lead, ſtrongly deſire the return of juſtice, of order, and of peace. Unfortunately experience has ſhewn that the powerful influence of this party is ſtill but too real, although the event has already demonſtrated the nullity of theſe culpable projects, founded on inſurrections, which it only ſeeks to foment. The difference of ſentiments of perſons well-intentioned, however certain they are, are thereby only for the moment little felt in their effects. But his majeſty hopes, that, in opening at laſt their eyes to the dreadful ſituation of their country, they will diſplay all the energy which ſuch a juſt cauſe ought to inſpire, and that they will look on the allied troops aſſembled on the frontiers as their protectors and true friends, of whom Providence will favour the arms; and they will know how to reduce to their juſt value the factious who have put France in a ſtate of fermentation, and who alone will be reſponſible for the blood which their criminal enterpriſes may cauſe to be ſhed.

Berlin, the 26th July, 1792.

Declaration by his Moſt Serene Highneſs the Reigning Duke of Brunſwick Lunenburg, *commanding the Combined Armies of their Majeſties the Emperor and King of* Pruſſia, *addreſſed to the Inhabitants of* France.

THEIR majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, having entruſted me with the command of the combined armies, aſſembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two ſovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

After arbitrarily ſuppreſſing the rights, and invading the poſſeſſions, of the German princes in Alſace and Lorraine; after having diſturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the moſt daring attacks, and having had recourſe to the moſt violent meaſures, which are ſtill daily renewed againſt the ſacred perſon of the king, and againſt his auguſt family—thoſe who have ſeized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the meaſure of their guilt, by declaring an unjuſt war againſt his majeſty the emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the poſſeſſions belonging to the German empire have been equally expoſed to the ſame oppreſſion, and many others have only avoided the danger, by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party, and their emiſſaries.

His majeſty the king of Pruſſia, united with his imperial majeſty in the bands of the ſtricteſt defenſive alliance, and as preponderant member himſelf of the Germanic body, could not refuſe marching to the aſſiſtance of his ally and his co-eſtates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

To theſe high intereſts is added another important object, and which both ſovereigns have moſt cordially in view, which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a ſtop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to reſtore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to ſafety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in ſuch a ſituation that he may exerciſe that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

Convinced that the ſober part of the nation deteſt the exceſſes of a faction which has enſlaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when ſuccours ſhall arrive, to declare themſelves openly againſt the odious enterpriſes of their oppreſſors; his majeſty the emperor, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, earneſtly invite them to return, without delay, into the paths of reaſon and juſtice, of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the underwritten, general commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare—

1ſt, That, drawn into the preſent war by irreſiſtible circumſtances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themſelves by making conqueſts.

2dly, That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France; but that they ſimply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to enſure to his moſt chriſtian majeſty that ſafety which is neceſſary for his making, without danger and without obſtacles, ſuch convocations as he ſhall judge proper, and for endeavouring to enſure the welfare of his ſubjects, according to his promiſes, and to the utmoſt of his power.

3dly, That the combined armies ſhall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the perſons and property of all thoſe who ſhall ſubmit to the king; and that they will concur in the reſtoration of order and police throughout all France.

4thly, That the national guards are called upon to preſerve, proviſionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the perſonal ſafety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their imperial and royal majeſties, or until orders be given to the contrary—on pain of being perſonally reſponſible: that, on the contrary, ſuch national guards as ſhall fight againſt the troops of the two allied courts, and who ſhall be taken with arms in their hands, ſhall be treated as enemies, and puniſhed as rebels to their king, and as diſturbers of the public peace.

5thly, That the general officers, the ſubalterns, and ſoldiers, of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to ſubmit immediately to the king, their legitimate ſovereign.

6thly, That the members of departments, diſtricts, and municipalities, ſhall be equally reſponſible, on pain of loſing their heads and their eſtates, for all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they ſhall ſuffer to take place, and which they ſhall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their reſpective territories; that they ſhall alſo be obliged to continue their functions, until his moſt chriſtian majeſty, when ſet at full liberty, ſhall make farther arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

7thly, That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who ſhall dare to defend themſelves againſt the troops of their imperial and royal majeſties, and to fire upon them, either in open country, or through half-open doors or windows of their houſes, ſhall be puniſhed inſtantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houſes ſhall be demoliſhed or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the ſaid towns, bourgs, and villages, who ſhall readily ſubmit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majeſties, ſhall be immediately under their ſafeguard and protection; their eſtates, their property, and their perſons, ſhall be ſecured by the laws, and each and all of them ſhall be in full ſafety.

8thly, The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without diſtinction, ſhall be called upon to ſubmit inſtantly and without delay to the king, to ſet that prince at full liberty, and to enſure to his and to all royal perſons that inviolability and reſpect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to ſovereigns: their imperial and royal majeſties making perſonally reſponſible for all events, on pain of loſing their heads, purſuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national aſſembly, of the department, of the diſtrict, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, juſtices of peace, and others whom it may concern; and their imperial and royal majeſties further declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or inſulted—if the leaſt violence be offered, the leaſt outrage done to their majeſties, the king, the queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in ſafety, and ſet at liberty, they will inflict on thoſe who ſhall deſerve it the moſt exemplary and ever memorable avenging puniſhments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and expoſing it to total deſtruction, and the rebels who ſhall be guilty of illegal reſiſtance ſhall ſuffer the puniſhments which they ſhall have deſerved: their imperial and royal majeſties promiſe, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to obtain for them a pardon for their inſults and errors, and to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſures for the ſecurity of their perſons and property, provided they ſpeedily and ſtrictly conform to the above injunctions.

Finally, their majeſties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except thoſe which ſhall be derived from the king, when at full liberty, proteſt beforehand againſt the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be iſſued in the name of the king, ſo long as his ſacred perſon, and that of the queen and the princes of the whole royal family, ſhall not be in full ſafety: and, with this view, their imperial and royal majeſties invite and intreat his moſt chriſtian majeſty to name a town in his kingdom, neareſt to the frontiers, to which he would wiſh to remove, together with the queen and the royal family, under a ſtrong and ſafe eſcort, which ſhall be ſent for that purpoſe; ſo that his moſt chriſtian majeſty may, in perfect ſafety, ſend for ſuch miniſters and counſellors as he ſhall be pleaſed to name, order ſuch convocations as he ſhall think proper, and provide for the reſtoration of order and the regular adminiſtration of his kingdom.

In fine, I declare and promiſe in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cauſe to be obſerved every where, by the troops under my command, good and ſtrict diſcipline, promiſing to treat with mildneſs and moderation thoſe well-diſpoſed ſubjects who ſhall ſubmit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force againſt thoſe only who ſhall be guilty of reſiſtance or of manifeſt evil intentions.

I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the moſt earneſt and forcible manner, not to make any oppoſition to the troops under my command, but rather to ſuffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the aſſiſtance, and ſhew them all the benevolence, which circumſtances may require.

Given at General Quarters at
Coblentz, July 25, 1792.
(Signed)
CHARLES GUILLAUME
FERDINAND, Duc de
Brunſwick Lunenburg.

Additional Declaration by his Moſt Serene Highneſs the Reigning Duke of Brunſwick Lunenburg, *addreſſed to the Inhabitants of* France.

THE declaration which I have addreſſed to the inhabitants of France, dated general quarters at Coblentz, July 25, muſt have ſufficiently made known the firm reſolves of their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, when they entruſted me with the command of their combined armies.

The liberty and the ſafety of the ſacred perſons of the king, of the queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their imperial and royal majeſties to act in concert, I have made known by my ſaid declaration to the inhabitants of Paris, my reſolve to inflict on them the moſt terrible puniſhments, if the leaſt inſult ſhould be offered to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly reſponſible.

Without making the leaſt alteration to the 8th article of the ſaid declaration of the 25th inſtant, I declare, beſides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baſeneſs of ſome inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other perſon of the royal family, ſhould be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatſoever, which ſhall not have oppoſed their paſſage, and ſhall not have ſtopped their proceeding, ſhall incur the ſame puniſhment as thoſe inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris; and the route which ſhall be taken by thoſe who carry off the king, and the royal family, ſhall be marked with a ſeries of exemplary puniſhment, juſtly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remiſſion.

All the inhabitants of France in general are to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impoſſible for them to avoid, unleſs they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppoſe the paſſage of the king and the royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their imperial and royal majeſties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, (in caſe he ſhould comply with the invitation which has been made him,) unleſs that retreat be effected under the eſcort which has been offered.

All declarations whatſoever, in the name of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, which ſhall be contrary to the object which their imperial and royal majeſties have in view, ſhall conſequently be conſidered as null and without effect.

Given at General Quarters at Coblentz, July 27, 1792.

CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND, Duc de Brunſwick Lunenburg.

Notification to the Powers of Europe, *from the King of the* French.

THE king of the French being informed that perſons ſtill continue to make uſe of his name to propoſe negociations with foreign courts, to make loans, and even to dare to make levies of foreign troops; and being again deſirous of conſecrating, in a ſolemn manner, his attachment to the conſtitution, which he freely accepted, and which he has ſworn to defend, diſavows all declarations, proteſtations, negotiations with foreign courts, loans, levies of foreign troops, purchaſes of arms, warlike ſtores, and others, and generally all acts, public and private, made in his name by Louis-Staniſlaus-Xavier, Charles-Philip, Louis-Joſeph, and Louis-Anthony-Henry, French princes, and by other emigrants, rebels to the laws, and to their country.

He declares, that his own intereſts, and thoſe of the people, of whom he is the hereditary repreſentative, are for ever inſeparable; that the government, the execution of which is confided to him, ſhall be maintained by him in all its purity.

Firm in this reſolution, the king of the French charges his miniſter of foreign affairs to notify to all the powers, that, entirely devoted to the cauſe of the French people, he will make uſe of all the force put into his hands againſt the enemies of France, whatever pretexts may be employed to countenance the armed aſſemblies of the emigrants, or to ſupport them in their hoſtile proceedings.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(And underſigned) CHAMBONNAS.
July 5, 1792.

Memorial preſented to the Porte *by the Imperial Internuncio.*

THE ſanguinary faction of the Jacobins, wiſhing to diffuſe every where that ſpirit of diſcord and anarchy by which they are animated, have diſpatched to Conſtantinople one of their moſt dangerous members, named Semonville, a man ſo notorious for the perverſity of his principles, that ſeveral courts have already refuſed to receive him as an ambaſſador, or to admit him into their territories. The execrable projects of this emiſſary, known to the imperial and royal courts, tend to nothing leſs than to deſtroy that perfect harmony, ſo happily eſtabliſhed between the two empires, in order to prepare a diverſion favourable to thoſe hordes of villains, whom his auguſt allies are endeavouring to deprive of the power of ſubverting all Europe. The underſigned internuncio has too often had an opportunity of admiring in the proceedings of the Sublime Porte its exalted wiſdom and its juſt ſentiments of its dignity, to dare ſuffer himſelf for a moment to think it will ſo far debaſe itſelf, as to receive, in a public capacity, before that throne where honour ſits with majeſty, the moſt worthleſs of theſe factious men, commiſſioned to offer the moſt inſidious propoſals; but as evil-minded or ill-informed perſons affect to repreſent the admiſſion of Semonville as a thing indifferent in itſelf, it is the ſtrict duty of the underſigned to extinguiſh their voice by a formal remonſtrance, and to declare, that if, contrary to the intention of the allied powers, and contrary to all probability, Semonville ſhould be admitted, the court muſt ſuppoſe that the moſt powerful intereſt, awakened by deceitful offers, has prevailed over the only courſe preſcribed to the Sublime Porte by the extreme delicacy of its honour, that of abſolutely rejecting an emiſſary, ſent abroad by the enemies, not only of the allied powers, but of the whole human race. In ſhort, the underſigned flatters himſelf, that the explanation which he has had the honour of officially requiring by the preſent memorial, will ſerve to ſtrengthen the confidence which his imperial majeſty already has in the valuable friendſhip and exalted ſentiments of the Sublime Porte.

After this information on my part, will not his imperial majeſty have reaſon to ſuſpect the greateſt coolneſs on the part of his friend, ſhould he not heſitate to receive and acknowledge as ambaſſador one of the principal members of that ſect who are his enemies? Will not thoſe powers who are neighbours to the Ottoman empire, be alarmed at the poſſibility of the ſucceſs of a negociation, the intention

tion of which is to make the Porte again take up arms againſt them? Theſe alarms will give riſe to meaſures which prudence preſcribes, and to ſuſpicions which muſt neceſſarily affect that harmony which has been juſt happily eſtabliſhed by a peace.

When I propoſe to the Sublime Porte to reject M. Semonville, I do not mean that it ſhould reject every other miniſter whom France may ſend: this would be declaring myſelf an enemy to the new conſtitution; but as a miniſter is only the agent, who maintains the bonds of amity between two courts, a court, which may find in an individual qualities diſagreeable to it, has a right to reject him, and to require another. By refuſing to receive M. Semonville, the Sublime Porte will, in no manner, break its connection with France.

KNOBELSDORFF.

Aug. 9, 1792.

Manifeſto iſſued by their Majeſties the Emperor of Germany *and the King of* Pruſſia, *againſt the* French *Revolution.*

Auguſt 4th, 1792.

THEIR majeſties the emperor and king of Pruſſia, in commencing a war, occaſioned by the moſt unjuſt and moſt imperious circumſtances, have ſucceſſively and ſeparately publiſhed the particular motives of their conduct. Animated, however, by a regard for the ſacred intereſts of humanity, their imperial and royal majeſties thinking it not ſufficient to have communicated to the different courts of Europe the circumſtances which oblige them to have recourſe to arms, conſider it as of importance to their glory, and the happineſs of their faithful ſubjects, to enlighten all nations reſpecting the cauſes and effects of the late deplorable revolution in France, and, in a manifeſto, to lay open to the preſent generation, as well as to poſterity, their motives, their intentions, and the diſintereſtedneſs of their perſonal views.

Taking up arms for the purpoſe of preſerving ſocial and political order among all poliſhed nations, and to ſecure to each ſtate its religion, happineſs, independence, territories, and real conſtitution, it is to be preſumed the uſe which their imperial and royal majeſties are about to make, for the general ſafety of the forces committed by Providence to their diſpoſal, will conſole mankind, if poſſible, for the evils to which war has already expoſed them, and for that blood which the diſturbers of public tranquillity may yet cauſe to be ſhed. In this hope their majeſties have not heſitated to give to all nations, and to all individuals, the great example of forgetting, on the appearance of common danger, their ancient diviſions, and their private concerns, that they may attend only to the public good, in a criſis ſo important, of which no inſtance is to be found in hiſtory. They think, and with juſtice, that, on this occaſion, all empires, and all ſtates, ought to be unanimous, and that all ſovereigns, becoming the firm guardians of the happineſs of mankind, cannot fail to unite their efforts, in order to reſcue a numerous nation from its own fury; to preſerve Europe from the return of barbarity, and the univerſe from that ſubverſion and anarchy with which it is threatened.

However celebrated the French revolution may unhappily have been, a manifeſto againſt it ought to exhibit a true picture of it; and it is by facts alone that the public can be enabled to judge of this grand cauſe of all nations, againſt faction and rebellion.

For four years paſt, Europe has viewed with attention, and beheld with increaſing indignation, the revolution which has oppreſſed France, and which detains in captivity an auguſt monarch, worthy of the love of his ſubjects, and entitled to the eſteem, friendſhip, and ſupport of all ſovereigns.

Since his acceſſion to the throne, it is well known that his moſt chriſtian majeſty has teſtified, in every poſſible manner, his affection for his ſubjects, his love of juſtice, his conſtant and ſincere deſire to eſtabliſh order and œconomy in the adminiſtration of his finances, and his honeſty towards the creditors of the nation. To make perſonal ſacrifices was his higheſt enjoyment, and a deſire of complying with public opinion has always determined him in the choice of his meaſures: continually employed in deviſing means for relieving his people, and for knowing and gratifying the public wiſhes, he has erred with them and for them; obeying the dictates of humanity rather than thoſe of juſtice; and overlooked their faults, in hopes that they would repair them without rendering it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to puniſhment: calumny itſelf has, however, always reſpected his intentions, and the moſt criminal and audacious factions, while attacking his ſovereign authority, and inſulting his ſacred perſon, ſtruck by his private virtues, have neither been able, nor dared to deny them.

After trying in vain every method that occurred to him of promoting the welfare of his ſubjects, of diſcharging the public debt of the nation — unfortunately in his choice of his meaſures, deceived in his hopes, and diſappointed by various events—yet ſtill firm in his benevolent intentions, and encouraged, though there was no occaſion for his being ſo, by the queen and all the royal family, to inceſſantly purſue the object of his wiſhes, the darling paſſion of his heart, the happineſs of his people, Louis XVI. not finding the ſuccour which he ſought in the aſſembly of the notables, convoked the ſtates-general of the kingdom. He was deſirous of collecting around him, in the three orders of the monarchy, all his ſubjects, and to aſk themſelves by what means he could at length render them happy. Scrupulous even in the form, and fearing to take any thing upon himſelf, he endeavoured to learn, in every manner poſſible, the public opinion reſpecting the calling together of the ſtates-general; he found himſelf compelled, by circumſtances which his goodneſs and magnanimous loyalty could not avoid, to change, in this convocation, the ancient form followed by his predeceſſors *; he ſigned, without diſtruſt, orders, inſidiouſly and artfully drawn up, which endangered his ſovereign authority, tended to excite diſcord, and inſinuated diſ-

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* Reſults of the council of December 27, 1788. Letters of convocation addreſſed to the grand bailiffs.

obedience to his commands. Under theſe fatal auſpices, the ſtates-general met: and one of the beſt kings that France can boaſt of, addreſſed to this auguſt, but ſoon after criminal aſſembly, theſe valuable words, which ſovereigns, who might have found them in their own ſentiments, ſtill take a pleaſure in repeating:

"Every thing that can be expected from the tendereſt intereſt in the happineſs of the public—every thing that can be required of a ſovereign, the beſt friend of his people, you may and ought to hope for from my ſentiments *."

Theſe memorable expreſſions, which might have recovered the moſt eſtranged hearts, and the moſt alienated minds, and which ought, in a peculiar manner, to have inſpired with the moſt lively gratitude, a people loaded with kindneſs by their king, were ſcarcely pronounced, when the ſignal of revolt was given on all ſides. One of the three orders, converting a momentary conceſſion into right, and abuſing a double repreſentation, the object of which, on the part of the monarch, was to increaſe his information, without increaſing his preponderance, wiſhed, by taking the lead, to ſwallow up the other two, and to bear them down by its weight. In vain did the laws of the monarchy, the authority of precedent, the nature of things, and the ſacred and impreſcriptible rights of each order, oppoſe this ambitious, unjuſt, and illegal confuſion. The reſiſtance of the two firſt orders were ſoon overcome, by turning againſt them their love for the king; oppoſing the danger of the monarch to that of the monarchy, and exciting a revolt, which threatened in an imminent degree the life of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. On the report of a danger, which the reſiſtance of the two firſt orders might doubtleſs have deſpiſed, had it threatened only them, conſternation put an end to reaſoning—there was no longer room for deliberation—it was neceſſary to act. The nobility and clergy ruſhed into the aſſembly, with the third eſtate, to ſave France from the moſt horrid of crimes; and from that moment the ſtates-general, in *ceaſing to be free, ceaſed to exiſt.*

The monarchy was overturned by a mad and tumultuous aſſembly; rebellious ſubjects, deputed towards the ſovereign to learn his deciſions, and to receive his laws, dared to dictate to him others, which in every reſpect were intolerable, and violently pulled down that throne which they were called to ſupport. They commenced their ſacrilegious uſurpation by violating the oath they took when they received their powers. They had the audacity to ſtile themſelves the *national conſtituent aſſembly*, as if they had poſſeſſed a right to conſtitute themſelves what they were not eſtabliſhed, and when they were only the deputies of the aſſemblies of the bailiwicks, the real repreſentatives of the nation. Perjured in reſpect to the oath of fidelity, which they ſwore to the king, as well as in reſpect to that which they ſwore to their conſtituents; and ſubſtituting the individual will of their criminal majority to the imperative letter of their inſtructions, the national will, expreſſed in all the bailiwicks, they rendered all their ſubſequent operations abſolutely null, by making themſelves ſuperior to their powers, by rendering themſelves independent of them, and by aſſuming authorities to which they had no title; they treated France as a country not ſubject to a monarchical form of government, without monarch, and without laws, and leagued together to plunge it into all the errors of nations almoſt yet ſavage, and to form a government after the rude ſketches of infant ſtates, making their firſt advances towards civilization, and which at preſent would mark the laſt ſtage of their decline. Like all uſurpers, they flattered the people, in order that they might ſubject them to obedience; aſſigned to them a ſovereignty, with a view of converting it to their own purpoſes; ſpoke to them of the *rights of man*, while they were ſilent reſpecting their duty, and employing, according to the dictates of their turbulent and deſtructive ambition, the poignards of aſſaſſins, and the flames of revolt; and taking advantage of the prejudices and paſſions of the multitude, they ſucceſſively called to their aſſiſtance famine and abundance to incenſe the populace, that they might afterwards ſeduce and govern them; and to add to the horror of their proceedings, they cauſed the virtuous monarch, who had convoked them, to be accuſed of thoſe very crimes which they themſelves had committed.

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* Speech of the king on opening the ſtates-general, 5th May, 1789.

Alarmed at the dangers which ſurrounded him, and foreſeeing the afflicting evils which were preparing for his people, his moſt chriſtian majeſty in vain endeavouring to avert them.—Conceſſions, rendered prudent by neceſſity *, and the urgency of circumſtances, which were fully approved by the inſtructions of all the bailiwicks, and conſequently by all Frenchmen, encreaſed that thirſt for reigning with which the uſurping aſſembly was inflamed.

All France, deceived and miſled by the moſt infamous impoſtures, was the ſame day inſtantly in arms †. The people imagined that they were taking them up to oppoſe robbers, and thoſe robbers turned them againſt the king. From that moment the ſovereign authority was annihilated; and the inconteſtible rights of the two firſt orders ‡ were ſacrificed to nouriſh the deſtructive ardour of the conſpirators.

The orders were proſcribed §, the king himſelf, and his brothers, deprived of that private patrimony, which their anceſtors had brought to the crown on their acceſſion to the throne. The parliaments, the ſovereign courts, the ſtates of the provinces, and all the political bodies, almoſt as ancient as the monarchy, which in turns ſupported and moderated its power, which were ſecurities to the people for the juſtice of the monarch, and ſecurities to the monarch for the fidelity of his ſubjects, were buried under the ruins of the throne. Religion alſo was involved in the ſame general wreck. Its property was ſeized; its altars were overturned; its temples profaned, ſold, or demoliſhed; and its miniſters perſecuted, and continually placed in ſuch a ſituation, that they muſt either violate the dictates of their conſciences, or ſubmit to death, commit perjury, or ſuffer puniſhment, often reſigned themſelves as victims, in order that they might avoid the commiſſion of a crime.

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* Declaration of the king, June 23, 1789.

† Declaration of the king, July 26, 1789.

‡ Of the 4th of Auguſt, and 22d November, 1789.

§ Declaration of the king, November 5, 1789.

Thus attacking heaven itſelf, an impious ſect vilified all religions, under a pretence of toleration, and permitted all modes of worſhip in ſuffering them all to be oppreſſed, and offering equal violations to them all. In their room, they ſubſtituted political irreligion, without comfort for the unfortunate, without morality for the vicious, and without any check for crimes. Nay, crimes themſelves were every where tolerated, encouraged, rewarded. Inſurrection was conſecrated * as the moſt ſacred duties. Solemn and public feſtivals were decreed in honour of the baſeſt and greateſt criminals †. Every ſpecies of villainy was permitted under the name of patriotiſm. France was inundated with blood—flames covered it with ruins—and ſtrangers beheld with horror and conſternation that country, whoſe laws, manners, politeneſs, proſperity, and, above all, its fidelity to its kings, were ſo much boaſted of; and which, by a frightful revolution, was ſuddenly converted into a land of diſcord, proſcription, exile, conflagration, and carnage, and where every violence was permitted with impunity. Inflamed with an inſatiable ardour of exerciſing this pretended ſovereignty of the people, each wiſhed to govern, and to divide the bloody remnants of the ſupreme authority. Hence aroſe innumerable aſſemblies of electors, municipalities, cantons, diſtricts, and departments. Hence thoſe fatal turns from which intrigue ſcandalouſly procured the moſt ſhameful elections; that general lottery of all places, all public functions, of the epiſcopacy itſelf, and other church dignities, in which violence, deception, and deiſm, obtained almoſt the whole prizes. Hence ſocieties of conſpirators and enthuſiaſts, ſtifling and ſuppreſſing, by perſecution and popular puniſhment, the voice and opinion of honeſt men. Hence the galleries, domineering over the uſurping aſſembly; and the delirium of the aſſembly itſelf, which thought it enjoyed authority, when it only ſervilely obeyed the impulſe of fanatics and madmen without doors, and was ſubjected to the fickle paſſions of the people.

In this general and ſyſtematic anarchy, created by the moſt execrable and profound art, thouſands of victims were ſacrificed in all quarters, and provinces and whole towns were given up without mercy to the moſt ſhocking barbarities.—Every one who was ſuſpected, was conſigned to deſtruction.—Every one who was moderate, was conſidered as criminal.—All thoſe who had property to make them objects of plunder, were denounced

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* The principle propoſed by M. La Fayette, and adopted by the national aſſembly.

† To the ſoldiers ſet at liberty from the gallies, and the aſſaſſins of Avignon, Niſmes, Arles, &c.

as enemies of the public good; and, in a word, amidſt accuſations commanded, ſolicited, and paid for; in the midſt of committees of reſearch, clubs, aſſemblies of all kinds, and national priſons, into which tyranny arbitrarily crowded faithful ſubjects, whom judges, even choſen by the factious, could not condemn, and dared not acquit; amidſt the agitation of all paſſions, excited at the ſame time, virtue alone was a crime, eſtabliſhed right was uſurpation, and every one was a ſovereign, except the ſovereign himſelf.

The organ of the factious, the mayor of Paris, had the impudence inſolently to tell his king and maſter, that the people had conquered him. The people, indeed, detained their monarch a captive in their kingdom; and his days, perhaps, would not have been prolonged, but by the forced and ſalutary eſcape of one of his brothers, and princes of the blood.

The monarch and monarchy, however, ſtill, in appearance, ſubſiſted; odious and intolerable decrees having taken place to the ſimple obſervations of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. The revolters were irritated at this reſource of juſtice and reaſon. The moſt criminal attempts were projected. A number of ſeditious perſons hurried to Verſailles; the caſtle was forced. The king, expoſed, as well as the queen and royal family, to every outrage, every crime, and unheard-of attacks, thought only of ſparing the blood of his people; and the tears which he would not have ſhed for himſelf, moiſtened the bodies of the generous and faithful guards who had been inhumanly butchered on the ſteps of the throne. Providence, which watches over the deſtiny of kings aad nations, ſaved at length his majeſty, with the queen and auguſt family, from this horrible conſpiracy; and if the criminals who were the authors of the execrable atrocities committed on the night between the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, have hitherto enjoyed an odious impunity, the Divine Juſtice has doubtleſs deferred their puniſhment, in order to reſerve to all ſovereigns, offended againſt in the perſons of their moſt chriſtian majeſties, the inflicting of the moſt ſtriking and exemplary vengeance on the guilty.

Eſcaped from the moſt imminent dangers, his moſt chriſtian majeſty at length thought of freeing himſelf from that captivity in which he was detained, and of placing his ſacred perſon in a place of ſafety, by retiring to the frontiers of France. He hoped that he ſhould then be able to exert himſelf with more effect in bringing back his ſubjects to a ſenſe of duty, and in ſaving the monarchy; and by yielding to the moſt imperious of all laws, *ſelf-preſervation*, his moſt chriſtian majeſty meant ſolemnly to have proteſted againſt all thoſe acts to which he had conſented during his captivity.—But Providence, which in its wiſdom often deranges, for the inſtruction of mankind, the beſt concerted plans, did not permit a reſolution ſo juſt, ſo lawful, and ſo neceſſary to the happineſs of France, to be ſucceſsfully executed. An infamous town, the name of which poſterity will never pronounce but with horror, the juſt and terrible puniſhment of which will ſerve as an example to all rebellious and ſacrilegious towns that may ever have the criminal madneſs to wiſh to imitate it, and to attempt the liberty of their ſovereign—this town had the audacity to arreſt their king. By a ſignal he might have overcome this obſtacle, but in that caſe it would have been neceſſary to ſhed blood; and his moſt chriſtian majeſty has proved, upon all occaſions, that he would rather ſuffer death himſelf than expoſe the lives of his ſubjects. The return made to this generoſity, goodneſs, and ſignal magnanimity, was, that he was conducted, amidſt a thouſand dangers, and a thouſand outrages continually renewed, back to his capital, to be there impriſoned in his palace, in virtue of a decree paſſed by the uſurping aſſembly; to be there ſuſpended from his authority, as if any power upon earth had a right of paſſing ſo infamous and odious a ſentence, and at length to be reduced to the alternative of forfeiting the throne, or ſubmiting to the moſt pitiable conceſſions, that is to ſay, the alternative of a civil war, which would have converted France into an immenſe grave, or the acceptance of a conſtitution, dictated by the mean populace o perjured wretches without legal power, and deprived themſelves of their liberty, when ſurrounded by poignards, conflagrations, and all thoſe convulſions which are natural conſequences of anarchy and revolt.

The king of France, had he enjoyed perfect freedom, would doubtleſs have conſulted only the honour of his crown, the intereſt of his people, his proteſtation of the 20th of June, 1791, and his religion, which they endeavoured to make him renounce. Had he enjoyed freedom, by making a generous ſacrifice, he would certainly have reſigned life, had it been neceſſary, to reſcue his people from that pretended conſtitution, with which they were loaded; but all Europe knows, that his refuſing to accept it would have cauſed the three faithful guards who were arreſted with him at Varennes to be maſſacred before his eyes; that a famine created on purpoſe already preſaged the moſt horrid attempts; that the murder of all the royal family was reſolved on by the conſpirators; that ſuch of the nobility and clergy as in France remained faithful to their God and to their king, would have been inſtantly butchered, and that foreign powers would have had to puniſh thouſands of criminals and regicide monſters.

A ray of hope, which ſtill ſeemed to beam forth in the heart of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, made him doubtleſs entertain an idea that the factious would ſoon repent; and he probably flattered himſelf, that by this laſt act of condeſcenſion he ſhould be able to diſarm their fury, and diſſipate that fatal cloud of error by which they were blinded. The nullity of his acceptance, fully demonſtrated by thoſe rigorous circumſtances which imperiouſly commanded it, ſufficiently deſtroyed the inconveniences of it. He wiſhed, as he himſelf declared *, that the conſtitution might be judged by experience. In a word, he was obliged either to accept it, or condemn France to commit execrable crimes;

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* Letter of the king to the aſſembly, September 18, 1791.

to abandon it to all the horrors of civil war, and to bury it entirely under its own ruins.

The king ſigned it, but his hand at that time was in chains. The act which he performed was invalid. The proteſtation of the 20th of June had previouſly annulled it. A priſoner can enter into no engagement, can ſanction nothing, nor accept of any thing; and a monarch, who is reduced to the neceſſity of *writing* that he is free, is not ſo in *reality*. All powers, filled with indignation at this horrid ſpectacle, had already concerted meaſures for avenging the honour of the diadem.—His late imperial majeſty, by his circular letter, written from Padua *, invited all the powers of Europe to form a confederation for this purpoſe. The convention of Pilnitz determined thoſe circumſtances which made their imperial and Pruſſian majeſties to have recourſe to arms; but the acceptation of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, though forced, and conſequently null, ſeemed to promiſe a new order of things: it rendered the danger leſs threatening †, and the latter events ſeemed to afford hopes reſpecting the future. It appeared that the greater part of the French nation, ſtruck with the evils which they had prepared for themſelves, were returning to more moderate principles, began to acknowledge the neceſſity of maintaining that form of government which was alone proper for a great ſtate, and to teſtify a deſire of reſtoring to the throne that dignity and influence which belong to monarchical governments. His imperial majeſty was not completely ſatisfied with theſe appearances; but he wiſhed, as well as the other powers united with him, to try the effects of a little longer delay, to avoid, if poſſible, that diſagreeable extremity, to which all powers feel themſelves now obliged to have recourſe. A prodigious number, however, of faithful Frenchmen, baniſhed from their country by crimes which they had ſeen, and of which they were the objects, imploring in vain at home timid or corrupt judges, and laws, which, in order to oppreſs them, were made to ſpeak, or be ſilent, as might be moſt favourable to the revolution, ranged themſelves under the banner of honour, duty, and fidelity, with Monſieur, the count d'Artois, and other princes of the blood, who, like them, had been forced to exile themſelves from their country.

A new uſurping aſſembly, which ſeemed to pride itſelf in ſurpaſſing the exceſſes of the preceding, dared to treat the royal majeſty with ſtill greater inſults ‡, added weight to his chains, encouraged more than ever the effervescence of thoſe popular ſocieties which domineered over him, multiplied the dangers around his throne, were incenſed at the hoſpitable reception granted by foreign princes to the French emigrants §, and inſulted, with intolerable licentiouſneſs, all the ſovereigns of Europe. In violation of their own laws, and contrary to their pretended renunciation of making conqueſts, they invaded the compté of Avignon, the biſhopric of Baſle, pretended to ſet an arbitrary pecuniary valuation on the ſacred property which they had, in Lorraine and Alſace, forcibly taken from ſeveral princes and ſtates of the empire, and were offended becauſe the police in all the neighbouring countries ſuppreſſed thoſe inflammatory writings which they induſtriouſly circulated, and puniſhed thoſe miſſionaries of revolt whom they every where diſperſed to corrupt the people, and to incite them to attack private property, to dethrone kings, and aboliſh all religions. Their audacity increaſing, by remaining hitherto unpuniſhed, and rendered more violent by the moderation of neighbouring princes, this aſſembly, in their delirium, conceived the project of extending their uſurpation, and the licentious principles of the French to the Germanic empire, and, without doubt, to the whole world. A miniſtry, whom they obliged his moſt chriſtian majeſty to accept, became the organ of their ſecret views, and of views well known to all popular ſocieties.

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* Month of July, 1791.

† Diſpatch of prince de Kaunitz to ſeveral miniſters at foreign courts, Nov. 12, 1791.

‡ Decree of Monday, February 6, 1792, which determines, that, in writing to the king, the preſident ſhall follow the formula adopted by the king in writing to the aſſembly.

§ Diſpatches of prince de Kaunitz to M. de Blumendorff, February 17, 1792.

Explanations were required from the court of Vienna, and given with that clearneſs, preciſion, and minuteneſs, which became the candour and dignity of his apoſtolic majeſty, the king of Bohemia and Hungary: being in every reſpect ſatisfactory, they could diſpleaſe only an aſſembly and ſocieties who wiſhed to diſturb the public peace, and who, by intrigues and criminal manœuvres, obliged the king to yield to the violent impulſe of his miniſtry and the aſſembly, and, contrary to all juſtice, contrary to all reaſon, and contrary to the evident intereſt of France, to declare war againſt his neighbour, his relation, and his good and faithful ally the king of Hungary and Bohemia. The uſurping aſſembly flattered themſelves that they could ſubdue Europe, as they had ſubdued France, by corrupting their troops, ſeducing their ſubjects, and rendering odious the paternal authority of ſovereigns; by commanding crimes; by giving rewards to thoſe who committed them; by irritating and flattering the paſſions of the people; and, in a word, by diſſolving all the bonds of moral and political ſociety. They flattered themſelves, above all, that they ſhould revive and propagate that error which had miſled the provinces of the Auſtrian Netherlands; they truſted they ſhould carry thither the flames of inſurrection; find there a number of partizans; devour the rich patrimony of the churches; ſeize on the property of the nobility; aboliſh the lawful authorities of the ſtates; and, as they cauſed to be repeated with complaiſance by the miniſtry of their will *, they wiſhed to carry away the ſpecie of the Low Countries, and to replace it with that paper money which circulates on the credit of violence; which is ſecured only by uſurped property; and which, by its diſcredit at home, is ſufficiently proved to be illegal. They thus truſted that they ſhould be able to reward the crimes of their ſatellites, and the

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* Report by M. Dumourier, on the affair of Mons.

activity of their patriotic agents, with the ſpoils of their neighbours, and the riches of a peaceful and induſtrious people. On this criminal baſis, deteſtable in the eyes of all nations, they founded their wiſh for war, as well as their plan for executing it; and they congratulated themſelves for having extorted this propoſal from a juſt monarch, whoſe whole life has atteſted his love for juſtice, his fidelity towards his allies, and his ardent deſire for preſerving the tranquillity of Europe.

The triumph of the aſſembly, however, was not of long duration. Providence, in bleſſing the arms of a ſovereign, unjuſtly attacked, deſervedly puniſhed thoſe rebellious troops to their king, who, detaining him priſoner in Paris, came, in his name, to make war on his allies.

The army of the French revolters, beat at Tournay and Mons, and defeated at Florenne and Griſnille, attempted an invaſion of Flanders, an open and defenceleſs country; but being ſoon after obliged to retire, the uſurping aſſembly * were taught that his apoſtolic majeſty had none but courageous ſoldiers, as well as faithful ſubjects, and that nothing of their projects remained to that rebellious army, but the ſhame of having conceived them; the ignominy of having maſſacred, with a civic joy, the unfortunate priſoners who had done their duty; and the opprobrium of having burnt at Courtray, without advantage, without object, and even without military pretence, the habitations and property of three hundred families, againſt whom they had no cauſe of complaint. But other enjoyments recompenſed the uſurping aſſembly for theſe checks. Contrary to the expreſs letter of their own laws, without proceſs, and without previous accuſation; without hearing him, or any perſon for him, the aſſembly had unjuſtly diſmiſſed, and removed from the king's perſon, an irreproachable guard; and invited banditti from all the provinces to their aſſiſtance. Theſe famous banditti, whoſe names muſt be handed down with infamy to the remoteſt ages, as if they wiſhed to try the ſtrength and energy of the villainy of their agents, cauſed the aſylum of the king to be violated on the 20th of June 1792; and the moſt atrocious crimes would have been then committed, had not the majeſty of the monarch, his virtues and his firmneſs, over-awed a band of regicides, whoſe arms were evidently paid and directed. All France, who in juſtice ought to be ſeparated from the factious, turned aſide with horror from that execrable day, and demanded that puniſhment might be inflicted on the guilty. But he who refuſes to puniſh crimes is alone criminal; and Europe cannot be miſtaken reſpecting the authors of theſe outrages.

Such then is the French revolution, unjuſt and illegal in its principle, horrid in the means by which it was effected, and diſaſtrous in its conſequences.

Their imperial and royal majeſties, who can no longer delay to fulfil their mutual engagements, to deliver mankind from ſo many ex-

ceſſes,

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* Letters of M. Luckner, June 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1792.

ceſſes, have conſidered this revolution under the following points of view:

1. As it perſonally regards his moſt chriſtian majeſty.
2. As it reſpects the French nation.
3. As it reſpects the princes of Germany who have poſſeſſions in France.
4. As it reſpects the tranquillity of Europe, and the happineſs of all nations.

I. *On the Revolution, as it perſonally regards his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.*

The whole world knows, that it was eſſential to the French monarchy, and the unanimous wiſh expreſſed in the inſtructions of the bailiwicks, that the king of France ſhould be legiſlator; that he ſhould have the full and entire diſpoſal of the army; that he ſhould cauſe juſtice to be adminiſtered to his ſubjects; that he ſhould have the right of making peace and war; and, in a word, that plenitude of power which belongs to ſovereignty. But it is alſo known, that an uſurping aſſembly, leaving him the title of king, which they conſidered as a gratification, deprived him abſolutely of royal authority; that, reduced to be the executor of their will *, their ſervile and paſſive organ, he had not even the right of propoſing the moſt neceſſary laws †; that he had no longer any authority over the ſea and land forces ‡; that the right of making peace and war was taken from him §; that he was deprived of the power of electing magiſtrates ||; and that not enjoying even the power of *going whereever he pleaſed,* which the conſtitution ſecures to all citizens, his moſt chriſtian majeſty was forced to reſide near the pretended legiſlative body **; and that the chain which detained him could not be extended farther than the diſtance of twenty miles.

The ſupreme authority in France being never-ceaſing and indiviſible, the king could neither be deprived, nor voluntarily diveſt himſelf of any of the prerogatives of royalty, becauſe he is obliged to tranſmit them entire with his crown to his ſucceſſors.

He could be dethroned only by an abdication; but the acts which he committed cannot even be conſidered as a partial abdication, becauſe he could not diveſt himſelf of the crown, but to inveſt the preſumptive heir, and becauſe the eſſential condition of the validity of ſuch an act would be a full and entire liberty, which did not exiſt, and this it is perfectly notorious that his moſt chriſtian majeſty never enjoyed. It is well known that the violence, outrages, and dangers with which his people were threatened, and on account of which he was continually haraſſed, never ſuffered him to be in freedom a moment. How then could the ſovereigns of Europe acknowledge a revolution which, to the ſcandal of the whole world, dethrones a puiſſant and juſt monarch, continually deſtroys

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* Eighth article of the conſtitution, ſection, Internal Adminiſtration.

† Decree of September 24, 1789.

‡ Decree, February 28, 1790, and April 28, 1791.

§ Decree, March 22, 1790.

|| Decree, Auguſt 16, 1790.

** Decree, March 24, 1792, article iii.

deſtroys his liberty, endangers his life, as well as the lives of the queen and royal family; and which, by an univerſal ſyſtem of anarchy, would force all ſovereigns, though the honour of their diadems did not render it a duty, to conſider as perſonal outrages to each of them individually, all thoſe which have been, or may hereafter be, offered to their moſt chriſtian majeſties? Warned by the examples of the paſt: by the days, above all, of July 13th, 14th, and 17th; by thoſe of October 5th and 6th, 1789, ſtrangely rewarded by the community of Paris *; by the oath of liberty taken by a captive monarch on the 4th of February, 1790; by the ſcandalous atrocities committed even in the apartment of the king, February 28th, 1791, on his moſt faithful ſervants, by the ferocious inſults of a hired mob and licentious ſoldiery, offered for three hours ſucceſſively on his moſt chriſtian majeſty and family, in his palace on the 18th of April, 1791 †; by the unpardonable detention of Meſdames, the king's aunts, in the town of Arnay-le-Duc, though they had condeſcended to provide themſelves with paſſports, which the new laws did not even then require from private individuals; by the diſaſtrous events of the month of June 1791; by the ſuſpenſion of the royal guard, and the attempts of the 20th of June, 1792; by the odious decree of accuſation againſt the king's brothers, the forced ſanctioning of which was an equal outrage to nature, juſtice, and ſupreme authority; warned, in ſhort, by the impunity of ſo many crimes, their imperial and royal majeſties have already proteſted, and now proteſt againſt all acts, declarations, and letters which his moſt chriſtian majeſty may ſuffer to be ſurpriſed or extorted from him, until he ſhall be placed in full liberty with his whole family, under a guard of their imperial and royal majeſties' troops, in ſuch a frontier city of his kingdom as he ſhall think proper to chooſe, and be enabled in ſafety to make known his ſupreme and definitive intentions, and to realize the vows which he has always expreſſed for their happineſs, liberty, and proſperity.

II. *Of the Revolution as it reſpects the French Nation.*

The revolution, conſidered as it reſpects the French nation, inſtead of being its work, is evidently its ſcourge; the object of its grief and regret; the ſource of all its evils; and would be eternally its ſhame and diſgrace, were it not proved, in a thouſand different manners, that this illuſtrious nation itſelf abhors the factions by which it is torn; that it loves its king; that it wiſhes to preſerve its religion by favouring toleration; that it ſighs after the moment when it ſhall be delivered from the vilifying yoke under which it groans; and that if foreign powers did not come to its aſſiſtance, abandoned to its fatal deſtiny, its conſequence would vaniſh, its commerce would be annihilated, its arts forgotten, its induſtry rendered uſeleſs, its credit ſubverted, and that its whole ſurface would become a prey to more atrocities, more ravages, and more deſtruction than its ſuperb and unfortunate colonies, than its unfortunate cities of Niſmes, Montpellier, Arles, Avignon, and others. It is far then from the thoughts of their imperial and royal majeſties to be at war with the French nation, and to ſeparate it from its king, with which it ought to make only one; the intention of their imperial and royal majeſties is evidently, on the contrary, to come to its aſſiſtance, and to combat in the middle of thoſe unnatural children who tear its boſom, who outrage its king, and perſecute its religion. The poſitive right of all countries entitles them to diſarm all thoſe madmen who attempt to deſtroy their own lives. The rights of nature enjoin all men to give each other mutual aſſiſtance. The rights of nations require in a much ſtronger manner, among all civilized people, that neighbouring ſtates ſhould unite to reſcue a great nation from its own fury, from the fatal and diſaſtrous conſequences of that political phrenzy, which undermines, diſſolves, and deſtroys it.

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* The community of Paris decreed patriotic medallions to five women, who had been at the head of the execrable expedition of Verſailles; and the Abbé Mulot, a Victorin monk, preſident of the community, had the audacity to ſay, "Receive this prize, which your country beſtows on your virtues, your wiſdom, and your patriotiſm." The names of theſe wretches were, Agnes le Fevre, Genevieve Dogan, Deniſe le Ferre, Petit, and Marie-Louiſa Boujon.

† The king and queen being deſirous of ſpending the day at St. Cloud, the people and national guard prevented them, and detained them in their carriage for three hours in the court of the Thuilleries, loading them with the moſt horrid imprecations.

However little one may have obſerved the frightful events of the cataſtrophes which have deſolated France; however little one may have reflected on their cauſe and effects, or calculated the emigration of French property, of which no age affords an equal example, and may have followed, in their firm and courageous reſiſtance, the faithful and enlightened minority of the ſtates-general, or will be convinced that a ſmall number of villains have excited all theſe troubles, and that by the aſſiſtance of obſcure individuals, people baniſhed from all countries, criminals eſcaped from priſon or puniſhment, and of the error into which they have hurried weak and enthuſiaſtic minds, they have brought about their fatal revolution, which is equally an attack upon the nation, as well as his royal majeſty.

Has not the rebellious majority of the deputies to the ſtates-general declared themſelves to be ſuperior to its powers? Have they not uſurped its rights, by ſubſtituting for the national will, their own paſſions, and to the paternal government of a wiſe monarch, their own tyranny?

With regard to their inſtructions, when all the bailiwicks unanimouſly, or almoſt unanimouſly, requeſted the ſame thing, had this criminal majority the right to determine another? and once freed by itſelf from the obſervance of its oath, who could check the courſe of its abuſes, and moderate the arbitrary deſpotiſm of its power?

To miſlead the people, and faſcinate their eyes by falſe illuſions, this aſſembly ſpeak of *equality*, when they make all France tremble: they ſpeak of *juſtice*, and they have not yet puniſhed a ſingle crime, nor a ſingle atrocity; on the contrary, they applauded the moſt deteſtable crimes, and admitted into their boſom criminals abhorred by all nations *. They ſpeak of public *ſafety*, yet the aſylum of the king is daily violated by committees of reſearch, which deſolate France; aſſaſſinations are every where committed, and the magiſtrates of the people are themſelves maſſacred with impunity †; they ſpeak of *toleration*, yet all temples of the eſtabliſhed religion are ſhut; all its miniſters, immured in priſons throughout whole provinces ‡, are condemned by the aſſembly to be entirely baniſhed from the kingdom; the Roman catholics cannot profeſs their religion, but at the riſque of their lives, and wretches have been excited to perſecute and puniſh their worſhip, even in nunneries §, conſecrated by religion itſelf to the uſe of the poor; they ſpeak of *liberty*, yet the king is not free; every avenue from the kingdom is ſhut; more than 50,000 municipalities or adminiſtrative bodies have a right to arreſt and actually cauſe to be arreſted in an arbitrary manner, peaceful and innocent citizens. There is not a member of the uſurping aſſembly who cannot by an order from his hand, by a mere word, cauſe to put in irons, as was the caſe at Befor ‖, and other parts of France, ſtrangers flying from the melancholy ſpectacle of a people in a ſtate of anarchy; and the aſſembly itſelf accuſer, witneſs, party, judge, and executioner, crowds daily into priſon, as its caprice directs, every perſon who diſpleaſes or oppoſes it.

No—the French nation is not ſtained with the crimes of which it is itſelf the victim. It knows that unbridled liberty is a general evil; and that liberty without happineſs is a benefit to no one. It was always free; it is worthy of being, and ſtill will be free; but it will always be ſubject to the empire of laws, which promoted its happineſs and glory for ſo many ages; and by reſtoring its lawful ſovereign, a ſovereign worthy of its love and confidence; their imperial and royal majeſties will do an equal ſervice to the ſovereign and to his ſubjects. As this is the ſole object of their wiſhes, the only motive which has induced them to take up arms, they will cauſe their armies to protect all the faithful ſubjects of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, who ſhall give an example of obedience; and all good Frenchmen who, in the departments, diſtricts, and municipalities, ſhall concur in immediately re-eſtabliſhing the authority of the king, as well as public order, ſhall know no other enemies than the enemies of their king and country, and thoſe factious men, who, with arms in their hands, wiſh ſtill to ſupport the cauſe of revolt.

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* Conſpirators of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789: murderers of Avignon, Niſmes, &c, ſoldiers of Chateaux-Vieux.

† Mayors of Troye, St. Denis, Eſtampes.

‡ Mans, Anjers, Dijon, la Bretange, &c.

§ The nuns de la Charité des Hoſpitalieres were flogged and beaten by people ſent for that purpoſe, in preſence of the national guard, becauſe they deſired to hear maſs from a nonjurent prieſt.

‖ All Europe muſt have learned with horror the diſguſting and inhuman treatment which Miſs Naſh, an Engliſh lady, experienced at Orchies in Flanders, from the troops of the line, though ſhe had a paſſport from Marſhal Luckner.

God forbid that their imperial and royal majeſties ſhould have any intention of employing their forces to introduce deſpotiſm into France, to ſerve the cauſe of private hatred or vengeance, which the honour of Frenchmen ought to ſacrifice to the public good, or to facilitate an odious bankruptcy to the prejudice of the lawful creditors of the ſtate. There is no reaſon for apprehending any evils of that nature—the candour and probity of his moſt chriſtian majeſty will ſecure his ſubjects; but they have not a moment to loſe in chooſing between popular tyranny, and laws which will gratify the general wiſhes; between obedience and revolt; between the forgetfulneſs of errors, and the puniſhment of unpardonable reſiſtance. They have it in their own power to regulate their deſtiny—the deſtiny of France is in their hands—they alone can decide whether it ſhall be ſtill a flouriſhing monarchy, or an immenſe deſart.

In ſhort, their imperial and royal majeſties cannot better recal the French to their duty, to the laws of humanity, and to thoſe of honour, which were formerly ſo dear to them, and to their ancient love for their king, than by bringing to their remembrance the laſt words of the proteſtation of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, made on the 20th of June, 1791.

"Frenchmen! and you Pariſians above all! beware of giving credit to the ſuggeſtions and calumnies of your falſe friends; return to your king; he will always be your father, your beſt friend. What pleaſure it will give him to forget all the perſonal injuries he has ſuffered, and to ſee himſelf in the midſt of you!—when religion ſhall be reſpected, and government eſtabliſhed on a ſtable baſis—when the property and perſons of individuals ſhall be no longer moleſted—when the laws ſhall not be infringed with impunity, and, in ſhort, when liberty ſhall be placed on a ſolid and laſting foundation!"

III. *Of the Revolution, as it reſpects foreign Princes, who have Poſſeſſions in France.*

Conſidered under the third point of view, the French revolution, ſo fatal to France, becomes ſtill more ſo by the violence and intolerable injuſtice offered to foreign princes, who have poſſeſſions within the territories of the kingdom, and by the rigorous means which muſt neceſſarily be employed to do them juſtice.

The comtat of Avignon belonged to the Holy See. The ſovereignty of the pope over this domain was founded on an incontrovertible title of acquiſition, on poſſeſſion, which among all nations is equal to a title. The uſurping aſſembly united it to their territories by the ſanguinary right of utility and neceſſity; and compounding afterwards with themſelves, and with juſtice, they offered an indemnity to the Holy See. But if the ſovereignty of the pope was legal, they had no right to deprive him of it; and if they had a right to deprive him of it, why did they offer him an indemnification?

The prince biſhop of Baſle, a ſtate of the empire, poſſeſſes in its ſovereignty defiles, which tempted the ambition of the national aſſembly. It cauſed them to be forcibly ſeized, and removed a detachment of troops, which the emperor had ſent thither, on the requiſition of the French biſhop, for the ſafety of the country, agreeably to the Germanic conſtitution. The treaties of Weſtphalia, the Pyrenees, Breda, Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, Ryſwick, Utrecht, Baden, and Vienna, gave to France the provinces of the three biſhoprics, and of Alſace and Franche Compte, by expreſsly reverſing the rights and property of the princes and ſtates of the empire in theſe provinces, and by ſtipulating that no innovation could be made in them, either with regard to eccleſiaſtical or political matters.

It is evident that theſe treaties cannot be infringed at the will of the uſurping aſſembly, and that by calling for the execution of thoſe clauſes which ſerves their views, they have no right to reject thoſe which diſpleaſe them. It is perfectly clear, that they ought to renounce provinces which have been ceded to the crown of France, or punctually execute the condition of the ceſſions made to it.

But their decrees reſpecting the diſmemberment of dioceſes, and of the right of metropolitans; the abolition of feudality, the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral privileges, or the annihilation of territorial juriſdiction, without indemnification, and the ſale of the poſſeſſions of the clergy, are a direct infringement of the treaty of Weſtphalia, as well as of ſubſequent treaties. Theſe decrees have violated political and eccleſiaſtical rights ſecured in perpetuity by the treaties of ceſſion. Theſe ceſſions conſequently, which are ſynallagmatic acts, which muſt be executed in all their parts, or rejected *in toto*, being infringed by the uſurping aſſembly, would be at preſent annulled, were not the proceedings of the aſſembly radically null themſelves, and if it were not neceſſary that their decrees ſhould diſappear, before the grand intereſt which France has in being juſt, in not violating the ſacred rights of the empire, and in not wounding the dignity of any of its members.

But their imperial and royal majeſties are fully perſuaded, that the firſt uſe which his moſt chriſtian majeſty will make of this authority, when he has recovered it, will be to reſtore to the injured princes all their rights and privileges, to indemnify them for what they may have ſuffered in reſpect to degradation, or being deprived of their privileges; and to cement more and more, by this act of juſtice, the harmony which has for a long time ſubſiſted between the Germanic body and his moſt chriſtian majeſty. The injury offered to the German princes, who have poſſeſſions in France, is not conſidered as a reaſon for making war on his moſt chriſtian majeſty, but for placing him upon the throne in order to obtain juſtice.

IV. *On the Revolution, as it concerns all Nations.*

But the moſt general point of view, under which their imperial and royal majeſties ought to conſider the French revolution, is, as it reſpects the intereſt of all nations, and the tranquillity of Europe.

In vain would the aſſembly, which uſurps the name of the French nation, have renounced conqueſt, if it wiſhed to ſubject to its pretended

tended liberty the ſtates of their neighbours. Of all the methods of making war on peaceful, virtuous, and fortunate people, the moſt fatal, doubtleſs, would be to preach up rebellion, to miſlead their minds, to corrupt their morals, to form them to crimes by example and ſeduction, and to draw down upon them the wrath of Heaven, and puniſhment from their ſovereigns, under the pretence of rendering them happy.

The ambition of a conqueror has its bounds, and his views, when known, ceaſe to be dangerous; but a planned ſyſtem of anarchy, which tends to diſſolve all political ſociety, abounds with inexpreſſible danger; and all ſovereigns, for the intereſt of their ſubjects, cannot uſe too much expedition to check its progreſs, and to ſtifle the evil in its birth. People would pay too dearly for the fatal error of believing that their intereſts can be ſeparated from thoſe of their ſovereigns. It is therefore neceſſary to deſtroy this error as ſoon as poſſible, and to chaſtiſe, as ſoon as they appear, thoſe factious men who conſpire againſt the happineſs of all countries. Had any doubts exiſted in this reſpect, they would have been already removed by the attack and invaſion of the Pays Bas; by the plan of the uſurping aſſembly, divulged by the popular miniſter, of *ſpreading every where the flames of revolt*; a barbarous maxim, which atteſts views of cowardly ambition, and which is an inſult to all nations, and a ſignal of alarm againſt all kings. Beſides, a numerous and powerful nation cannot diſappear from the political hemiſphere of Europe without the greateſt inconvenience. The balance of power among ſovereigns, the work of their wiſdom, purchaſed by their treaſures and the blood of their ſubjects, which regulates the ambition of one by the intereſt of all; which maintains harmony amidſt contending paſſions and jarring intereſts; and which almoſt always terminates, by well-conducted negotiation, ſuch diſputes as may be expected by bloody wars, requires, for the general intereſt of Europe, that ſo conſiderable a ſtate as France ſhould not be diſſolved or withdrawn from its political engagements; and yet this would be the caſe, ſhould the preſent revolution be eſtabliſhed. The decrees * which have deprived the king of the right of making peace and war, have at once diſſolved all thoſe treaties which connected his moſt chriſtian majeſty with all the neighbouring princes. The revolution gives to the uſurping aſſembly the right of renouncing ſuch treaties as are contrary to its views, while it takes from his majeſty the means of ſupporting thoſe which might be beneficial to him. According to theſe principles, it has no more political ties than thoſe which it chooſes to approve, and it is conſequently not bound to any of its allies, though all are obliged to be faithful to it. Thus the king without power, and the nation without an army, or what amounts to the ſame thing, having no army properly diſciplined, and ſubject to authority, exhibit to their neighbours, and, above all, to their allies, nothing but the ſhadow of power. The tranquillity of Europe, however, depends abſolutely on the execution of the treaties now ſubſiſting between the different ſovereigns; and thoſe treaties themſelves depend on the ſtability of the conſtitution of thoſe ſtates which contracted them. The diſplacing, and much more the annihilation of the counterpoiſe of the political balance, would tend then to diſturb the peace of Europe, and to revive ancient diſputes and pretenſions, now ſettled, the diſcuſſion of which again renewed would occaſion the loſs of much blood, and excite the tears and regrets of humanity. It belongs to the wiſdom of ſovereigns to avert ſuch dreadful misfortunes; and it is with this view that their imperial and royal majeſties think themſelves obliged, for the general tranquillity and ſafety, and for the individual happineſs of their reſpective ſubjects, as much as for the real intereſt of France itſelf, to have recourſe to arms, in order to prevent the annihilation of the French monarchy, and to deſtroy there every ſpark of inſurrection, which might continually threaten and endanger the welfare of all ſovereigns, and of all nations.

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* Decree of March 22d, 1792.

But, yielding to what that honour of all crowns, and the real intereſt of all people, requires, their majeſties declare to Europe, that, in the juſt war which they have undertaken, they entertain no views of perſonal aggrandizement, which they expreſsly renounce; and to France, that they mean not to interfere with its internal adminiſtration, but that they are firmly and fully reſolved,

To re-eſtabliſh in it order and public ſecurity:

To cauſe the perſons and property of all thoſe who ſhall ſubmit to the king, their lawful ſovereign, to be protected:

To puniſh, in a ſtriking manner, all reſiſtance to their arms:

To give up the city of Paris to the moſt dreadful and terrible juſtice, from which nothing can ſave it, as well as all the other cities which may render themſelves its accomplices, if the leaſt inſult, or the leaſt outrage, is offered to the king, the queen, or the royal family; and if that city does not endeavour to expiate its errors, and to merit the interpoſition and good offices of their imperial and royal majeſties, to obtain pardon, by immediately reſtoring liberty, and paying every due honour and reſpect to their moſt chriſtian majeſties:

In ſhort, to procure to the king perfect ſecurity in ſome frontier town of his kingdom, and the means of collecting there his family, and the princes his brothers, until his moſt chriſtian majeſty can enter his capital with honour, and enjoy there the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his ſubjects repent; of conferring new favours upon them; of granting them real liberty; and conſequently of finding them ſubmiſſive to his ſupreme authority.

The Declaration of the Princes, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Brothers, and the Princes of the Blood united with them. Addreſſed to France *and to all* Europe, *and containing their Sentiments and Intentions.*

ALTHOUGH it is evidently manifeſt that the confederated tated powers, whoſe troops are aſſembled on the frontiers of France, neither wage war againſt the king nor the nation, but ſolely againſt the factious, who oppreſs both; and, notwithſtanding the declaration publiſhed in the names of their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, by the reigning duke of Brunſwick, ſufficiently demonſtrates the motives and views of this formidable coalition, the princes, his moſt chriſtian majeſty's brothers, the princes of the blood united with them, valiant nobility marching in their train, and the flower of the nation ranged under their ſtandard, cannot make a junction with foreign armies, which a declaration of war, made in the name of France, has brought into their country, without explaining to his majeſty, and to all Europe, their motives, their ſentiments, and their intentions.

When we firſt took the reſolution of leaving the kingdom, it was not ſo much from a deſire for our own perſonal ſafety, as for that of the king; by fruſtrating the miſchiefs which threatened us, and to ſolicit for him that aſſiſtance which his ſituation did not allow him to aſk for himſelf.

And now that we are on the point of returning into our country, it is with the ſatisfaction of having accompliſhed theſe two great objects; and finding ourſelves on the eve of enjoying the advantages of our ſucceſs.

The emigration from our country, was to make ourſelves the ſafeguard of his majeſty: our return preſents the proſpect of his approaching emancipation, as well as that of his people.

The former, the effect of violence, has prevented its being carried to the greateſt extremity: the latter, protected by the moſt formidable armies, makes the guilty faction, whom Providence has, in a manner, inſpired to provoke them, tremble at their approach.

To recapitulate the almoſt incredible occurrences which have filled up the interval of theſe two periods, would be to recal the remembrance of the moſt horrible crimes, and the moſt afflicting ſorrows: but at this moment, when the attention of the whole univerſe is fixed upon us, and all Europe is in motion for the recovery of its tranquillity; at this moment, in which thoſe who ſupport the throne are declared rebels by thoſe who are overſetting it, it becomes an indiſpenſable duty to make known to the nations, and to hand down to poſterity, a detail of that chain of principal events, which at once juſtify what we have done, what we are doing, and what is doing for us.

Three years have lapſed ſince a conſpiracy of atrocious minds conceived the project of ſubſtituting, inſtead of the ancient ſtructure of our monarchy, the ſhapeleſs form of an indefinable government, the incoherence of which could only, and, indeed, has produced the moſt barbarous anarchy.

It was from the aſſembly of the ſtates-general that this monſtrous ſyſtem ſprung, unnatural in its principle, encouraging revolt, overturning all authority, and breaking the bonds of ſocial order. On convoking it, the king had ſaid to his people, 'What muſt I do to make you happy?' And, by the blackeſt ingratitude, this ſignal mark of good-will became the ſource of all his misfortunes.

In their ſitting, the *tiers état*, abuſing the preponderance which a treacherous miniſter had obtained for it, attacked the other two orders: they were ſacrificed; and very ſhortly after, the aſſembly, governed by a licentious democracy refractory to its mandates, perjured in its oaths, and trampling under foot the conditions of its exiſtence, erected itſelf into a conſtituent aſſembly, and ſeized poſſeſſion of the whole legiſlative power, an uſurpation which, in its principle, has deſtroyed, and rendered effectually null and void all that they have ſince done.

Poſterity will ſcarcely be able to believe the abominable exceſſes which have been the conſequence of that firſt departure from order: it will hardly be able to conceive that, in three months time, the horrible artifices which were made uſe of, could have produced ſuch deluſion as to extirpate a mild people, attached to its king, and ſubſtitute in its place nothing but hordes of robbers, cannibals, and regicides!

Oh! that we could, at the price of our lives, efface the memory of thoſe ſhocking days, which will for ever ſully the annals of our hiſtory! in which the aſylum of kings was violated by a frantic populace, the queen's life threatened, his majeſty's guards butchered before his eyes, and triumphant uſurpation leading captive, after having loaded him with inſults, a virtuous monarch, who was ever the father of his people!

One would have thought, that the general cries of indignation, excited by the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, preceded by the ſcandalous ſcene of the 14th of July, would have made the city of Paris bluſh for ever, at the mad exceſſes into which they ſuffered themſelves to be drawn, and preſerved the French name from a freſh ſtain of the ſame nature: but the violences committed on the 18th of April, 1791, in the palace of the Thuilleries, and the inſults then offered to royal majeſty, prolonged that train of horrors, the meaſure of which was filled up by the arreſt at Varennes on the 21ſt of June following, and by the ignominious circumſtances which attended it.

The anti-monarchic faction, irritated at ſeeing that their monarch had attempted to eſcape from the diſgrace and torment of his captivity; irritated ſtill more that he had ſeized the firſt moment of liberty which he had enjoyed for near two years, to proteſt againſt all the acts, conſents, ſpeeches, and ſanctions, which conſtraint had forced from him—*dared* to interrogate him; they again put fetters on him, as well as on the queen, and deliberated whether they ſhould not drag them both as criminals before their tribunal. They did it not; but by a refinement in villainy, not leſs cruel, though more advantageous to their views, they made uſe of, at one and the ſame time, the moſt ſavage menaces, and the moſt treacherous illuſion, to compel the unfortunate monarch himſelf to ſubſcribe to the degradation of his throne, and the ruin of his people.

No perſonal danger, if it had threatened him only, could have moved his ſoul. He has recently proved it; but they exhibited to him the poignard uplifted againſt what he held moſt dear; they told him that his refuſal would lead to the maſſacre of his moſt faithful ſervants; and, at the ſame time, they held up to him the hopes of repentance on the part of his people, and the return of tranquillity: HE SIGNED.

What has been the fruit of all this? Tranquillity has not been reſtored; and the momentary releaſe of the king from captivity, (which was done with no other view than to impoſe on foreign nations) was ſoon after ſucceeded by renewed ſcenes of violence. Can there be a ſtronger characteriſtic mark of it, than enforcing him wantonly to declare againſt his ally, againſt his nephew, and againſt a ſovereign whoſe protection he could not but deſire? Had he been free, this king, who had made ſuch repeated ſacrifices from the fear of doing an injury to his people, would he have drawn on them this terrible ſcourge, greater than any other calamity which they have brought headlong on themſelves?

The greateſt condeſcenſions will never ſtop the impetuoſity of ſeditious villainy, nor the combined manœuvres of an uſurping faction; its audacity nouriſhes itſelf, by the terror which it inſpires, and yields only to the apprehenſions which it creates.

Whatever the king has ſuffered, whatever he has done, ſaid, or written, againſt his well-known will, has not prevented theſe barbarous libellers from continuing to load him with the moſt diſgraceful opprobrium, to expoſe his auguſt conſort to the outrages of an hired populace, who have anſwered her complaints by the moſt ferocious invective, and have even diſputed with her the privilege of claiming the pity of her people. In theſe ſeveral triumphs, they have exhibited the ſovereign as chained to their deſigns. In the different progreſſes of his continued detention, they have made uſe of him as an organ to perſuade Europe of his pretended liberty; but though no one has been impoſed on by this cruel deriſion, they continue impudently to perſiſt in it, and force him to declare himſelf at liberty, at the very moment they are diſpoſing of his council, and impriſoning and maſſacring his miniſters; at the moment they are ſuppreſſing his guard, and arreſting the faithful captain of it; at the moment that they are ſuffering his majeſty to be denounced, menaced, and publicly inſulted; and that the moſt villainous canaille, breaking open the doors of his palace, come with pikes in their hands (as it had done on the 20th of June preceding), to ſignify to him, with unbluſhing effrontery, its will, and pollute his ſacred head with the moſt diſgraceful ſymbols of revolt. That ſuch horrible iniquity ſhould paſs unpuniſhed, makes nature ſhudder. But ſo far from puniſhing theſe guilty perſons, the reigning faction multiplies them, and invites to the capital the moſt determined aſſaſſins from all parts of the country, as if it wiſhed to announce, in the face of all Europe, armed againſt ſuch crimes, that, at the laſt hour of the revolution, its atrocity ſurpaſſes even the horrible exceſſes which marked its firſt progreſs.

This affecting review of the attempts committed againſt the perſon

ſon of the king, grieves our ſoul too poignantly, that we ſhould reflect on it any longer. It therefore remains with us only rapidly to expoſe the other attempts, which have violated all the laws of the kingdom, and deſtroyed public order to its very foundation.

The force and the dignity of the throne being annihilated, all the powers of it have been been accumulated in the graſp of a factious majority, governed by incendiary clubs; and which (being ſupported within by hired auditors, and without by ſeditious gangs of people), has exerciſed, without ſhame, the moſt arbitrary deſpotiſm, againſt which it has never ceaſed to declaim.

We have ſeen it proſcribing indiſtinctly abuſes and privileges, confounding deſtruction with reform, oppoſing an intemperate licentiouſneſs to the wiſe liberty which a beneficent monarch had offered to his people, occupied only in deſtroyed it, encompaſſing itſelf with ruins, undermining all kinds of property, attacking all the revenues, particularly that which was appropriated to the dignity of the throne; ſuppreſſing the inſeparable diſtinction of monarchical government, held ſacred from immemorial poſſeſſion; ſtripping the crown of prerogatives which the whole nation, with the unanimous conſent of its different parts, had commanded to be reſpected; and reducing the royal power even to leſs than ſhadow.

They deſtroyed the adminiſtration of juſtice, by truſting fortunes, privileges, and perſons, to the incapacity of ſubaltern judges, removable at pleaſure; placed out of the reach of the obſervation of the ſupreme head of the ſtate, and dependant on the caprices of a mob, maſters of their choice and of their fate. . . . .

They invaded the property of the clergy, at the moment in which they were offering to the finances of the ſtate, ſacrifices capable of reſtoring them; they changed and confounded the limits of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; exacted from the paſtors an oath inconſiſtent with their conſciences; offered them the alternative of apoſtaſy or deprivation.

The clergy of France having remained unſhaken in their duties, excepting a very ſmall number of renegadoes, who did themſelves juſtice by ſeparating from a body worthy of public veneration, the aſſembly not only dared to declare the epiſcopal ſees vacant, interdict the apoſtolic functions to thoſe who held them by divine miſſion, and replace them by falſe titularies, deſtitute of all canonical appointment; but add all the horrors of perſecution, deliver over the miniſters of religion to the unbridled fury of a mad populace; put fetters on them, baniſh them, and iſſued decrees againſt them, dictated by the moſt inhuman fanaticiſm.

They even aim to overthrow religion itſelf by ill-treating its miniſters in the cruelleſt manner. Enemies to all authority know that religion is the ſureſt pledge for the obedience of the people; that there is no religion without form of worſhip, and no form of worſhip without miniſters; no miniſters without a regular inſtitution; and no regard for eſtabliſhed miniſters, if their income is uncertain and precarious.

It is, therefore, in conſequence

of their ſyſtem of abſolute independence, that they wiſh to deſtroy religion, by deſtroying at once its worſhip, its miniſters, the laws of their inſtitution, and the reſpect due to their condition.

Their cavillers, publicly profeſſing atheiſm and immorality, labour inceſſantly to take away from the people the conſolation and the ſalutary reſtraint of religious ideas: encouragements and even rewards are ſolemnly decreed in the favour of ſcandal and impiety; the churches profaned and ſhut againſt the catholics; the prieſts purſued to the foot of the altar; and aged paſtors ſacrificed without pity. Inſults which put modeſty to the bluſh, multiplied, tolerated, and authoriſed, even in the moſt ſacred ſanctuaries: complaints made, for no other purpoſe but to provoke freſh violences; and the adminiſtrators of juſtice ſtanding by, either as tame ſpectators or accomplices in all thoſe enormities.

Such has been the conſequence of the fatal combination of the ſpirit of revolt and philoſophical fanaticiſm.

The moſt execrable means have been employed for three years paſt to form, ſupport, and propagate this fatal conſpiracy againſt all laws human and divine. Its authors began their reign by corruption, by artifice and popular hypocriſy: they have maintained it by fire and the ſword. Their daggers and their incendiary torches threatened whoever dared to avow themſelves attached to lawful authority. Theſe novel factious innovators have employed in the conqueſt and the progreſs of their uſurpations, all the poiſon of calumny, the inquiſition of odious enquiry, the tyrant of oppreſſive means, the ſeduction of influence over credulity, and the terror of power over weakneſs.

Such are the arms with which they have dared to declare war againſt all empires, to openly proclaim their ſeditious doctrines, and to effect it by means of emiſſaries, diſturbers of the people, preachers of regicide, and inſtigators to inſurrections, which they have not bluſhed to call *the moſt ſacred of duties.*

One would think that the remedy for ſuch diabolical phrenzy would be found in the exceſſes which it has promoted; in the indignation which it excites; in the contempt which it deſerves.

But its progreſs has pointed out to ſovereigns that it is high time to unite their forces; to check the contagion in its birth; to bring thoſe to reaſon again by force, who no longer liſten to its gentle voice; and ſtrike with ſalutary terror thoſe whom an unaccountable delirium renders inſenſible to the calamities they are ſuffering.

Who is there that would not be affected to ſee that once ſo flouriſhing kingdom, to which nature has been laviſh in the means of making it ſuch? That kingdom ſo rich in population; ſo fruitful in its productions, and which once abounded in money; ſo opulent from its reſources and its commerce; from the induſtry of its inhabitants, and the advantages of its colonies: that kingdom provided with ſo many uſeful inſtitutions, and whoſe happy abodes have been univerſally courted;—preſenting at this moment nothing but the appearance of a barbarous country, given up to rapine, ſtained with bloody ruins, and deſerted by its principal inhabitants; an unorganized empire, torn with inteſtine diſtraction, ſtripped of all its riches, threatened with every ſpecies of ſcarcity, enervated from three years internal diſorders, and on the brink of diſſolution through anarchy: a nation without manners, police, or government; as little to be known again by its moral character, as by its political ſituation—having neither circulation of money, public revenue, credit, commerce, army, or juſtice, or any energy in the public ſtrength? Mad wickedneſs has ſwept them all away.

How is it poſſible that the ſad impreſſion of ſo many ills ſhould not have altered opinions, even thoſe of the people themſelves? Is there a perſon who can ſtill ſhut his eyes againſt the diſaſtrous effects of the revolution; or one who does not feel, and, in ſome meaſure, ſuffer more or leſs from it?

The huſbandman, whom they had intoxicated with the deceitful hope of paying no more taxes, beholds himſelf overwhelmed with contributions, and pays double what he did before.

The artificer groans under the languor of labour, and the dearneſs of proviſions.

The tradeſman is ruined by the removal of his beſt cuſtomers. The merchant by the devaſtation of our beſt colonies! and both by the evil of paper currency and a general want of credit.

The proprietor of property ſacrificed to a multitude deſtitute of property, and ſtripped with impunity by authoriſed rapine, is continually expoſed to the fury of that mob of plunderers whom the factious have made their tools, their allies, and their protectors.

The ſtockholder, although leſs to be pitied than others, ſhares in like manner the public misfortunes. He trembles for his ſtock, and that bankruptcy which the authors of our troubles have ſo perfidiouſly and ſlanderouſly imputed the intention of to the king and the government: that bankruptcy which, in a kingdom like France, can never be a matter of neceſſity, and which an enlightened adminiſtration will always conſider as a falſe reſource. He perceives it operating ſince the revolution, by the ſuſpenſion of legal exactions; by the breach of a multitude of public engagements; by the delays and formalities to which the acquittal of rents is ſubject; by the great depreciation of aſſignats; finally, from the impoſſibility of fulfilling engagements ſo long as France ſhall be without a government, and taxes demanded of armed contributors in the name of a deſpicable adminiſtration.

Thus has a general calamity extended for three years paſt over all ranks of people. Thus the very ſources of power and proſperity have diſappeared; and thus have both its military force and its political conſequence fallen.

Thus have vaniſhed the eighty millions which St. Domingo produced; the reſources which the ports of France derived from this commerce; the ſale that this grand eſtabliſhment yielded to her commodities and to her manufactures; the nurſery it was for ſeamen; in a word, the fortunes of 20,000 families, and the employment of ſeveral millions of men, are loſt.

To purchaſe liberty at the price of ſo many loſſes, ſo many misfortunes, both public and private, is doubtleſs paying very dear for it: *But what liberty is it?* Can any exiſt without a protecting authority? And was there ever a time that this people, whoſe liberty, and even ſovereignty, are ſo cried up, were leſs free and leſs maſters of their actions than now?

Were individuals ever leſs certain of preſerving their property, their lives, and their honour? Was there ever ſeen, even in Nero's days, ſuch devaſtation, ſuch inquiſitorial examinations, ſo many oppreſſive ſhackles, ſo many violations of the moſt ſacred ſanctuaries, ſo many maſſacres of citizens? Are the 30,000 aſſaſſins who have ſignalized the reign of democratic tyranny, proofs of the reign of liberty?

Oh! too credulous Frenchmen! Oh! too unhappy country! While we are deſirous of aboliſhing the cauſe of the evils which overwhelm you; when we are marching againſt the baſe faction which has given riſe to them; when we unite our armies with the forces of powers whoſe aſſiſtance we have implored againſt your tyrannical oppreſſors, can you look upon us as your enemies?

No, no!—you behold in us fellow countrymen, who wiſh to become your deliverers.

The two ſovereigns, with whoſe aſſiſtance we are advancing towards you, have declared through their hero, the commander in chief of their armies, 'That they have no other object in view but the welfare of France, without meaning to enrich themſelves at her expence by conqueſt: they do not mean to interfere in the internal government of the kingdom; but that they wiſh ſolely to liberate the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and preſerve to his moſt chriſtian majeſty that ſecurity neceſſary to enable him to do, without danger and without obſtacle, what he may think fit for ſecuring the happineſs of his ſubjects according to his promiſes.'

Theſe generous, theſe magnanimous declarations, in which the kings of the houſe of Bourbon, our auguſt couſins; our much-honoured father-in-law, the Neſtor of ſovereigns; the heroine of the north, our ſublime protectreſs; and the young heir of the unfortunate Guſtavus, whoſe bloody tomb we all bathe with our tears, equally participate, enſure to theſe illuſtrious confederates the immortal palm due to the defenders of a cauſe, which is at the ſame time the cauſe of kings, of good order and humanity; and at the ſame time ſhew you, Oh Frenchmen! that the forces which we join are for you rather than ourſelves; that they are only formidable to guilt, that they will attack nothing but obſtinate rebellion, and that by coming over to us, rather than reſiſt their ſuperiority, you will only return to your reaſon and to your duty, your deareſt intereſts inviting you to it.

It is in full aſſurance of this, that we think ourſelves juſtified in joining our ſtandard to thoſe of foreign powers. By publiſhing their intentions, they have ſhewn the propriety of the ſtep we are taking; and our wiſhes for their ſucceſs are mixed with thoſe which we are conſtantly entertaining for the welfare of our country.

The factious, your real enemies as well as ours, have told you that we were animated with violent and implacable reſentments; that we breathed nothing but vengeance, carnage, and proſcription; and that there was no mercy to be expected from a nobility too juſtly offended not to be deaf to the calls of it.

Thoſe who tell you this, Frenchmen, are the men who for three years paſt have been in the habit of deceiving you, who have made it their principal ſtudy, who have eſtabliſhed ſhops for lies and falſe news, which the orators of the tribunes promulgate, the clubs believe, and the revolution libelliſts ſpread far and wide.

Intereſted in alienating you from thoſe with whoſe pure and unalterable attachment of the king, and the fundamental principles of monarchy, they are acquainted; they ſtrive to raiſe your hatred againſt your emigrated countrymen, the *abuſe* not being able to *ſeduce* us; and to deſtroy the fondneſs you have for the heirs of a name, dear to you for many ages back, they endeavour to terrify you with the intentions, with which, they ſay, we are coming into the kingdom.

But be no longer the dupes of their guilty arts: we ſolemnly declare to you, and all Europe is witneſs to what we declare, as well in our names as in thoſe of all the French who are marching with us, and who are of our way of thinking, that united to deliver the king and the people from the deſpotiſm of uſurpers, we do not ſeparate ourſelves from thoſe who have the ſame intention: that no ſpirit of particular vengeance guides our ſteps: that we are very far from confounding the nation with the perverſe ſeducers who have led it aſtray; and that leaving to juſtice the care of puniſhing the guilty, we come to hold out our hands to all thoſe who, renouncing their errors, ſhall immediately return to their duty.

The emigrated French have not taken arms to recover by the ſword the rights which violence has wreſted from them; it will belong to the king, when liberated, to reſtore them; they will willingly lay at the foot of his unſhackled throne the care of their own intereſts; and we, the firſt citizens of the ſtate, will give to all an example of ſubmiſſion to juſtice and his majeſty's will.

But being born hereditary defenders of the throne of our anceſtors, faithful to the religion of our forefathers, attached to the fundamental maxims of monarchy, we will rather ſhed the laſt drop of our blood than abandon any of theſe high intereſts. Our ſentiments already expreſſed in our letter of the 10th of laſt December, and recapitulated in a few words in our publication of the 30th of October, are *unchangeable*. The proteſtations we made then, we now repeat again; inſpired by honour, engraven on our hearts from duty, nothing ſhall ever be able to move us.

We will not go a point beyond that; and the ſupport of the courts whoſe formidable armies ſurround France on every ſide, adds nothing to our firſt wiſhes and intentions.

Adhering fully to the ſpirit of moderation, with which their imperial and Pruſſian majeſties have juſt publiſhed a ſolemn declaration of, which does honour to, and will immortalize the uſe they make of their power.

We declare moreover again, under their auſpices, 'That our only object is to re-demand from the uſurpers the monarch, and the monarchy—the freedom of the auguſt head of the ſtate, and that of his people—public order, and the protective power of individual right—our ancient laws—our manners, our religion, national honour, juſtice, peace, and ſecurity.'

Is there a rational Frenchman who does not agree with us in theſe views? Is there one who does not join with us in demanding an end of the frightful chaos, into which the factious have plunged all the branches of adminiſtration; the eſtabliſhment of the finances devoured by the vileſt depredations; the reconſtitution of the public revenue deſtroyed through unſkilful adminiſtration of it; a permanent and regular order of things which may cloſe the pit that has ſwallowed up *three thouſand millions of ſtock*; the ſecurity of ſtate creditors, and the reſtoration of credit, which may, and ought to operate by a ſtrict reform in the expenditure, and by the ſuppreſſion (which the king has always had in view) of abuſes, which were long ago introduced into the conſtitution; abuſes which it is not eaſy to wipe away, but which thoſe who have overturned every thing, even ſo as to change the ideas and ſentiments of men, have affected to confound with the government itſelf.

In thus expreſſing our wiſhes, which are no otherwiſe guided than by that common intereſt which the whole nation, by its repreſentatives, pronounced to be *one*, we have reaſon to hope that all thoſe who are not ſeditiouſly inclined—all that are not inimical to loyalty, inimical to legitimate authority and public tranquillity, will not heſitate a moment to join us; and that a very great majority of the inhabitants of the kingdom, hitherto reſtrained by the terror of popular tyranny, or uneaſineſs about what will become of them at laſt, having now the proſpect of being protected againſt both, will ſoon flock to the royal ſtandard which we are following.

Full of this confidence, and convinced that in France there can be but two parties; the king's, of which we are the head during his captivity; and that of the *factious*, which comprehends all the different innovators, ſome of whom have undertaken to overſet the throne, and others to degrade it; we exhort all thoſe who have not partaken of the crimes of the factious, all thoſe who have been merely led aſtray; do not wiſh to be the accomplices of furious uſurpers in deſtroying or perverting the French government; all thoſe who abhor that atrocious doctrine which tends to diſturb the peace of all nations; we beſeech them to be of one and the ſame mind with us, not to diſpute on the mode of regulating the ſtate, when the queſtion is to fight together againſt thoſe who wiſh to deſtroy it; and to acknowledge that if it is neceſſary to correct the abuſes which time introduces into the beſt inſtitutions, all innovations in the primæval principles of a government, which antiquity renders reſpectable, is always dangerous, and almoſt always fatal. We have no doubt but the biſhops, eſpecially thoſe in the frontier provinces, will redouble their zeal at this moment to ſtrengthen the courage of the paſtors whom the flight of the intruders will ſoon put into poſſeſſion of the exerciſes of their duties, and to excite their dioceſans to avert, by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion, the ſtorm that is ready to burſt upon their heads.

We give to the king's troops the moſt preſſing invitations, and even *orders* (which the ſtate of captivity in which his majeſty is authoriſes us to give in his name), that, conformably to the ſummons contained in the 3d article of the declaration of his ſerene highneſs the reigning duke of Brunſwick, and without looking upon themſelves as bound by an illuſory oath, which they could not willingly take to the prejudice of their ſupreme chief, they will loſe no time in returning to their ancient fidelity to their lawful ſovereign; that, after the example of the greater part of their officers, they will join the troops, which we, his majeſty's brothers, *command for him*; that they will give us free paſſage to march to his aſſiſtance; and that they give him, in conjunction with us, proofs of an inviolable attachment to his ſervice.

We expreſsly require, in the king's name, as being at this moment the neceſſary medium through which his will is to be made known, all commanders of towns, citadels, and fortreſſes, throughout the kingdom, to open their gates and deliver up the keys, on the firſt ſummons which ſhall be given by us, or by the general officers who may be the bearers of our orders to that effect; as alſo to give free admiſſion to the troops which ſhall preſent themſelves to aſſiſt us in taking poſſeſſion in the name of the king, our brother. If, contrary to our expectation, any of theſe commanders ſhall refuſe it, they ſhall be perſonally anſwerable for the conſequences; tried for diſobedience to the king; and treated as rebels.

The inhabitants of places and forts, as well as the troops in garriſons, who ſhall oppoſe and diſobey the chiefs and commanders who would bring them back to their duty, ſhall be puniſhed as traitors, and have neither favour nor mercy to expect.

The voice of Henry the Fourth's deſcendants will not be diſowned by the French army; we are already informed in part of its good will; and we know that, bluſhing to follow the chiefs of a conſpiracy whom it deſpiſes, it only waits a favourable moment to make its juſt indignation burſt upon thoſe corruptors who diſhonour it.

That *moment is at hand*, and we have good ground to believe, that, as ſoon as the troops of the line advance towards them, the corps of French cavaliers, led by the Bourbons, and preceded by that ancient banner which was always the ſignal of honour to our army, the voice of the public opinion for fourteen centuries paſt will make itſelf be heard in their ranks, as well as in our own; that they will flock to their ancient colours, and at the ſight of the untarniſhed and immortal purity of the Fleurs-de-Lys they will quit with horror the diſgraceful colours adopted by fanaticiſm.

Oh! may we thus terminate, without ſpilling the blood of our fellow citizens, a war which is only directed againſt criminal and obſtinate reſiſtance! May the ſeditious inhabitants of the capital be reſtrained by the fear of the moſt juſt and the moſt terrible vengeance, with which their imperial and Pruſſian majeſties have declared they will overwhelm that guilty city; in caſe ‘ the leaſt violence or inſult ſhall be offered to the king, the queen, and the royal family; or in caſe their ſecurity, their preſervation, and their liberty, is not immediately provided for.’

God forbid that infamous villainy ſhould dare to brave theſe threats! if ſuch atrocity—our very blood boils and ſhudders at the thought! Let us hope, rather hope, that chimeras are near a concluſion; that the bandage will drop from all eyes, and that reaſon will reſume its reign. It is our moſt earneſt wiſh, and we pray to the God of juſtice and peace, that the ſubmiſſion of the factious may ſpare us the neceſſity of fighting them. But if that neceſſity ſhould be inevitable, if we muſt fight the enemies of the altar and the throne, we will invoke with confidence the aſſiſtance of the God of armies!

Given at our head quarters, near Treves, the 8th day of Auguſt, 1792.

(Signed)

Louis-Stanislaus Xavier (Monsieur), a ſon of France, and brother to the King.

Charles Philip (Count d'Artois), a ſon of France, and brother to the King.

Louis Anthony (d'Artois), Duke d'Angoulême, a grandſon of France.

Charles Ferdinand (d'Artois), Duke de Berry, a grandſon of France.

Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince of Condé.

Louis Henry Joseph de Bourbon, Duke of Bourbon.

Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien.

Addreſs of the French *Princes to their Troops, before they entered* France.

Gentlemen,

TO-MORROW we ſhall enter France. From that day the operations entruſted to us will neceſſarily take their colour, and our conduct may fix the fate of France.

You are not ignorant of the calumnies unceaſingly heaped upon you by our enemies, and the pains they take to circulate, that we re-enter our country for no purpoſe, but to ſubject it to our private revenge.

It is by our conduct, gentlemen; it is by the cordiality with which we ſhall receive the deluded who may throw themſelves into our arms, that we ſhall prove to all Europe that the French nobleſſe, more illuſtrious than ever by their misfortunes and their conſtancy, know how to conquer their enemies, and to forgive the errors of their countrymen.

The powers committed to us, would give us a right to exact whatever our intereſt and our glory might ſuggeſt; but we ſpeak to French gentlemen, and their hearts, full of true honour, will never forget the duties which this noble ſentiment impoſes.

Expoſition of the Motives on which the French *National Aſſembly have proclaimed the Convocation of a National Convention, and pronounced the Suſpenſion of the executive Power in the Hands of the King.*

THE national aſſembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to poſterity, a rigorous account of the motives which have determined their late reſolutions.

Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of ſaving their country, they wiſhed to fulfil both at the ſame time, and to do all that the public ſafety required, without uſurping the powers with which the people had not entruſted them.

At the opening of their ſeſſion, an aſſemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correpondence with all the enemies of liberty that were ſtill to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line; and fanatical prieſts, infuſing trouble into ſuperſtitious minds, ſought to perſuade thoſe deluded citizens, that the conſtitution wounded the rights of conſcience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to ſchiſmatical and ſacrilegious perſons.

Finally, a league formed among powerful kings, menaced the liberty of France; they fancied that they had a right to fix to what degree the intereſt of their deſpotiſm permitted us to be free, and flattered themſelves, that they ſhould ſee the ſovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, fall down before the arms of their ſlaves.

Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would ſoon encreaſe the danger.

The national aſſembly thought it their duty to repreſs the emigrants, and to reſtrain the factious prieſts by ſevere decrees; and the king employed againſt theſe decrees the ſuſpenſive refuſal of ſanction, which the conſtitution granted him. In the mean time, thoſe emigrants and thoſe prieſts were buſily acting in the name of the king; it was to reeſtabliſh him in what they called his lawful authority that the former had taken up arms, and the latter were preaching aſſaſſination and treaſon. Theſe emigrants were the brothers of the king, his relations, his former body guards. And while the correſpondence of theſe facts, with the conduct of the king, authorized, nay, enjoined diſtruſt, this refuſal of the ſanction applied to decrees that could not be ſuſpended without being annihilated, ſhewed clearly how the veto, ſuſpenſive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the king the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the meaſures which the legiſlative body might think neceſſary for maintaining liberty.

From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people ſhewed thoſe gloomy diſcontents that announced ſtorms; and the ſuſpicions which accuſed the executive power, diſplayed themſelves with energy.

The national aſſembly were not diſcouraged. Princes who profeſſed themſelves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants not an aſylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themſelves into military bodies, of levying ſoldiers, of providing warlike ſtores; and the king was invited, by a ſolemn meſſage, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a ſilence that had been kept but too long. He ſeemed to yield to the national wiſh; preparations for war were ordered; but it was ſoon perceived, that the negotiations conducted by a miniſtry, weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promiſes, which remaining unexecuted, could not be regarded but as a ſnare or an inſult. The league of kings aſſumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league appeared the emperor, brother-in-law to the king of the French, united to the nation by a treaty uſeful to himſelf alone, which the conſtituting aſſembly, deceived by the miniſtry, had maintained, by ſacrificing, to preſerve the hope, at that time well-founded, of an alliance with the houſe of Brandenbourg.

The national aſſembly thought that it was neceſſary for the ſafety of France, to oblige the emperor to declare whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the one bound him to give ſuccours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her, treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of ſeparating the king from the nation, and of repreſenting a war againſt the French people, as ſuccours granted to his ally. The emperor's anſwer augmented the diſtruſt which this combination of circumſtances rendered ſo natural. In it he repeated the abſurd charges againſt the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the French people, againſt the popular ſocieties eſtabliſhed in our cities, with which the partizans of the French miniſtry had long wearied the counter-revolution preſſes. He made proteſtations of his deſire to continue the ally of the king, and he had juſt ſigned a new league againſt France, in favour of the authority of the king of the French.

Theſe leagues, theſe treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had ſolicited them in the name of the king, had been concealed by the miniſters from the repreſentatives of the people. No public diſavowal of theſe intrigues, no effort to prevent or diſſolve this conſpiracy of monarchs, had ſhewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the king had ſincerely united his own cauſe to that of the nation.

This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna, ſtruck every mind; the national aſſembly thought it their duty to examine with vigour the conduct of the miniſter for foreign affairs; and a decree of accuſation was the reſult of this examination. His colleagues diſappeared with him, and the king's council was formed of patriot miniſters.

The ſucceſſor of Leopold followed the courſe of his father. He thought proper to require for the princes, formerly poſſeſſing fiefs in Alſace, indemnifications incompatible with the French conſtitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length, he announced other cauſes of complaint, which could not, he ſaid, be diſcuſſed before having tried the force of arms.

The king ſeemed to feel, that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently, without betraying a ſhameful weakneſs; he ſeemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an intereſt in his fate, and to deſire his alliance, for no purpoſe but to ſow ſeeds of diſcord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our forces, and to ſtop or diſconcert their motions; he propoſed war by the unanimous advice of his council, and war was decreed.

By protecting the aſſemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by ſhewing troops in readineſs to ſecond them on the firſt ſucceſs, by preparing a retreat for them, by perſiſting in a threatening league, the king of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence, ruinous in their expence, exhauſted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conſpirators diſperſed through the departments, excited uneaſineſs among the citizens, and thus fomented in them, and perpetuated trouble. Never did hoſtilities more really juſtify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

The national aſſembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithſtanding promiſes ſo often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheleſs, their uneaſineſs, their diſtruſt, ſtill reſted on the former miniſters, on the ſecret councils of the king; but they ſoon ſaw the patriotic miniſters croſſed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the royal authority, by thoſe who made a parade of perſonal attachment to the king.

Our armies were tormented with political diviſions: diſcord was ſown among the commanders of the troops, as between the generals and the miniſtry. Attempts were made to transform into the inſtruments of a party, which concealed not its deſire of ſubſtituting its will for that of the repreſentatives of the nation, thoſe very armies that were deſtined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintain the national independence.

The machinations of the prieſts becoming more active in the moment of war, made a reſtraining law indiſpenſable—one was paſſed.

The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers was a diſpoſition happily calculated for external defence, while at the ſame time it ſerved to give ſecurity to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their diſquiets might have produced; the formation of ſuch a camp was ordered; but theſe two decrees were rejected by the king, and the patriotic miniſters were diſmiſſed.

The conſtitution had granted to the king a guard of 1800 men, and this guard audaciouſly manifeſted a contempt of civic duties, which inſpired the citizens with indignation, or with terror; hatred of the conſtitution, and above all, of liberty and equality, were the beſt titles for being admitted into it.

The aſſembly was forced to diſſolve his guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail ſoon to occaſion, and the plots of a counter-revolution, of which but too many indications were already manifeſt. The decree was ſanctioned; but a proclamation by the king beſtowed praiſes on thoſe very men, whoſe diſmiſſion from his ſervice he had juſt pronounced, to thoſe whom he had admitted to be men juſtly accuſed of being the enemies of liberty.

The new miniſters excited well-founded diſtruſt; and as this diſtruſt could not ſtop at them, it fell on the king himſelf.

The application of the refuſal of ſanction to decrees, rendered neceſſary by circumſtances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and muſt ſtop with the decrees,

crees, was regarded in the general opinion as an interpretation of the conſtitutional act, contrary to liberty, and even to the ſpirit of the conſtitution. The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immenſe croud of citizens joined to form a petition; in it, they ſolicited the recal of the patriotic miniſters, and the retraction of the refuſal to ſanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They deſired leave to paſs in arms before the national aſſembly, after their deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They deſired to preſent the ſame petition to the king, and to preſent it under the forms eſtabliſhed by the law: but at the moment when municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been refuſed at firſt, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the croud ruſhed into the palace. The zeal of the mayor of Paris, the aſcendancy which his virtues and his patriotiſm give him over the minds of the citizens, the preſence of the repreſentatives of the people, of whom ſucceſſive deputations conſtantly ſurrounded the king, prevented all ſerious diſorders, and few aſſemblages ſo numerous ever gave occaſion to leſs diſorder of any kind.

The king had mounted the enſigns of liberty, he had done juſtice to the citizens, by declaring, that he thought himſelf in ſafety in the midſt of them; the day of the federation was approaching; citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to ſwear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might ſtill have been repaired. But the miniſters ſaw nothing in the events of the 20th of June, but a favourable occaſion for ſowing diviſion between the inhabitants of Paris, and thoſe of the departments; between the people and the army; between the ſeveral portions of the national guard; between the citizens who remained at their homes, and thoſe who were flying to the defence of the ſtate. The very next day the king changed his language: a proclamation, full of calumny, was profuſely diſtributed among the armies; one of their generals came, in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A conſiderable number of directories of department by inconſtitutional reſolutions, diſcloſed the plan they had long before formed, of raiſing themſelves into a ſort of intermediate power between the people and their repreſentatives; between the national aſſembly and the king. Juſtices of the peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve thoſe of the patriots, whoſe vigilance and whoſe talents were the moſt dreaded. Already one of theſe juſtices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the repreſentatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dexterouſly concerted for finding in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extenſion to the royal authority. Letters from the miniſter for the home department, directing the employing of force againſt the federates, who might wiſh to take at Paris the oath to fight for liberty, and it required all the activity of the national aſſembly,

ſembly, all the patriotiſm of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of diſorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotiſm had extinguiſhed in fraternal union, the diviſions that had appeared but too often in the national aſſembly, and from this alſo the means of ſafety might have ſprung. The proſecutions commenced by the king's order, at the inſtance of the intendant of the civil liſt, might have been ſtopped. The virtuous Petion puniſhed, by an unjuſt ſuſpenſion, for having ſpared the blood of the people, might have been reinſtated by the king; and it was poſſible, that this long ſeries of faults and treaſons, might have fallen again entirely upon thoſe perfidious counſellors, to whom a confiding people had the long habit of attributing all the crimes of our kings.

The national aſſembly then ſaw, that the ſafety of the country required extraordinary meaſures.

They opened a diſcuſſion on the means of ſaving their country; they inſtituted a commiſſion charged to conſider of and prepare a plan of theſe means.

The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all perſons in public truſt to their poſts, and yet in the midſt of complaints unceaſingly repeated of the inaction of government, on the neglect or ill management of the preparations for war, on the uſeleſs or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals, miniſters, unknown or ſuſpected, were ſeen to ſucceed one another rapidly, and to preſent, under new names, the ſame inactivity, and the ſame principles.

A declaration of the general of the enemy, which doomed to death all freemen, and promiſed to cowards and traitors his diſgraceful protection, could not but add to theſe ſuſpicions. In it the enemy of France ſeemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the king of the French. Twenty-ſix millions of men were nothing in his eſtimation, in compariſon of a privileged family; their blood muſt wet the earth to avenge the ſlighteſt inſult; and the king, inſtead of expreſſing his indignation againſt a manifeſto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, ſeemed to oppoſe to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid diſavowal.

Who then can be aſtoniſhed that diſtruſt in the ſupreme head of the executive power ſhould inſpire citizens with the deſire of no longer ſeeing the forces intended for the common defence at the diſpoſition of a king, in whoſe name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquillity confided to him, whoſe intereſts were the pretexts of all her troubles? To theſe motives, common to all France, were joined others, particular to the inhabitants of Paris. They ſaw the families of the conſpirators at Coblentz, forming the habitual ſociety of the king and his family. Writers paid by the civil liſt endeavoured by baſe calumnies to render the Pariſians odious or ſuſpected in the eyes of the reſt of France. Attempts were made to ſow diviſion between the poor citizens and the rich; the national guard was agitated by perfidious manœuvres, in order to form in it a party of royaliſts. In fine, the enemies of liberty ſeemed to be divided between Paris and Coblentz, and their audacity increaſed with their number.

The conſtitution enjoined the king to give notice of imminent hoſtilities to the national aſſembly; and long ſolicitations were neceſſary to obtain of the miniſtry the tardy information of the march of the Pruſſian troops. The conſtitution pronounced abdication againſt the king if he did not, by ſome formal act, declare his oppoſition to enterprizes undertaken in his name againſt the nation; and the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the king's name, had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military houſehold for him out of France; and theſe facts were known for more than ſix months before the king, whoſe public declarations, whoſe remonſtrances with foreign powers, might have hindered the ſucceſs of theſe meaſures, had diſcharged the duty impoſed upon him by the conſtitution.

It was on motives thus powerful that numerous petitions, ſent from a great number of the departments, the wiſh of ſeveral ſections of Paris, followed by the general expreſſion of the wiſh of the whole commons, ſolicited the forfeiture of the king, or the ſuſpenſion of the royal power; and the national aſſembly could no longer ſhrink from the examination of this grand queſtion.

It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-conſidered examination, after a ſolemn diſcuſſion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhauſted; all at once, they appeared united as one man in the ſame will; they marched towards the place of the king's reſidence, and the king came to ſeek an aſylum in the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people, whoſe ſeat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris, with the citizens of the departments, would always render an aſylum inviolable and ſacred.

National guards had been charged with defending the reſidence which the king had abandoned, but with them Swiſs ſoldiers were ſtationed. The people had long ſeen, with painful ſurpriſe, Swiſs battalions ſharing the guard of the king, although the conſtitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been eaſy to foreſee that this direct violation of the law, which by its nature conſtantly obtruded itſelf on every eye, would ſooner or later occaſion great misfortunes. The national aſſembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, diſcuſſions, motions made by individual members and referred to committees, had apprized the king ſeveral months before of the neceſſity of diſmiſſing from about his perſon men, whom every where elſe the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not ſee retained about a conſtitutional king, in direct contradiction to the conſtitution, without ſuſpecting that they had become the inſtruments of the enemies of their liberty.

A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, ſupported by the miniſtry, demanded changes in that decree: the national aſſembly conſented to thoſe changes. A part of the ſoldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew diſquiets; and it was contrary to the ſenſe of the national aſſembly, contrary to the law, that on the 10th of Auguſt they were employed on a ſervice, from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away; they received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the inſtant when the latter were inviting them to peace—when unequivocal ſigns of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the inſtant when a deputation of the national aſſembly was ſeen advancing in the midſt of arms, to ſpeak the words of peace and conciliation, and prevent carnage. Then nothing could ſtop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of thoſe of which they had long been the victims.

In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, the national aſſembly, afflicted but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their poſt; they took the oath to ſave France, and they ſought for the means.

They ſaw but one, which was that of recurring to the will ſupreme of the people, and inviting them to exerciſe immediately their inalienable right of ſovereignty, which the conſtitution has recognized, and which it could not ſubject to any reſtriction. The public intereſt required that the people ſhould manifeſt their will by the ſenſe of a national convention, formed of repreſentatives inveſted by them with unlimited powers; it required no leſs than that the members of this convention ſhould be elected in each department in a uniform manner, and according to a regular mode. But the national aſſembly could not reſtrain the powers of the ſovereign people, from whom alone the members of that aſſembly hold all the powers they poſſeſs. They were bound to confine themſelves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the ſimple regulations traced out for them. In theſe, the forms inſtituted for elections were reſpected, becauſe the eſtabliſhment of new forms, even ſuppoſing them to have been better, would have been a ſource of delay, perhaps of diviſion. They preſerved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, eſtabliſhed by the former laws, becauſe theſe laws, which are ſo many reſtrictions on the exerciſe of the right of ſovereignty, are not applicable to a national convention, in which this right ought to be exerciſed with complete independence. The diſtinction of active citizens appears not in theſe regulations, becauſe it is alſo a reſtriction of the law. The only conditions required are thoſe which nature has preſcribed, ſuch as the neceſſity of being connected, by a fixed reſidence, with the territory for which the right of citizenſhip is exerciſed, of having attained the age at which men are held by the laws of the nation of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exerciſe their perſonal rights; finally, of having preſerved abſolute independence of will.

But to aſſemble new repreſentatives of the people required time; and although the national aſſembly have made as ſhort as poſſible the periods of the operations which the convention made neceſſary; although they accelerated the period at which they muſt ceaſe to bear the burden of the public weal, in ſuch a manner as to avoid the leaſt ſuſpicion of ambitious views; the term of forty days would ſtill have expoſed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the king had been left the exerciſe of the powers conferred upon him by the conſtitution; and the ſuſpenſion of theſe powers appeared to the repreſentatives of the people, the only means of ſaving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this neceſſary ſuſpenſion, the aſſembly have not exceeded their powers. The conſtitution authorizes them to pronounce it in the caſe of the abſence of the king, when the term at which this abſence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived, that is to ſay, in the caſe in which there is not yet ground for a definitive reſolution, but in which a proviſional act of rigour is evidently neceſſary, in which it would be abſurd to leave the power in hands, which could no longer make a free and beneficial uſe of it. In the preſent inſtance, then, theſe conditions are as evidently united as in the caſe provided for by the conſtitution, and in conducting ourſelves by the principle which the conſtitution has pointed out, we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

The conſtitution foreſaw, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people, thoſe who ought to be only their repreſentatives; but it judged alſo, that this danger ſuppoſed a long exercíſe of this extraordinary power, and the term of two months is that which it has fixed for all caſes in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other caſes it has ſo rigorouſly proſcribed.

The national aſſembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by the law on the plea of neceſſity, they have brought themſelves within the narroweſt limits.

When the power of ſanctioning the laws is ſuſpended, the conſtitution has pronounced, that the decrees of the legiſlative body ſhall have of themſelves the character and authority of laws; and ſince he, to whom the conſtitution gave the choice of miniſters, could no longer exerciſe his functions, it was neceſſary that a new law ſhould put the choice into other hands. The aſſembly conferred the right on themſelves, becauſe this right could not be given but to electors who belonged to the whole nation, and becauſe they alone have that character at preſent. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the ſuſpicion that, in conferring this power on themſelves, they ſought to gratify ambitious or perſonal views; they decreed, that the election ſhould be made aloud, that each of them ſhould pronounce his choice in preſence of the national repreſentation, in preſence of the numerous citizens who attended their ſittings. They took care that each of their own body ſhould have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witneſs, and ſhould anſwer for his choice to the whole nation.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces againſt the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-ſix millions of freemen. Within ſix weeks a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce on our diviſions: woe to the man who, liſtening during this ſhort interval to perſonal ſentiments, ſhall not devote himſelf wholly to the common defence, who ſhall not ſee, that at the moment when the ſovereign will of the people is about to ſpeak, we have no enemies but the conſpirators of Pilnitz, and their accomplices.

It is in the midſt of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invaſion, that we call upon the citizens to diſcuſs in a peaceable aſſembly the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared raſh among any other people, ſeemed to us not above the courage and the patriotiſm of the French; and undoubtedly we ſhall not have the misfortune of finding ourſelves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other intereſt, but that of liberty, of ſacrificing every other ſentiment to the love of your country.

Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your repreſentatives have exerciſed for your good the powers you have confided to them, if they have acted according to your wiſhes, in making a uſe of their powers, which neither they nor you could foreſee to be neceſſary. For us, we have diſcharged our duty in ſeizing with courage on the only means of preſerving liberty that occurred to our conſideration. Ready to die for it, at the poſt in which you have placed us, we ſhall carry with ns at leaſt, on quitting that poſt, the conſolation of having maintained it faithfully.

Whatever judgment our contemporaries or poſterity may paſs upon us, we ſhall not have to dread that of our own conſciences; to whatever danger we may be expoſed, the happineſs will remain to us of having ſpared the torrents of French blood, which a conduct more weak would have made to flow; we ſhall be ſpared remorſe at leaſt; nor ſhall we have to reproach ourſelves with having ſeen a means of ſaving our country, and not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed) GUADET,
Preſident.

GOUJON, G. ROMME, MARANS, CRESTIN, ARENA
LECOINTE-PUIRAVAUX,
Secretaries.

Letter written to Earl Gower, Engliſh *Ambaſſador at* Paris, *by Mr.* Dundas, *and delivered to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; dated* Whitehall, *the* 17*th* Aug. 1792.

MY LORD,

IN Lord Grenville's abſence I have received and laid before the king your laſt diſpatches.

His majeſty has been very deeply afflicted in receiving the information of the extent and the deplorable conſequences of the troubles which have happened in Paris; as well on account of his perſonal attachment to their moſt chriſtian majeſties, and the intereſt that he has always taken in their welfare, as for the earneſt deſire he has for the tranquillity and proſperity of a kingdom with which he is on terms of friendſhip.

As it appears, that in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the exerciſe of the executive power has been withdrawn from his moſt chriſtian majeſty, the credentials which have hitherto been made uſe of by your excellency can no longer be valid. His majeſty is therefore of opinion that you ought not to remain any longer in Paris, as well on this account, as becauſe this ſtep appears to him the moſt conformable to the principles of neutrality which he has hitherto obſerved. His majeſty's pleaſure, therefore, is, that you ſhould quit that city, and return to England, as ſoon as you ſhall have been able to procure the neceſſary paſſports for that purpoſe.

In all the converſations that you may have occaſion to hold before your departure, you will take care to expreſs yourſelf in a manner conformable to the ſentiments herein communicated to you; and you will take eſpecial care not to neglect any opportunity of declaring, that at the ſame time his majeſty means to obſerve the principles of neutrality in every thing which regards the arrangement of the internal government of France; he does not conceive that he departs from theſe principles in manifeſting, by every poſſible means in his power, his ſolicitude for the perſonal ſituation of their moſt chriſtian majeſties, and the royal family. He moſt earneſtly hopes that his wiſhes in that reſpect will not be deceived; that the royal family will be preſerved from every act of violence; the commiſſion of which would not fail to excite ſentiments of univerſal indignation throughout all Europe.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c.
HENRY DUNDAS.

Note, in Anſwer to the Communication made by Earl Gower, *the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador.*

THE underſigned, miniſter for foreign affairs, has loſt no time in communicating to the proviſional executive council, the letter communicated to him by his excellency Earl Gower, ambaſſador extraordinary from his Britannic majeſty.

The council has ſeen with regret, that the Britiſh cabinet has reſolved to recal an ambaſſador whoſe preſence atteſted the favourable diſpoſition of a free and generous nation, and who has never been the organ but of friendly expreſſions and of benevolent ſentiments. If any thing can abate this regret, it is the renewed aſſurance of neutrality made on the part of England to the French nation.

This aſſurance ſeems to be the reſult of an intention wiſely conſidered and formally expreſſed by his Britannic majeſty, not to meddle with the interior arrangements of the affairs of France. We are not ſurpriſed at ſuch a declaration made by an enlightened and high ſpirited nation, who have been the firſt to acknowledge and eſtabliſh the principle of the national ſovereignty; who, by ſubſtituting the empire of the laws, the expreſſed will of all to the arbitrary caprices of a few individuals, have been the firſt to furniſh the example of ſubjecting kings themſelves to this ſalutary yoke; and who, finally, have not thought too dearly purchaſed by long convulſions and violent ſtorms, that liberty which has been productive of ſo much glory and proſperity.

This principle of the unalienable ſovereignty of the people is going to be diſplayed in a ſtriking manner in the national convention, the convocation of which has been decreed by the legiſlative body, and which will, no doubt, fix all parties and all intereſts. The French nation has good grounds to hope that the Britiſh cabinet will not, at this deciſive moment, depart from that juſtice, moderation and impartiality, which it has hitherto manifeſted.

Full of this confidence, which reſts on facts, the underſigned renews to his excellency Earl Gower, in the name of the proviſional executive council, the aſſurance which he has had the honour to give him, *viva voce*, that whatever relates to commerce between the two nations, and all affairs in general, ſhall be carried on on the part of the French government with the ſame juſtice and fidelity. The council flatter themſelves that there will be a full reciprocity on the part of the Britiſh government, and that nothing will interrupt the good underſtanding which ſubſiſts between the two nations.

The miniſter for foreign affairs,

LE BRUN.

Note of the Court of Peterſburg, *ordering away the* French *Miniſter, M.* Genet.—*Read by the Miniſter at War, in the National Aſſembly, 23d* Auguſt 1792.

THE diſorder and anarchy which have for ſome time prevailed in France, to the prejudice of that authority which foreign powers were accuſtomed to acknowledge, and which are manifeſted every day more and more by new exceſſes, have at length determined the imperial court of Ruſſia to ſuſpend the intercourſe and correſpondence, which it formerly kept up with that kingdom, until his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in all thoſe rights and prerogatives aſſigned to him by human and divine laws. On theſe conſiderations, after having recalled from Paris her miniſter plenipotentiary, and her *chargé des affaires*, who remained there ſome time, her majeſty thinks that the preſence of the Sieur Genet, eſtabliſhed under the latter title in her capital, is become not only ſuperfluous, but even intolerable. He is therefore informed, that he muſt quit her capital in eight days, and the ſtates of Ruſſia as ſoon after as poſſible.

Tranſlation of a Note delivered to the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, *One of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, by the Miniſters of the Emperor and the King of* Naples, *on the 20th of* September, 1792.

THE underſigned envoys extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary of his imperial royal apoſtolic majeſty, and of his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, in conſequence of the ties of blood and of friendſhip by which their ſovereigns are attached to the king and queen of France, have the honour to addreſs themſelves to lord Grenville, to repreſent to him the imminent danger which threatens the lives of their moſt chriſtian majeſties, and their royal family; and the fear, but too well grounded, that the atrocities which the factious in France commit againſt thoſe auguſt perſons will have no other bounds than the greateſt of all crimes. They are authorized to expreſs to his excellency the wiſh of their reſpective courts, that his Britannic majeſty, in caſe ſo horrible an act ſhould take place, would be pleaſed not to permit any reſidence, or grant any protection or aſylum to any perſon who ſhould be concerned therein, in any manner whatever.

London, this 20th of September, 1792.

(Signed) STADION.
CASTELCICALA.

Tranſlation

Tranſlation of a Note from Lord Grenville, *One of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, to the Miniſters of the Emperor and the King of* Naples; *dated the 21ſt of* September, 1792.

THE underſigned ſecretary of ſtate of the king, in anſwer to the official note dated yeſterday, which he received from the Count de Stadion and the Prince de Caſtelcicala, miniſters plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary from his imperial royal apoſtolic majeſty, and from his Sicilian majeſty, has the honour to renew to thoſe miniſters the aſſurance of the ſincere intereſt which the king has always taken in every thing which relates perſonally to their moſt chriſtian majeſties, and which could not fail to be increaſed by the unfortunate circumſtances of the ſituation in which their majeſties are actually placed.

It is his majeſty's moſt ardent wiſh, that the fears, expreſſed in the note of the Count de Stadion and the Prince de Caſtelcicala, may not be realized; but ſhould the contrary caſe unfortunately happen, his majeſty would not fail to take the moſt effectual meaſures, in order to prevent the perſons who ſhould have rendered themſelves guilty of ſo atrocious a crime from finding an aſylum in the dominions of his majeſty. The king takes a pleaſure in formally giving to ſovereigns ſo cloſely united to their moſt chriſtian majeſties, and to their royal family, by the ties of blood, this aſſurance, which his majeſty conſiders in no other light than as an immediate and neceſſary conſequence of thoſe principles and ſentiments which have ever guided his conduct.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Whitehall, Sept. 21, 1792.

Tranſlation of a Letter from his Excellency Lord Auckland, *His Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the* Hague, *to the Greffier of their High Mightineſſes the States General; dated the 24th of* September, 1792.

Hague, September, 24, 1792.

I HAVE the honour, ſir, to acquaint you, that, in conſequence of a conference which Lord Grenville has had with the miniſters of their majeſties the emperor and the king of the Two Sicilies, thoſe miniſters tranſmitted the note, and received the anſwer, of which copies are ſubjoined. I am ordered to requeſt of you to lay theſe two papers before their high mightineſſes without delay: they will ſee, no doubt, with freſh ſatisfaction, the ſincere deſire which his majeſty has to employ every method compatible with his dignity, and with the principles by which his conduct is invariably directed, for the purpoſe of contributing to the ſafety and welfare of their moſt chriſtian majeſties.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c.
(Signed) AUCKLAND.

Tranſlation of the Extract of the Reſolutions of their High Mightineſſes the States General, of the 25th of September.

Tueſday, September 25, 1792.

HAVING heard the report of Meſſrs. J. C. N. de Lynden, and other deputies of their high mightineſſes for foreign affairs, who, in conformity to the commiſſorial reſolution of yeſterday, have examined,

1ſt. The propoſition of the Greffier Fagel, ſtating that he had juſt received a letter from Lord Auckland, ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from his majeſty the king of Great Britain, written at the Hague the ſame day, in which were incloſed copies of a note delivered to Lord Grenville by the miniſters of their majeſties the emperor and the king of the Two Sicilies, and of the anſwer to that note; both thoſe papers having for their object the granting no aſylum whatever, in the dominions of his ſaid majeſty, to thoſe who ſhall render themſelves guilty of the greateſt crimes towards their moſt chriſtian majeſties, and their royal family; the ſaid Lord Auckland having received orders to deſire the Greffier to make a communication of thoſe papers to their high mightineſſes.

2dly. Alſo, in conformity to the ſaid commiſſorial reſolution of yeſterday, a letter from Monſieur de Nagell, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary from their high mightineſſes at the court of his majeſty the king of Great Britain, written at London the 21ſt of the preſent month, and addreſſed to the Greffier Fagel, in which were likewiſe incloſed copies of the above-mentioned papers, which had been communicated to him by Lord Grenville.

3dly. Finally, and in conformity to the commiſſorial reſolution of their high mightineſſes of this day, the verbal note from the Count de Stahremberg, envoy extraordinary, and miniſter plenipotentiary from his majeſty the emperor, in which he deſires their high mightineſſes would be pleaſed to declare, that in caſe ſo horrible an act ſhould be committed, they would not permit any reſidence, or grant any protection or aſylum to any perſon who ſhould be concerned therein, in any manner whatever.

Whereupon having deliberated, it has been thought proper and decreed, that the Greffier Fagel ſhall expreſs to Lord Auckland the thanks of their high mightineſſes for the aforeſaid communication, made in the name of the miniſtry of his ſaid majeſty.

Moreover, it has been reſolved, conformably to the ſaid requeſt made by the Count de Stahremberg, and to the anſwer of Lord Grenville to the miniſters of their majeſties the emperor and the king of the Two Sicilies, to declare, by theſe preſents, that no aſylum ſhall be granted, neither in the country of the generality; nor in the colonies of the ſtate, whether in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, to thoſe who might have rendered themſelves guilty of the greateſt of crimes towards the perſons of their moſt chriſtian majeſties, or of their royal family: in conſequence, the neceſſary orders ſhall be expedited to the bailiffs of the different cities and places within the diſtrict of the generality, ſtrictly to conform themſelves to the above mentioned intentions of their high mightineſſes; with injunction, that if, contrary to all hope, attempts ſhould be made on the lives of their moſt chriſtian majeſties, or of their royal family, they may take every poſſible precaution for preventing the authors of ſo atrocious a crime, and thoſe alſo who might have been in any way concerned in it, in the caſe of their ſeeking an aſylum in any place within the juriſdiction of the generality, from being received therein, but on the contrary, for their being immediately driven from the ſaid cities and places.

Letters, moreover, ſhall be addreſſed, on the part of their high mightineſſes, to the ſtates of the reſpective provinces, to deſire them to adopt ſimilar meaſures in their reſpective provinces, for effectually preventing any aſylum being granted, in any part of the republic, to thoſe who might have committed or have been concerned in ſo deteſtable crime.

Extract of the preſent reſolutions of their high mightineſſes ſhall be communicated by the Greffier Fagel to Lord Auckland, and a ſimilar extract delivered by the agent Van Hees to the Count de Stahremberg, in anſwer to the above-mentioned verbal note.

Letter from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs in France *to the National Convention.*

Paris, Oct. 1ſt, &c.

Citizen Preſident,

I ANNOUNCED to the national convention that overtures for a negociation had been made in the name of the king of Pruſſia to general Dumourier. I mentioned at the ſame time a deciſion of the executive power, which ordered the generals to liſten to no propoſals until the armies of deſpots had firſt evacuated the land of liberty. The propoſals of the king of Pruſſia were however remarkable, as they contained a preciſe acknowledgment of the national authority, and of the quality of repreſentative of the nation in external relations, which had been attached formerly to the political exiſtence of the conſtitutional king. Another acknowledgment no leſs remarkable was, that the ancient order of things, deſtroyed by the will of the nation ſince 1789, was contrary to the happineſs of the people.

Such an unexpected acknowledgment, ſpontaneouſly made, without any previous negociation, might incline us to think that the enemy's armies are in the greateſt diſtreſs. There are, however, other motives equally preſſing, which make them think of peace—a kind of truce was agreed upon—General Dumourier took advantage of it to collect and properly diſpoſe the different bodies which were to be joined to his army. He made in quietneſs, and with ſilence, all thoſe movements which were neceſſary to give him a ſuperiority, by his ſituation, and to confine the enemy in theirs. While he was thus preparing for his military plans, frequent communications, which could not but be advantageous to liberty, were eſtabliſhed between the two armies. General Dumourier embraced this opportunity of exchanging priſoners of war.—The cartel agreed on with the Pruſſian generals was formed according to the laws decreed by the national aſſembly. The emigrant priſoners were not included in it, and the duke of Brunſwick did not even perſiſt in a remonſtrance which he had made in their favour.

A conference on this occaſion took place between the duke of Brunſwick, count de Lucheſini, miniſter of the king of Pruſſia, and lieut. col. adj. gen. Thouvenot, who was charged with conducting the exchange of priſoners. In this conference the duke of Brunſwick expreſſed

preſſed himſelf almoſt in the following terms:

"Our nations are not formed to be enemies: Might not ſome means be deviſed for accommodating matters in an amicable manner? We are in your country: it is deſolated by the inevitable misfortunes of war; we know that we have no right to prevent a nation from giving itſelf laws, and from tracing out its internal government—we do not wiſh it—we are only intereſted for the fate of the king. Aſſure us that a place will be aſſigned to him, in the new order of things, under any denomination whatever, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia will return to his own ſtates, and become your ally.

The moderation of this language, from a man who ſigned the maneſeſtos already publiſhed, and to which the contempt of the French nation has done ample juſtice, muſt appear ſurpriſing.

Lieut. col. Thouvenot replied, "That the will of the French republic would not yield to any foreign influence; and that the repreſentatives of the nation, to whom the valuable depoſit of its honour and glory was particularly intruſted, would continually perſiſt in maintaining decrees which had been ſanctioned by general opinion."

The duke of Brunſwick terminated the conference by ſaying, that he would tranſmit to general Dumourier a memorial upon the ſubject. This memorial is a third manifeſto, worthy in every thing of the two former. General Dumourier received it with indignation, in which we ſhared, and which muſt alſo be excited in the national convention, and in all France.

It was immediately announced that the truce was broken; and letters from the general, written in a ſtyle ſuited to a man honoured with the noble employment of conducting Frenchmen to victory, procured an anſwer from the king of Pruſſia's aid-de-camp, ſtating, that the intentions of the king and of the duke of Brunſwick had been miſunderſtood; that a new conference was demanded; and that the royal and imperial armies would not be the firſt to break the truce. General Dumourier refuſed to conſent to any new conference, or any delay in the operations of the campaign, unleſs the memorial of the duke of Brunſwick ſhould be firſt annulled. Such is the actual ſtate of things.—What paſſed during that circumſtance will ſhew the French nation in that reſpectable point of view which belongs to it. All our proceedings have been marked with candour and firmneſs. We have abandoned ſtratagem and weakneſs to our enemies; and all Europe muſt perceive in our conduct a people who ſet a juſt value upon peace, but who are not afraid of war.

(Signed) Le Brun.

Declaration or Memorial of the Duke of Brunſwick; *dated* Sept. 28.

WHEN their majeſties, the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, in entruſting me with the command of the armies which theſe two allied ſovereigns cauſed to march into France, rendered me the agent of their intentions, publiſhed in the two declarations of the 25th and 27th of July 1792, their majeſties were far from ſuppoſing that ſuch ſcenes of horror could take place, as thoſe which preceded and paved the way for the impriſonment of their majeſties the king and queen of France, and the royal family. Such crimes, an example of which can ſcarcely be found in the hiſtory of leſs poliſhed nations, were not the utmoſt boundary which the audacity of ſome factious men, who had rendered the people of Paris the blind inſtruments of their wills, preſcribed to their criminal ambition. The ſuſpenſion of the king, and of all the functions which had been reſerved to him by that very conſtitution which has ſo long been declared to be the will of the whole nation, was the laſt crime of the national aſſembly, which brought upon France the two terrible ſcourges of war and anarchy. There is one ſtep more only to be taken, in order to perpetuate them; and the ſpirit of infatuation, the fatal forerunner of the fall of empires, will ſoon precipitate thoſe who aſſume to themſelves the title of *deputies choſen by the nation to ſecure its rights and its happineſs upon the moſt ſolid baſis.* The firſt decree which their aſſembly paſſed was the abolition of royalty in France, and the voice of a ſmall number of individuals, ſome of whom even were foreigners, aſſumed to themſelves the right of balancing the opinion of fourteen generations, who have filled the fourteen centuries of the exiſtence of the French monarchy. This ſtep, at which the real enemies of France ought to rejoice, if they could ſuppoſe that it would have a laſting effect, is directly oppoſite to the firm reſolution which their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia have taken, and from which theſe two allied ſovereigns will never depart, of reſtoring to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, liberty, ſafety, and royal dignity, or of exerciſing juſt and exemplary vengeance againſt thoſe who ſhall longer dare to infringe them.

For theſe reaſons the underſigned declares to the French nation in general, and to each individual in particular, that their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, invariably attached to the principle of not intermeddling with the interior government of France, nevertheleſs perſiſt in requiring that his moſt chriſtian majeſty, as well as the whole royal family, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty by thoſe who detain them priſoners.

Their majeſties inſiſt alſo that the royal dignity in France ſhall be immediately re-eſtabliſhed in the perſon of Louis XVI. and of his ſucceſſors; and that ſuch meaſures may be purſued as may ſecure that dignity from inſults ſimilar to thoſe to which it has been lately expoſed. If the French nation has not entirely loſt ſight of its true intereſts, and if, free in its reſolutions, it wiſhes to put a ſpeedy end to the calamities of a war, which ſubject ſo many provinces to all the evils that follow in the train of armies, it will not delay a moment to declare its opinion in favour of the peremptory demand I now addreſs to it in the name of their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia; and which, if refuſed, will immediately bring upon a once flouriſhing kingdom new and more terrible diſaſters.

The courſe which the French nation may adopt in conſequence of this declaration, will either extend and perpetuate the fatal effects of an unhappy war, by deſtroying, in the ſuppreſſion of royalty, ty, the means of re-eſtabliſhing and maintaining the ancient connections between France and the ſovereigns of Europe—or will open negotiations for the eſtabliſhment of peace, order, and tranquillity, which thoſe who aſſume to themſelves the title of depoſitories of the will of the nation are the moſt intereſted to reſtore as ſpeedily as they are neceſſary to that kingdom.

(Signed)

C. F. G. DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.

Head Quarters general, at Flans, in Champagne, Sept. 28, 1792.

Letter of the Helvetic *Congreſs to the King of the* French.

SIRE, *Dated June* 11, 1792.

THE neceſſity of preſerving our precious country in theſe critical times, with the ſame courage and firmneſs as our anceſtors, who, repoſing in God, founded our republic, under the protection and viſible aſſiſtance of the Almighty, has engaged all of us, the cantons and allied States, maturely to weigh, and to deliberate, by our deputies aſſembled at Frawenfeld for that purpoſe, on the moſt proper means of preſerving the tranquillity and peace of our country, and averting the dangers ariſing to it from abroad.

In conſequence of theſe mature deliberations, we have the honour of addreſſing to your royal majeſty the preſent letter.—Following the example of our anceſtors, we have taken the firm and unanimous reſolution to obſerve with fidelity, on our ſide, the moſt entire and ſtrict neutrality towards the great powers actually engaged in war, and to ſupport the ſame by an armed force, as circumſtances ſhall require; for which end we are already fortifying our frontiers, to put them in as ſecure a ſtate as poſſible.

At the ſame time we preſume to conceive hopes that the principalities of Neufchatel and Vallingin, the republic of Geneva, the Val de Munſter, (Montrier grand Val) as well as the other ſtates of the biſhop de Bâle, who are all more or leſs intimately connected with ſome of our co-eſtates, will be, as uſual, included in the neutrality, and reſpected on that account as at every former period. In conſequence, we earneſtly demand of your majeſty to iſſue orders for the troops, which are in the territory of Porentruy, to be withdrawn, in order that the confederate territories may be more ſafe, and may not have reaſon to fear an invaſion on the part of the belligerent powers.

After this formal and ſolemn declaration of neutrality, we hope, from the generoſity of your royal majeſty, that you will, upon our urgent demand, give orders that your troops and armies may not ſet foot upon the Helvetic territories, that they may not occupy any poſt; that they may not make any incurſion, nor traverſe the country. We take the liberty of aſking, as before, that you will ſoon iſſue the agreeable declaration which we hope to obtain likewiſe from his apoſtolic majeſty, the king of Hungary and Bohemia, in conſequence of the demand which we have made this day. We will employ all the means in our power to act and obſerve

ſerve with fidelity all that is required by a full, loyal, ſtrict, and true neutrality.

We regard this declaration, which we expect from your majeſty, as a new proof of your goodneſs and benevolence towards all the confederation. We beg you would continue to preſerve the ſame diſpoſitions, and pray that the Almighty may maintain the proſperity of your ſacred perſon, and of the royal family, and conduct all events for the general good.

Your majeſty's moſt attached and zealous ſervants, the burgomaſters, magiſtrates, counſellors, of the thirteen cantons and united ſtates of Switzerland.

Given and ſealed in common, with the Seal of the State of Zurich, 11th of June, 1792.

Letter from the Britiſh *Miniſter to the Republic of* Geneva.

Berne, Oct. 11.

Magnificent and moſt honoured Lords, Syndics, and Council of the Town and Republic of Geneva.

ON my arrival here I learnt with infinite pain the ſituation in which your city and all Switzerland have been ſince the theatre of war approached your frontiers.

I am commiſſioned by the king my maſter, to give to the Helvetic and evangelic bodies proofs of the ſincere intereſt which his majeſty will never ceaſe to take in all the ſtates that compoſe them; and though in this reſpect the general credentials which I have, might, as formerly, be ſufficient for your ſtate, as an ally of the Helvetic body, his majeſty, nevertheleſs, addreſſes to you in particular thoſe which I take the earlieſt opportunity of tranſmitting to you.

This new mark of attention and friendſhip in his majeſty muſt announce to you, beyond a doubt, that his Britannic majeſty, after the example of his glorious predeceſſors, will always ſhew himſelf a zealous friend of your republic, and that he has at heart the maintaining of its peace, liberty, and ſovereignty, ſo intimately connected with the tranquillity of all Switzerland, and particularly of the canton of Berne, on the ſecurity of which the Britiſh crown has conſtantly placed the greateſt value.

I am going to communicate to his Britannic majeſty the preſent ſtate of things in Stwitzerland, as well as thoſe which concern you; and I make no doubt that his majeſty will approve the meaſures you have taken according to your ancient cuſtoms and your treaties, in concert with your allies of Zurich and Berne, ſince they tend to ſupport the Helvetic neutrality—a neutrality which I have no need to requeſt you will obſerve in the ſtricteſt manner.

If my influence with theſe ſtates, or the Helvetic bodies, could be of any utility in the preſent juncture, I ſhould employ it with the more zeal, as I ſhould in that conform to the wiſhes of his majeſty, whoſe deſire is to ſee thoſe bonds, which unite you to the Helvetic body, and which do not appear to be incompatible with the connexion you have with other powers, ſtill farther ſtrengthened. Without taking up more of your valuable time, which muſt be continually employed ed on the moſt important affairs, permit me, my lords, to inform you that I flatter myſelf with ſoon having the honour of paying you a viſit, and of renewing, verbally, thoſe aſſurances of good-will and friendſhip, on the part of the king, which cannot be too often repeated.

I have the honour of being,
with the moſt profound reſpect,
magnificent and moſt
honoured lords,
your moſt humble and
moſt obedient ſervant,
(Signed)
ROBERT FITZGERALD.

Letter from the King of Sardinia *to the Thirteen Cantons, and the Allies of the* Helvetic *Body.*

VICTOR AMADEUS, by the grace of God, King of Sardinia, Cyprus, and Jeruſalem, &c.

Moſt dear and great Friends, Allies, and Confederates,

YOU muſt doubtleſs have been informed, and learnt with aſtoniſhment, the invaſion of Savoy by the French, who entered it on the ſide towards Mont Melian, with a ſuperior force of more than 20,000 men; without any previous declaration of war, and without having been provoked by any meaſure or act of hoſtility whatever on our part. We cannot forbear communicating this to you, as an event which muſt excite the ſurprize and indignation of all the powers of Europe, and intereſt in a particular manner the Helvetic body, with whom we and our royal predeceſſors have always ſincerely deſired to live as good neighbours and ancient allies, friends, and confederates.

Conſidering then the fatal effects and diſmal conſequences, which ſuch an unheard-of proceeding as that of the French towards us and our ſtates is likely to occaſion to all neighbouring countries, we are perſuaded, that, taking a part in the diſagreeable circumſtances into which we are thrown by it, you will not omit, at the ſame time, to pay the greateſt and moſt ſerious attention to every thing that may reſult from it. We even hope, that, weighing in your wiſdom the means moſt proper and efficacious to hinder and prevent the progreſs of an evil, which threatens to ruin all ſtates, by overturning all governments, you will maturely conſider, whether, among theſe means, that of concerting with us meaſures tending to that end, and that in particular of aſſiſting us to deliver Savoy from the yoke of the French, may not be the moſt proper. You will know, yourſelves, the influence which the example of what has juſt paſſed in Savoy, may have in neighbouring countries, and the dangers which may thence reſult to them, without our endeavouring to repreſent them to you: we ſhall here, conſequently, confine ourſelves to requeſt, that, convinced of the injuſtice of the attack of the French againſt us; of the conſequences which may be apprehended from it; and of the neceſſity of forming ſome good and ſtrong union between all the intereſted and good neighbours; above all, to prevent them, you will, as far as your own circumſtances allow, form ſome determination favourable to our juſt views, and enable us to hope that we ſhall receive from you that aſſiſtance which our confidence in your friendſhip, and in the intereſt which you have always taken in every thing that concerns our family ſtates, induce us to aſk from you, on ſo weighty and preſſing an occaſion as the preſent.

In expectation of this, nothing remains for us, but to aſſure you of the continuance of our great affection; and we pray God, &c.

Written at Turin, this 10th of October, in the Year of Grace 1792, and of our Reign the 20th.

(Signed)

VICTOR AMADEUS.

Form of the Anſwer to be returned to the King of Sardinia.

SIRE, *November* 1792.

WE have learnt with much regret, by your majeſty's letter of the 10th of October, that the flames of war have extended to your majeſty's ſtates; and we take a real intereſt in this unhappy event.

Your majeſty invites all the Helvetic body to make your's a common cauſe againſt the French nation. You muſt ſtill remember that we addreſs to you, as well as to the other two belligerent powers, a declaration, in which we engaged to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality. Your majeſty will deign to take into favourable conſideration, that the ſituation and circumſtances under which the Helvetic body now are, and the aſſurance which they gave, in conſequence, require that they ſhould remain faithful to the ſyſtem they have adopted, and that they ſhould ſcrupulouſly adhere to a neutrality, which has been announced to all the belligerent powers.

We beg that the Almighty will be pleaſed ſoon to reſtore peace, ſo deſirable, and to pour down his bleſſing on your majeſty in particular, and on all your ſubjects.

Articles of the Convention, concluded between the French *and* Geneveſe *Plenipotentiaries, on the 2d of* November.

ART. I.

ALL the corps of Swiſs troops which are now in Geneva ſhall ſucceſſively retire into Switzerland, and the ſaid retreat ſhall be completed betwixt the preſent period and the firſt of December next.

II. Between this time and the ſame epoch, the heavy artillery, and the French troops who ſurround Geneva, and who had approached it on account of differences terminated by the preſent convention, ſhall be withdrawn, and poſted in ſuch a manner as not to give any cauſe of alarm to Geneva.

III. From the date of the preſent convention, a free communication between the inhabitants of Savoy and the two republics, and full liberty of paſſing from Geneva to Switzerland, and from Switzerland to Geneva, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, on the ſame footing as in time of peace, agreeably to treaty and to uſage.

IV. The republic of Geneva expreſsly and ſolemnly reſerves to itſelf all anterior treaties with its neighbours, and particularly that of 1584, with the laudable cantons of Zurich and Berne, as well as * the fifth article of the treaty of neutrality of 1782. The French republic not meaning that the reſerve ſhould connect it with treaties in which it is not concerned, nor prejudice in any thing the power which it has reſerved to itſelf, of reviſing its own treaties, executed proviſionally until the time of ſuch reviſion.

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* To explain this part of the convention, as much comment is made upon it in the ſubſequent report of M. Briſſot, we ſhall ſubjoin the article of the treaty of 1782, which is here reſerved; and which alſo confirms the treaty of 1584, as one of the treaties contained in the guarantee of 1782.

V. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by the French republic and the republic of Geneva; and letters of ratification ſhall be exchanged on both ſides in the ſpace of twelve days, or if poſſible ſooner.

Done in duplicate, and agreed upon between us, at the head-quarters at Landrecy, Nov. 2d, 1792. Firſt year of the French Republic.

(Signed)

" MONTESQUIOU,
General of the Army of the Alps.

" J. F. PREVOST,
Counſellor of State.

" AMI LULLIN,
Counſellor of State, Member of the Grand Council.

" FRANÇOIS D'IVERNOIS,
Member of the Grand Council."

Report of M. Briſſot, *from the Diplomatic Committee, relative to the Convention with* Geneva, *and the general Principles of the* French *Republic, with regard to Treaties: made 21ſt of* November.

YOU have ſent to your diplomatic committee the negociations which took place between general Monteſquiou and the republic of Geneva; and alſo a ſpecies of tranſaction which reſulted from it on the 22d of October, and which has ſince been modified by another act of the 2d of November.

We ſhall not here remind you of the origin of this difference, nor of the cauſes which gave riſe to it; your committee has ſufficiently developed them in its firſt report of the 17th of October. There is demonſtrative proof, that, according to the treaty of 1579, reſerved by the treaty of 1584, and ſupported by that of 1782, the Geneveſe could not call in and receive within their walls 1600 men of the troops of Zurich and Berne.

We are now to aſk your attention only to the negociation, its progreſs, and its reſult: and we are free to ſay, that in tracing it ſtep by ſtep; in tracing the conduct of France, and of the magiſtrates of Geneva, we ſee on one ſide the honeſty and magnanimity of a free people, and on the other the crooked policy of Machiavelian art.

The magiſtrates of Geneva granted favour and protection to the emigrants; France remained ſilent. The magiſtrates of Geneva acceded to the neutrality of Arau; which was but an ill-diſguiſed acceſſion to the crowned coalition; France ſtill remained ſilent. The armies of France entered Savoy; the magiſ-

Article fifth, of the treaty of neutrality of 1782, between France, Sardinia, Zurich, and Berne, relative to Geneva.

" The city and territory of Geneva ſhall be ſtill reputed neuter whenever, ſhe
" remaining calm and tranquil, two or three of the guaranteeing powers ſhall
" have war among themſelves, and entertain troops in her neighbourhood: none of
" theſe powers can in that caſe require of the republic more than the duties and
" good offices contained in the treaties reſerved by the act of guarantee.
" The preſent convention is declared perpetual and irrevocable."

trates of Geneva called the Swiſs into the boſom of their country. They then relied upon the ſucceſs of the Pruſſians; the Pruſſians were repulſed. The magiſtrates of Geneva ſolicited a negociation; the French republic limited its demands to the evacuation of the Swiſs troops.

The magiſtrates of Geneva ſhuffled; they cited treaties, but theſe treaties condemned them. The magiſtrates conſented to the evacuation, but they demanded that the French troops ſhould not come within their walls; the French general promiſed this. They were not contented with his promiſe, but wiſhed to have it ratified by the executive power; this ratification was given. They deſired to have it confirmed by a decree of the convention; and a decree was paſſed accordingly. It now ſeemed as if all difficulties were removed, and that the Swiſs would evacuate: but not at all, they deviſed new pretences, they pretended that it was neceſſary to have the concurrence of the cantons of Berne and Zurich, and of the repreſentatives of the Helvetic body. They deſired the concurrence of that body, and its anſwer was, that as the troops had marched at the requiſition of the Geneveſe, they would evacuate at once, on being required by them to do ſo. The magiſtrates ſtill perſiſted: they demanded of the repreſentatives their advice reſpecting the garriſon, which ſhould be formed at Geneva; the repreſentatives replied, that it was no concern of theirs. The Geneveſe ariſtocrates had recourſe to other arts; they ſought to gain over the cabinet of Great Britain; and by their intrigues they procured the ſending of a miniſter plenipotentiary, who came to aſſure them that the crown of England would take their part, and that it approved their meaſures. The people of England will undoubtedly hear with indignation, that their influence has been uſed to protect the ariſtocratic principles of a few intriguing individuals, and to cruſh free men: they will undoubtedly demand an account of this proſtitution of their name. But whatever may happen, the French republic will never reverſe its courſe. The intervention of a king has nothing in it terrifying to her; and the comedy which they are diſpoſed to play at Geneva, cannot retard her juſtice.

All theſe manœuvres did not yet anſwer the purpoſe of the Geneveſe ariſtocrates; they employed more powerful means. The character, the habits of corruption, and the principles of general Monteſquiou were known to them; and they alſo knew him adverſe to the auſtere forms and energy of republicans, and a friend to the relaxed morality of moderatiſm and ariſtocracy. Monteſquiou, who had put his ſignature to ſo many fraudulent and uſurious proceedings; Monteſquiou, who appeared to ſee in the revolution only a ſpeculative ſcheme, a new kind of ſtock-jobbing; Monteſquiou was willing to deceive you, for the purpoſe of ſaving the ariſtocracy of Geneva, and conſoling the ariſtocracy of France. His flight, favoured by ſome magiſtrates of Geneva, has given you in this reſpect the meaſure of his patriotiſm, as well as of his conſcience.

It is to the influence of the Geneveſe ariſtocracy over this general that you owe the treaty of the 22d of October, evidently dictated by them, and which perfectly anſwered its end: but what was that end? To explain it, you muſt be reminded of the diſpoſitions of the Geneveſe. They were divided into three parties: the hereditary ariſtocrates, who formed, in 1782, the maſs of the negative party; the citizens and burgeſſes, who compoſed at this time the repreſentative party; and the natives and other ſubjects, who had no part in the legiſlature, the laws being apparently made in a general council of the two firſt claſſes, and in reality by the great and the little council.

It is very true that the French revolution has united the two firſt parties: but if the *negatives* and the *repreſentatives* act in concert, it is only that each may defend its reſpective ariſtocracy againſt the *equalizers*.

It is for keeping down theſe *equalizers*, *natives*, *patriots*, or *ſans-culottes*, that the Swiſs troops were called into Geneva. They were fearful that the approach of the French forces would favour the developement of republican principles, and that an inſurrection would enſue.

Such was the ſpirit which dictated the diſhonourable clauſes in the treaty of the 22d of October, by which the general obliged himſelf to remove back his artillery to the French arſenals; draw off his troops to the diſtance of ten leagues; extend the term for evacuation to the 1ſt of December; and conſent to reſerves in the treaty favourable to Geneva, while he was ſilent as to any in favour of us.

Could any thing be more ignominious, more perfidious, than ſuch a treaty? Does not the French general ſacrifice at once the cauſe of the patriots of Geneva, whom he delivered over to the vengeance of their enemies, and the honour and intereſt of France? Is it not France, that in this inſtance receives laws? Can it be ſaid that general Monteſquiou had not a ſufficient number of troops to reduce the too-well fortified Geneva? But the depoſitions of officers who are exactly acquainted with the place atteſt that even without having recourſe to a bombardment ſo terrible, eſpecially to tenants and landlords, he might eaſily, by giving way to French valour, have carried the place by aſſault; and he himſelf even boaſted of the facility of ſuch a meaſure in his firſt letters to the executive council.

By what magic did this place, ſo eaſy to take, become at once impregnable in his eyes? Such a treaty, which was nothing more than an ignominious capitulation made by the French army, ſhould the more incenſe the executive council, as the general ſhewed reſpect to it, and began to carry it into execution, before it had been ratified by the national convention. It is neceſſary however to do juſtice to truth. All the troops were not to remove entirely from Geneva. Yet though Geneva executed the treaty, the general was ſtill culpable, for depriving himſelf of thoſe forces which might have been neceſſary for reducing Geneva, if France did not approve of the conditions; and the executive council ſhould have haſtened to blame ſuch arrangements, and inſiſt upon a change. It might have allowed the condition to remain, that time ſhould be given till the 1ſt of December for the evacuation, becauſe it might be preſumed that new diſcuſſions, and the neceſſary ratification, would abſorb great part of the interval: but it ſhould have required the general to diſpoſe of his artillery and troops as was judged moſt agreeable to the intereſt of France: it ſhould have required the ſuppreſſion of the diſtance of ten leagues: it ſhould have required a reſervation of the treaty of 1579, ſince Geneva thought it neceſſary to reſerve that of 1584. General Monteſquiou in part complied with his orders. I ſay in part, becauſe if, for example, in the new treaty the diſtance of ten leagues is ſuppreſſed with relation to the troops, yet on the other ſide they have ſubſtituted for this condition a very equivocal and even inſulting clauſe, wherein it is ſaid that the artillery and the troops ſhall be withdrawn, and ſtationed in ſuch a manner that they can give no cauſe of alarm to Geneva! In the IVth article, which leaves with Geneva the power of reſerving the treaty of 1584, and the Vth article of the treaty of 1782, it is declared, that this reſerve cannot bind France to treaties in which ſhe has not intervened, nor prejudice her right of reviſing treaties which ſhe declares ſhe will always perform: but theſe reciprocal reſervations are impreſſed with a character of weakneſs, obliquity and impotence, altogether unworthy of the greatneſs and the candour of the French nation.

The executive council, in notifying to you this treaty, obſerved that it did not believe that the uneſſential difference which exiſted between this treaty and the articles ſent to the general, ought to occaſion any freſh controverſy. It thought that it was for the dignity of the French republic not to ſhew herſelf towards Geneva ſo exacting as ſhe would to a more important power. Generoſity, ſaid the executive power, is the characteriſtic of ſtrength, and at this day it is ours. She never brings weakneſs to a ſtrict account: the ſacrifices which ſhe makes to it, are always reputed neceſſary, and can reflect on her nothing but honour. Your committee muſt do homage to the principle of generoſity which directed the executive council. Undoubtedly it is noble to forget the outrages of the magiſtrates, that we may employ ourſelves wholly with the happineſs of the people, of Geneva; and to ſacrifice to union, reſentments and pretenſions, however well founded. Undoubtedly the principal object of France is accompliſhed by this treaty, yet there are in it ſome points which, being incompatible with the dignity of the French people, cannot be ſuffered to ſubſiſt.

The French diplomacy muſt, in a word, aſſume the characteriſtics of our revolution; it muſt be ingenuous, honeſt, and frank; ſimplicity, conciſeneſs, and perſpicuity muſt conſtitute our diplomatic ſtile. Nothing equivocal, nothing unneceſſary, muſt embarraſs our treaties. Deſpots uſe other language, becauſe they always find in equivocations, opportunities of palliating their uſurpations and their wars. But what is the point at iſſue between Geneva and us? Geneva had, in unjuſt defiance of and againſt the tenor of treaties, brought 1600 Swiſs within her walls. We demanded their removal. Geneva on her part demanded that we ſhould reſpect her neutrality, her independence. We conſented to this. On theſe two conditions peace ought to be re-eſtabliſhed as heretofore. It was on this principle that your late decree was paſſed, which is in ſubſtance that the Swiſs ſhould go out, and the French not enter.

What reaſon was there for not adopting this laconic ſtile in the treaty of the 2d of November? You ſee into what embarraſſments you are led. It is ſtipulated that your artillery and your troops ſhall retire, and be ſtationed in ſuch manner as may give no alarms to Geneva. But theſe expreſſions are vague. What is the point where theſe troops ſhall or ſhall not give alarms? Who can fix it? May not ill faith place it wherever it thinks convenient? Does it not leave an opening for eternal diſputes?

Either Geneva confides in your integrity, or ſhe does not. If ſhe does, ſhe ſhould have faith in your ſolemn engagements: if ſhe does not, vague and indefinite expreſſions can never guarantee her tranquillity; and in all caſes it is indecorous for a free people to leave their faith under ſuſpicion. When Savoy ſhall be perfectly relieved from her fears, when Piedmont ſhall enjoy liberty, then ſhall the French troops abandon the lake of Léman, and return to their homes, or fly to other combats. This only is the period when you can abandon theſe countries. You falſify your principles and your engagements, if you act, if you ſpeak otherwiſe. I will even ſay, that you will compromiſe your own ſafety with that of the Savoyards riſing to liberty; for you ought not to be ignorant of the intrigues employed at this time by the tyrant of Sardinia for engaging the Helvetic body in his quarrel, and defending Piedmont from the conſequences of the revolution. Piedmont muſt be free; your ſword muſt not be returned to the ſcabbard till all the ſubjects of your enemy are free; till you are encircled with a belt of republics; then may you abandon the ground of Savoy, bordering on the country of the Geneveſe, becauſe that is your ſecurity. The chance of war muſt determine what places you ſhall occupy; you cannot deſignate them before-hand; you cannot but promiſe always to reſpect the independence and the neutrality of Geneva, and you have done it.

What ſignifies in fact the reſerve of treaties contained in it? Puerilities of the antient diplomacy, the plain ſenſe of which is this:—The ſenate of Geneva ſays, "I covenant to make the Swiſs return "when I no longer fear France;" France ſays, "I reſerve to myſelf "the right of hindering it, if you "attempt it;" that is to ſay, each, in ſigning this treaty, ſwears jealouſy, ſuſpicion, perjury; which, by another cowardly baſeneſs, they diſguiſe under the maſk of emphatical reſervations. A ſimilar language, dictated by weakneſs, which you are made to hold in the IVth article, is not more clear, which dares not openly to diſcloſe its perfidious reſtrictions, adopted in complaiſance; which affects not to perceive them, but which makes arrangements to guard againſt being duped by them: this language, I ſay, is unworthy of you. No reſtrictions; no falſe complaiſance; it is neceſſary to ſpeak clearly. Geneva has treaties with her neighbours which ſhe wiſhes to maintain: be it ſo, of what importance is it to you? What neceſſity is there for you to declare that theſe treaties, in which you are not concerned, do not bind you? Can you be bound by a treaty which you did not ſign? Is not ſuch a reſerve fooliſh? And is it not equally childiſh for this republic to *reſerve the reviſion of its own treaties, declaring that they ſhall be executed proviſionally until the time of reviſion?* Has not every independent ſtate this right, which nothing can defeat or preſcribe againſt?

The treaties which exiſted before the rupture exiſt ſtill, ſince they have not been cancelled or even modified. Without doubt the time for alterations and modifications will come. But what occaſion could there be for making reſerves? Right is impreſcriptible. When will this crooked policy be abandoned, which marks an oſtenſible end, for the purpoſe of concealing another ſecret end, which it ſeeks to obtain? No; it is not treachery on the part of France that Geneva apprehends; but they are willing to fetter the efforts of the patriots of Geneva, who are deſirous of equality.

If the Geneveſe ariſtocrates (and I comprehend under this denomination the *negatives* as well as the *repreſentatives*) if the Geneveſe ariſtocrates would, in a word, acquaint themſelves with their ſituation; with the nature of the French revolution; if they would be convinced how impoſſible it now [illegible] to ſtop its progreſs, becauſe it no longer depends on a man, nor on men, nor even on nations, becauſe the irreſiſtible communication of ideas univerſalizes the principles of equality; if from thence they would perceive that the ſucceſs of the Geneveſe revolution cannot be influenced by the vicinity or diſtance of the French troops; that it may be retarded, but that it is inevitable; if they would perceive that this revolution, if unexpected, may be terrible in the developement, but if anticipated may be rendered mild, amicable, fraternal; if, departing from thoſe grounds of action, they would abjure their ariſtocratical ſyſtem; if they would naturalize equality within their walls; if, tearing their odious rolls of citizens, burgeſſes, and natives, they would at laſt become republicans (for there is no republic but where there is an equality of rights)—then would there be no occaſion of recurring, for defence againſt malcontents, to other ariſtocracies in Switzerland; who, ſoon trembling for themſelves, would not arm ſo eaſily the brave Swiſs peaſants, whoſe eyes are opening every day; then become brothers to the French, although forming a ſeparate republic, they would ſee their ſtrength in our ſtrength, their proſperity in our proſperity, and we ſhould have no other treaties but our community of principles. What ſtate ſhould be more diſpoſed to embrace the principles of equality than the city of Geneva? The ſatellite, almoſt without perceiving it, of a vaſt planet, ſhe obeys its moral impulſe, though detached from its political ſyſtem. Light ſurrounds her, and penetrates her from all points. Neither bayonets nor edicts can now keep knowledge at a diſtance: a revolution will take place there, or our own muſt retrograde.

Your committee has experienced ſome embarraſſments reſpecting the manner in which you ſhould ratify or reject the articles of the treaty of the 2d of November. Without doubt the new conſtitution will ſettle, in this reſpect, the rights and the duties of every conſtituted power. Without doubt the queſtion will be examined, whether a free people can and ought to bind themſelves by treaties; whether they are not uſeleſs with republics, which a community of the ſame principles ſhould always govern; whether they are not indecorous with every government which does not hold its powers of the people; for it is that, perhaps, which is the ſecret of your revolution, and of thoſe which are preparing. You have ſucceeded, you will ſucceed, becauſe the people and the individuals every where are for you. If you treat with tyrants, you are no more to them than a common government; the enthuſiaſm of the people in all nations, ceaſes with your glory and your ſucceſſes. Your diplomatic committee propoſes one day to fix your attention on theſe important queſtions. In the mean while it preſents you the following plan of a decree.

Art. 1ſt. The national convention authorizes the executive council to require that the evacuation of Geneva by the Swiſs troops be completed by the firſt day of December next, for which evacuation the French troops ſhall reſpect the neutrality and independence of the Genevan territories, and evacuate, if they have occupied them.

2d. The national convention paſſes to the order of the day, on the act of the 2d of November.

*** *This plan of a decree was adopted, without a debate.*

Addreſs from the London *Correſponding Society, and Four other Societies in* England, *to the National Convention.*

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH NATIONAL CONVENTION,

From the following Societies of Britons, *united in one common Cauſe; namely, the obtaining a fair, equal, and impartial Repreſentation in Parliament.*

Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society,
THO. WALKER, Preſ.
SAM. JACKSON, Sec.

Mancheſter Reformation Society,
JOHN STACEY, Sec.

Norwich Revolution Society,
THO. GOFF, Preſ.
JOHN COZENS, Sec.

London Conſtitutional Whigs, Independent and Friends of the People,
GEO. PULLER, Chairm.
JAMES BLY, Sec.

AUTHORIZED by our united brethren above named, we the London Correſponding Society, for them as well as for ourſelves, thus addreſs you:

FRENCHMEN,

While foreign robbers are ravaging your territories under the ſpecious pretext of juſtice, cruelty and devaſtation lead on their van, while perfidy with treachery bring up their rear; yet mercy and friendſhip are impudently held forth to the world as the ſole motives of their incurſions; the oppreſſed part of mankind, forgetting for a while their own ſufferings, feel only for yours, and with an anxious eye watch the ultimate event, fervently ſupplicating the Supreme Ruler of the univerſe to be favourable to your cauſe, ſo intimately blended with their own.

Frowned upon by an oppreſſive ſyſtem of controul, whoſe gradual but continued encroachments have deprived this nation of nearly all its boaſted liberty, and brought us almoſt to that abject ſtate of ſlavery from which you have ſo gloriouſly emerged, a few thouſands of Britiſh citizens, indignant, manfully ſtep forth to reſcue their country from the opprobrium brought upon it by the ſupine conduct of thoſe in power; they conceive it to be the duty of Britons to countenance, and to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of their power, the champions of human happineſs, and to ſwear to a nation proceeding on the plan which you have adopted, an inviolable friendſhip.—Sacred from this day be that friendſhip between us! and may vengeance to the uttermoſt overtake the man who ſhall hereafter attempt to cauſe a rupture!

Though we appear comparatively ſo few at preſent, be aſſured, Frenchmen, that our number increaſes daily—it is true that the ſtern uplifted arm of authority at preſent keeps back the timid, that buſily circulated impoſtures hourly miſlead the credulous, and that court-intimacy with avowed French traitors has ſome effect on the unwary, and on the ambitious. But with certainty we can inform you, friends and freemen, that information makes a rapid progreſs among us: curioſity has taken poſſeſſion of the public mind; and the conjoint reign of ignorance and deſpotiſm paſſes away. Men now aſk each other, what is freedom? what are our rights?—Frenchmen, you are already free, and Britons are preparing to become ſo!

Caſting far from us the criminal prejudices artfully inculcated by evil-minded men and wily courtiers, we, inſtead of natural enemies, at length diſcover in Frenchmen our fellow-citizens of the world, and our brethren by the ſame heavenly Father, who created us for the purpoſe of loving, and mutually aſſiſting each other; but not to hate, and to be ever ready to cut each other's throats at the command of weak or ambitious kings, and corrupt miniſters.

Seeking our real enemies, we find them in our boſoms. We feel ourſelves inwardly torn by, and ever the victims of reſtleſs all-conſuming ariſtocracy, hitherto the bane of every nation under the ſun:—wiſely have you acted in expelling it from France.

Warm as are our wiſhes for your ſucceſs, eager as we are to behold freedom triumphant, and man every where reſtored to the enjoyment of his juſt rights, a ſenſe of our duty as orderly citizens forbids our flying in arms to your aſſiſtance. Our government has pledged the national faith to remain neutral. In a ſtruggle of liberty againſt deſpotiſm Britons remain neutral. O ſhame! But, we have intruſted our king with diſcretionary powers—we therefore muſt obey. Our hands are bound, but our hearts are free, and they are with you.

Let German deſpots act as they pleaſe, we ſhall rejoice at their fall; compaſſionating, however, their enſlaved ſubjects, we hope this tyranny of their maſters will prove the means of reinſtating, in the full poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties, millions of our fellow-creatures. With unconcern, therefore, we might view the elector of Hanover join his troops to traitors and robbers: but the king of Great Britain will do well to remember that this country is not Hanover—ſhould he forget this diſtinction, we will not.

While you enjoy the envied glory of being the unaided defenders of freedom, we fondly anticipate in idea the numerous bleſſings, which mankind will enjoy, if you ſucceed, as we ardently wiſh. The triple alliance, not of crowns, but of the people of America, France, and Britain, will give freedom to Europe, and peace to the world! Dear friends, you combat for the advantage of the human race! How well purchaſed will be, though at the expence of much blood, the glorious, the unprecedented privilege of ſaying, 'Mankind is 'free! Tyrants and tyranny are 'no more! Peace reigns on the 'earth! and this is the work of 'Frenchmen!'

The deſire of having the concurrence of different country ſocieties to this addreſs, has occaſioned a month's delay in preſenting it. Succeſs unparalleled has now attended your arms. We congratulate you thereon; that ſucceſs has removed our anxiety, but it has no otherways influenced our ſentiments in your behalf. Remember, Frenchmen, that although this teſtimony of friendſhip only now reaches your aſſembly, it bears date the 27th of September 1792.

(Signed by order)
MAURICE MARGAROT,
Preſident.
THOMAS HARDY,
Secretary.

*** *This addreſs was unanimouſly ordered to be printed, and ſent to the armies and departments.*

The Preſident's Anſwer.

ENGLISHMEN, and fellow citizens of the world: The national convention has heard with lively ſenſibility the glorious and generous wiſh of the Engliſh citizens, who cordially unite with us in our labours.

The ſentiments of 5,000 Britons, devoted openly to the cauſe of mankind, exiſt, without doubt, in the hearts of all the freemen in England.

Let them not ſtill conſider their neutrality as a reproach while they are ſpectators of the grand ſtruggle for liberty againſt deſpotiſm; their reſpect for a conſtitution which they have learnt to judge in ſilence, is no longer that antiquated ſuperſtition which promiſed to government impunity for its faults; it is rather the effect of a prudent and political gravity, which knowing how to temper its force, ſeems to command the government to obſerve that very neutrality, and to warn it to be as juſt, or at leaſt as prudent, as the nation.

Believe, generous Engliſhmen, that by following that ſyſtem, you do not the leſs concur with us in the work of univerſal liberty. Let us advance ſome ſteps further in that career in which you were our precurſors; and let us enjoy by anticipation, and with a common hope, that epoch, (doubtleſs not far diſtant) when the intereſts of Europe and of mankind ſhall invite the two nations to ſtretch out the hand of fraternity!

Addreſs from the Friends of the People of the Town of Newington *to the National Convention; dated the* 31*ſt* October, 1792, *and read in the Sitting of the* 10*th of* November.

FRENCHMEN, and fellow citizens of the world: Being united in order to obtain a juſt and equal repreſentation of the people, and an entire reform of the numberleſs abuſes which have crept into the government of this country, we ſee with as much pain as uneaſineſs the open or ſecret efforts which are made to diſturb the peace and overthrow the new liberty of the French nation. We congratulate you, however,

ever, very cordially on the total defeat and expulſion of the combined armies of thoſe ſenſeleſs deſpots and thoſe impious rebels, who came to deſolate your fields, ravage your towns, and maſſacre without pity the innocent inhabitants: the goodneſs of your cauſe could not but be crowned with ſucceſs; your wiſdom and valour have enſured it; your wiſe decrees have enlightened Europe, and, like the rays of the ſun, will ſoon enlighten the four parts of the world. The two great bulwarks of human liberty are the legiſlative and judiciary bodies; by a proper organization of the latter, you have enſured to yourſelves the advantage of the former. You have ſince given a proof of your conſummate wiſdom, by keeping the legiſlative, judiciary, and executive powers entirely diſtinct, and by declaring that the two latter ſhould be reſpectively reſponſible to the grand council of the nation. It will be in France that juſtice will henceforward be adminiſtered at little expence, that commerce, by your ſalutary laws, will be uſefully protected, and that the product of induſtry will be every where enſured.

Illuſtrious ſenators! enlightened legiſlators! dear friends! we can inform you at this day, and with the trueſt ſatisfaction, that the impious enmity ſo long and malignantly kept up in the hearts of a generous people towards the French nation, by the manœuvres and intrigues of a perfidious court, exiſts no more but in the hearts of the perverſe, who profit by abuſes; and that we anticipate with tranſport the happy moment that ſhall unite the two nations by an indiſſoluble bond, as the fore-runner of univerſal peace and concord.

It is with the warmeſt and moſt profound ſenſibility that we behold the ſucceſs of your arms in your glorious enterprize to deliver from ſlavery and deſpotiſm the brave nations which border on your frontiers: How holy is the humanity which prompts you to break their chains!

(Signed)
JOHN FREDERICK SCHIEFFER,
President,
FRANCIS PEACOCK,
Secretary.

⁂ *The ſame anſwer was given as to the foregoing Addreſs, on the motion of* Abbé Gregoire; *who obſerved, "that the* Engliſh *were "the only nation which had teſtified ſentiments of fraternity to "three ſucceſſive aſſemblies of the "repreſentatives of the* French *"nation."*

Addreſs from the Engliſh, Iriſh, *and* Scotch *reſident at* Paris: *originally* * *voted by Acclamation, at* White's *Hotel, on the* 18*th of* November, *and preſented to the* French *Convention by a numerous Deputation, in the Sitting of the* 28*th of the ſame Month.*

CITIZEN legiſlators: The Britiſh and Iriſh citizens, actually at Paris, conſtantly animated by thoſe principles which have given birth and ſucceſs to the French revolution, aſſembled themſelves laſt Sunday, for the purpoſe of celebrating the ſucceſs of your arms; and they have determined to preſent to you their congratulations upon events which afford ſo favourable an omen to thoſe nations who are deſirous of becoming free.—Accept then this pure and fraternal homage, on the part of men who bear in their hearts all the principles of that conſtitution which you are about to give to your country.—Hitherto wars had been undertaken only for ſatisfying the ambition, or the pride of deſpots; but you have taken up arms to make reaſon and liberty triumph. We hope that the troops of liberty will not lay them down while either tyrants or ſlaves remain.

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* See before, the Appendix to the Chronicle, p. *153.

The diſgraceful memory of thoſe pretended governments, the offſpring of the combined fraud of prieſts and tyrants, will, in a ſhort time, alone remain. Nations, enlightened by your example, bluſh at having bowed for ſo long a period their ſervile heads under a yoke degrading to human nature. Our wiſhes, citizen legiſlators, render us impatient to behold the happy moment of this great change, in the hope that on its arrival we ſhall ſee an intimate union formed between the French republic and the Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scotch nations: an union which cannot but ſecure to all Europe the enjoyment of the rights of man, and eſtabliſh univerſal peace on the moſt ſolid foundations. Nor are we alone animated by theſe ſentiments: we doubt not that they would be equally conſpicuous in the great majority of our fellow-countrymen, if the public opinion were to be conſulted there, as it ought in a national convention.

As for us who now reſide at Paris, we gladly take this opportunity to declare, that, during the whole courſe of the revolution, and notwithſtanding the abrupt departure of our ambaſſador, or rather the ambaſſador of the court of London, we have conſtantly experienced the utmoſt cordiality and openneſs, and the moſt ſincere friendſhip on the part of the French nation.

White's Hotel, Nov. 20, 1792.

Anſwer of the Preſident to the Deputation.

CITIZENS of the world! In expreſſing to the French republic, through the medium of its repreſentatives, your ſentiments of fraternity, you congratulate a family which was yeſterday augmented by the addition of 400,000 * individuals, whom nature had placed in its boſom, whom deſpotiſm had torn from it, but whom liberty has again placed there. You have gained ſo many more friends. Yes, you are here in the middle of your brethren; nature and principles draw towards us England, Scotland, and Ireland. Let the cries of friendſhip reſound through the two republics—the wiſhes you have now formed for the liberty of nations, will be realized. The impious race of oppreſſors has purſued the liberty of man even into the aſylum of thought. But the people lifts up its humiliated front, it determines its own weight, and what it may become. Principles are waging war againſt tyranny, which will fall under the blows of philoſophy. Royalty in Europe is either deſtroyed, or on the point of periſhing on the ruins of feodality—and the declaration of rights, placed by the ſide of thrones, is a devouring fire which will conſume them. Worthy republicans, congratulate yourſelves on thinking that the feſtival which you have made in honour of the

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* The Savoyards. See below, p. *356.

French revolution, is the prelude to the feſtival of nations.

The convention offers you the honours of the ſitting.

Addreſs from the Revolution Society in London, *to the National Convention; dated 5th of* November.—*Read in the Sitting of 1ſt of* December, 1792.

FRENCH Citizens! The ſociety inſtituted to perpetuate the remembrance of the revolution of Great Britain, offers you this addreſs with the ſincereſt reſpect.

At the ſuggeſtion of one of our members, the late Dr. Price, whoſe loſs we regret, we have already congratulated you on your firſt ſucceſſes in the common cauſe of liberty; and we cannot be ſilent at a period ſo fruitful in events. Even if the enemies who invaded France ſtill ravaged your towns, we would not keep back this addreſs; in the hope, that a nation, which fights not for itſelf alone, but for the whole human race, would, in the end, prove victorious. The tyrants who threatened you have retired with diſgrace; and the friends of liberty, in all countries, ſhare the joy of your triumph.

Above all, we rejoice in the late revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, ſo neceſſary to ſecure to you the advantages which the former had taught you to expect; and we anticipate with pleaſure the moment at which you ſhall have finiſhed your labours, and eſtabliſhed a wiſe and equitable government, which muſt be the admiration of the friends of man, and the cauſe of terror and deſpair to tyrants.

Repreſentatives of a people, we now honour the memory of our brave anceſtors, who reſiſted the tyranny of Charles the Firſt; and we celebrate the revolution which drove away his ſon. We cannot doubt the right which belongs to all nations to reſiſt oppreſſion, and to give themſelves ſuch a form of government as their own wiſdom may ſuggeſt. This right, acknowledged in theory by all the defenders of liberty, formed the groundwork of the revolution which we celebrate; and we feel a tender joy in beholding this right of inſurrection ſucceſsfully exerciſed in ſo large a country as that of the French republic.

We ardently deſire, that the two nations, united by nature, but divided for ages by the intrigues of courts, and the pride of princes, may ſoon be re-united by the love of peace, and by the reciprocal advantages of a commerce freed from every kind of reſtraint. We deſire that France and Great Britain, formerly rivals in the deceitful and fatal career of ambition, may no longer entertain any other ſpirit of emulation than that of ſtriving to haſten the reign of liberty, of knowledge, and of the happineſs of man: and to make the rights of men ſo reſpected over the whole earth, that the characters and diſtinctions of tyrant and ſlave may be no longer known, except in hiſtory.

(Signed)
J. TOWERS,
Chairman.
BENJAMIN COOPER,
Secretary.

Addreſs of Joel Barlow *and* John Froſt, *Deputies from the Conſtitutional Society, (and incloſing an Addreſs from that Society) to the National Convention, on the 28th of* November.

Citizens of France,

WE are deputed from the *Society for Conſtitutional Information in London*, to preſent to you their congratulations on the triumphs of liberty. This ſociety had laboured long in the cauſe, with little proſpect of ſucceſs, previous to the commencement of your revolution. Conceive, then, their exultations of gratitude, when, by the aſtoniſhing efforts of your nation, they behold the reign of reaſon acquiring an extenſion and ſolidity, which promiſe to reward the labours of all good men, by ſecuring the happineſs of their fellow creatures.

Innumerable ſocieties of a ſimilar nature are now forming in every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They excite a ſpirit of univerſal enquiry into the complicated abuſes of government, and the ſimple means of reform.

After the example which France has given, the ſcience of revolutions will be rendered eaſy, and the progreſs of reaſon will be rapid. It would not be ſtrange if, in a period far ſhort of what we ſhould venture to predict, addreſſes of felicitation ſhould croſs the ſeas *to a national convention in England.*

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Addreſs of the Society for Conſtitutional Information in London, to the National Convention in France.

SERVANTS of a Sovereign people, and Benefactors of mankind! We rejoice that your revolution has arrived at that point of perfection which will permit us to addreſs you by this title; it is the only one that can accord with the character of true legiſlators. Every ſucceſſive epoch in your affairs, has added ſomething to the triumphs of liberty; and the glorious victory of the 10th of Auguſt, has finally prepared the way for a conſtitution, which we truſt you will eſtabliſh on the baſis of reaſon and nature.

Conſidering the maſs of deluſion accumulated on mankind to obſcure their underſtandings, you cannot be aſtoniſhed at the oppoſition you have met both from tyrants and from ſlaves. The inſtrument uſed againſt you by each of theſe claſſes is the ſame; for in the genealogy of human miſeries ignorance is at once the parent of oppreſſion and the child of ſubmiſſion.

The events of every day are proving that your cauſe is cheriſhed by the people in all your continental vicinity; that a majority of each of thoſe nations are your real friends, whoſe governments have tutored them into apparent foes; and that they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the dreaded neceſſity of fighting againſt them.

The condition of Engliſhmen is leſs to be deplored—here the hand of oppreſſion has not yet ventured completely to raviſh the pen from us, nor openly to point the ſword at you. From boſoms burning with ardour in your cauſe we tender you our warmeſt wiſhes for the full extent of its progreſs and ſucceſs. It is indeed a ſacred cauſe; we cheriſh it as the pledge of your happineſs, our natural and neareſt friends, and we rely upon it as the bond of paternal union to the human race, in which union our own nation will ſurely be one of the firſt to concur.

Our government has ſtill the power, and perhaps the inclination, to employ hirelings to contradict us; but it is our real opinion that we now ſpeak the ſentiments of a great majority of the Engliſh nation.

tion. The people here are wearied with impoſture, and worn out with war. They have learned to reflect, that both the one and the other are the offspring of unnatural combinations in ſociety, as relative to ſyſtems of government, not the reſult of the natural temper of nations as relative to each other's happineſs.

Go on, legiſlators, in the work of human happineſs. The benefits will in part be our's, but the glory ſhall be all your own—it is the reward of your perſeverance; it is the prize of virtue. The ſparks of liberty preſerved in England for ages, like the corruſcations of the northern Aurora, ſerved but to ſhew the darkneſs viſible in the reſt of Europe. The luſtre of the American republic, like an effulgent morning, aroſe with increaſing vigour, but ſtill too diſtant to enlighten our hemiſphere, till the ſplendor of the French revolution burſt forth upon the nations in the full fervour of a meridian ſun, and diſplayed in the midſt of the European the piratical reſult of principles, which philoſophy had ſought in the ſhade of ſpeculation, and which experience muſt every where confirm. It diſpels the clouds of prejudice from all people, reveals the ſecrets of all deſpotiſm, and creates a new character in man.

In this career of improvement your example will be ſoon followed; for nations, riſing from their lethargy, will re-claim the Rights of Man with a voice which man cannot reſiſt.

Signed, by order of the Society.

SEMPILL,
Chairman.
D. ADAMS,
Nov. 9, 1792. Secretary.

WE are alſo commiſſioned to inform the convention, that the ſociety which we repreſent has ſent to the ſoldiers of liberty a patriotic donation of 1000 pairs of ſhoes, which are by this time arrived at Calais; and the ſociety will continue ſending 1000 pairs a week, for at leaſt ſix weeks to come. We only wiſh to know to whoſe care they ought to be addreſſed.

JOEL BARLOW,
Paris, JOHN FROST.
Nov. 28, 1792.

The Preſident's Anſwer.

BRAVE children of a nation which has given luſtre to the two worlds, and great examples to the univerſe, you have addreſſed us with ſomething more than good wiſhes, ſince the condition of our warriors has excited your ſolicitude. The defenders of our liberty will one day be the ſupporters of your own. You command our eſteem, you will accept our gratitude. The ſons of liberty through the world will never forget their obligations to the Engliſh nation.

The ſhades of Pym, of Hamden, and of Sidney, are hovering over your heads; and the moment cannot be diſtant, when the people of France will offer their congratulations to a national convention in England. Too long has the torch of diſcord inflamed the Engliſh and the French; while the ambition of kings, fomenting national averſions, compelled them to forget that nature has produced none but brothers.

Your iſlands, it is ſaid, were ſevered from the continent by a great convulſion of the globe; but liberty, eſtabliſhed on the two ſhores of the narrow ſea which divides us, will repair the breach, and reſtore the two nations to the harmony and friendſhip for which nature has deſigned them. Reaſon has begun her majeſtic march; ſhe can no longer be reſiſted in her courſe.

Generous republicans, your appearance in this place will form an epoch in the hiſtory of mankind. Hiſtory will conſecrate the day, when, from a nation long regarded as a rival, and in the name of a great number of your fellow-citizens, you appeared in the midſt of the repreſentatives of the people of France, and ſhe will not forget to recount, that our hearts expanded at the ſight. Tell the ſociety which deputed you, and aſſure your fellow citizens in general, that in your friends, the French, you have found men.

*** *The deputies from the Conſtitutional Society were admitted to the ſitting, amidſt the greateſt applauſes.*

The preſident of the national convention was directed to write a letter of thanks to thoſe generous Iſlanders, for the patriotic gift which they had juſt offered to the armies of the republic.

The ſpeech, the addreſs, and the anſwer of the preſident, were ordered to be printed, and ſent to the 83 *departments, and to be tranſlated into all languages.*

Minutes of the proceedings to be delivered to the deputies, and the patriotic gift to be accepted, and tranſmitted to the miniſter at war.

[There was alſo an addreſs from another ſociety in London, ſigned "*David Martin*, chairman; *James Horſefield*, ſecretary; and *John Alcock*, treaſurer," read in the convention on the 22d of November.

An addreſs from a ſociety at *Belfaſt*; dated November 6th, and read in the ſitting of November 29th.

And an addreſs, communicated November 29, in a letter from M. Le Brun, the miniſter for foreign affairs, as the addreſs of a ſociety at *Rocheſter*.]

Declaration on the Part of His Britannic *Majeſty, to the* * *States General of the* United Provinces; *dated* November 16*th*, 1792.

THE under-ſigned ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty,

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* The ſituation of the ſtates general, on the approach of the French armies, may be illuſtrated by a tranſaction which took place ſo early as January 1792. We have not been able to get the addreſs itſelf at length, ſo as to inſert it, with the anſwer, in the State Papers; but the following abſtract of the addreſs, and the anſwer at length, are taken from the Moniteur of 21ſt January 1792. An account ſimilar in ſubſtance is to be found in the French Mercury.

In the Evening Sitting of the 19*th of January* 1792.

A deputation of refugee patriots of Holland, introduced at the bar, preſented a petition, in which were traced out the plans which they had conceived in favour of their country: To eſtabliſh their political liberty on the moſt ſolid baſis; to confine the authority of the ſtadtholder within juſt limits, and to prevent his arbitrary diſpoſal of the land and ſea forces of the Batavian nation; to fetter the ariſtocracy of the great, which, marching with the ſtadtholderian ariſtocracy, will overturn all the foundations of civil liberty and republican equality; to reſtore to the people the right, inalienable and impreſcriptible, of nominating the magiſtrates; to ſhelter theſe jeſty, has received the king's orders to inform their high mightineſſes the ſtates general of the United Provinces, that his majeſty, ſeeing the theatre of war brought ſo near to the frontiers of the republic by the recent events which have happened, and being ſenſible of the uneaſineſs which may naturally reſult from ſuch a ſituation, thinks it due to the connection which ſubſiſts between him and the republic, that he ſhould renew to their high mightineſſes, on this occaſion, the aſſurances of his inviolable friendſhip, and of his determination to execute, at all times, with the utmoſt good faith, all the different ſtipulations of the treaty of alliance ſo happily concluded, in 1788, between his majeſty and their high mightineſſes.

In making to their high mightineſſes this declaration, the king is very far from ſuppoſing the probability of any intention on the part of any of the belligerent parties to violate the territory of the republic, or to interfere in the internal concerns of its government. The king is perſuaded, that the conduct which, in concert with his majeſty, their high mightineſſes have hitherto obſerved, and the reſpect to which the ſituation of his majeſty and the republic juſtly entitles them, are ſufficient to remove any ground of ſuch apprehenſion. His majeſty therefore confidently expects, that no events of the war will lead to any circumſtance from without, which may be injurious to the right of their high mightineſſes; and he ſtrongly recommends to them to employ, in concert with his majeſty, an unremitted attention and firmneſs to repreſs any attempts which may be made to diſturb the internal tranquillity of the provinces.

His majeſty has directed this communication to be made to their high mightineſſes, in the full perſuaſion that nothing can more effectually conduce to the intereſts and happineſs of both countries, than the continuance of that intimate union which has been eſtabliſhed between them for the maintenance of their own rights and ſecurity, and with a view to contribute to the general welfare and tranquillity of Europe.

(Signed) AUCKLAND.

Hague, Nov. 16, 1792.

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theſe magiſtrates from the influence of the ſtadtholder; and in fine, to efface all traces of injuſtice and intolerance, were their view and their end. But they have not been able to accompliſh this great national reſtoration and reform. They come into the midſt of the repreſentatives of their adopted country to demand, that the ſum which is due ſhall remain proviſionally ſubject to the occaſions of the patriots for ſubſiſtence; and that, counting from the firſt of May next, one half of that ſum ſhall ceaſe to belong to them, and remain in the public treaſury.

The Preſident's Anſwer.

Batavians! you whoſe induſtry has created even the earth you inhabit; you whom the Roman people honoured with their friendſhip; you ſhall always be the allies of the French people, while you are the friends of liberty. The aſſembly will cauſe an account to be given of the object of your petition, and invites you to aſſiſt at the ſeſſion.

ANSWER.

THEIR high mightineſſes are moſt ſtrongly impreſſed by the renewal of the aſſurances which his Britannic majeſty has now been pleaſed to make, of his inviolable friendſhip for this republic, and of his determination to execute at all times, with the moſt ſcrupulous good faith, all the different ſtipulations of the treaty of alliance ſo happily concluded in 1788, between his majeſty and their high mightineſſes. The ſtates general have never doubted theſe generous ſentiments on the part of his Britannic majeſty: but the declaration which his majeſty is pleaſed to make of them at the preſent moment, cannot but be extremely agreeable to their high mightineſſes, and inſpire them with the livelieſt gratitude and the moſt devoted attachment to his Britannic majeſty.

The ſtates general, moreover, perfectly agree with his majeſty in the perſuaſion that there is not the leaſt reaſon to attribute to either of the belligerent powers any hoſtile intention againſt the republic: and indeed, their mightineſſes are perſuaded, equally with the king, that the conduct and the ſtrict neutrality which, in concert with his majeſty, they have hitherto ſo carefully obſerved, and the reſpect to which the ſituation of his majeſty and the republic juſtly entitle them, are ſufficient to remove any ground of ſuch apprehenſion.

With reſpect to the internal tranquillity of the republic, their high mightineſſes are perfectly ſenſible of the neceſſity of continuing to ſecure to its inhabitants ſo invaluable an enjoyment; and they are not negligent of any means for the attainment of that ſalutary end.

The ſtates general, in concert with the provinces of the union, have already taken, and continue to take, the neceſſary meaſures for preventing any interruption of this tranquillity in the preſent circumſtances. They have the ſatisfaction of being able to aſſure his majeſty, that their efforts have ſo far been crowned with the deſired ſucceſs; and they have reaſon to flatter themſelves, that, with the bleſſing of Providence, thoſe efforts will be equally fortunate in future.

Finally, their high mightineſſes do not heſitate to declare, that they agree with his Britannic majeſty in the perſuaſion that nothing can more effectually conduce to the happineſs and mutual intereſts of the two nations, than the continuance of that intimate union which has been eſtabliſhed between them, and which their high mightineſſes on their part will neglect no opportunity of cementing and ſtrengthening, for the maintenance of the mutual rights and intereſts of the two countries, and for the ſecurity of the general welfare and tranquillity of Europe.

(Signed) W. H. WASSNAER.
(Counterſigned) H. FAGEL.
Hague, Nov. 16, 1792.

Decree of the French *Executive Council, of the* 16*th of* November, 1792.

Paris, Nov. 16.

THE executive council, deliberating upon the actual ſtate of the war, particularly in Belgia; conſidering that no reſpite ought to be given to the enemies of the republic,

lic, and that all its exertions ought to be uſed to vanquiſh and deſtroy their armies before they are able to reinforce them, and again to attack either France, or thoſe countries to which the French arms have carried liberty: reſolves, That, in conſequence of the deliberation of the 14th October laſt, orders ſhall be given to the general commander in chief of the Belgic expedition, to continue to purſue the enemies' armies in all places where refuge may be given them.

Decree of the French *Executive Council, relative to the opening of the* Scheldt *and* Meuſe; *paſſed* November 16*th, and communicated to the Convention November* 21.

THE executive council, deliberating on the conduct of the French armies in the countries which they occupy, eſpecially in Belgia; one of its members obſerved,

1ſt, That the chains and trammels which till now navigation and commerce have ſuffered, as well upon the Scheldt as upon the Meuſe, are directly contrary to the fundamental principles of natural law, which the French have ſworn to maintain.

2dly, That the courſe of rivers is the common and unalienable property of all the countries watered by their banks; that a nation cannot, without injuſtice, pretend to the right of occupying the channel of a river, and to prevent the neighbouring nations, who inhabit the upper banks, from enjoying the ſame advantage; that ſuch a right is a remnant of feudal ſervitude; or at leaſt an odious monopoly, which could only be eſtabliſhed by force, and conſented to by weakneſs; that conſequently it is revocable every moment, and in ſpite of all conventions, becauſe nature knows as little of privileged people as of privileged individuals, and the rights of man are always impreſcriptible.

3dly, That the glory of the French republic requires, that wherever the protection of her arms extends, liberty ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and tyranny overthrown.

4thly, That when to the advantages procured to the Belgian people by the French arms, ſhall be joined the free navigation of rivers, and the freedom of the commerce of theſe provinces, not only the people will have no farther ground to fear for their own independence, or to doubt of the diſintereſtedneſs which directs the republic; but even the nations of Europe cannot then refuſe to acknowledge, that the deſtruction of all tyrannies, and the triumph of the rights of man, are the ſole ambition of the French people.

The council, ſtruck with theſe powerful conſiderations, decrees, that the general in chief commanding the French armies in the expedition of Belgia, ſhall be enjoined to take the moſt preciſe meaſures, and to employ every method which is in his power, to enſure the liberty of navigation and tranſports in the whole courſe of the Scheldt and the Meuſe.

Decree of Fraternity and Aſſiſtance to all People, paſſed by the Convention Nov. 19.

THE National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all people who wiſh to recover their liberty: and they charge the executive power to ſend the neceſſary orders to the generals, to give aſſiſtance to ſuch people, and to defend thoſe citizens who have ſuffered, or may ſuffer, in the cauſe of liberty.

⁎ *This decree was ordered to be tranſlated and printed in* all languages. *On the 24th of* December *a motion was made by* M. Barailon, *that after the words* "to all people," *ſhould be added,* "againſt all tyrants with whom France may be at war;" *and this was expreſsly done in conſequence of the diſpleaſure teſtified by the* Engliſh *miniſtry at the decree, and the ſenſe put upon it by the* French *government. But the convention decreed,* "there was no room to deliberate."

Anſwer of the Preſident of the National Convention (Abbè Gregoire) *to a Deputation of the National Aſſembly of* Savoy. *Decreed to be tranſlated into all Languages, as the Manifeſto of all Nations againſt Kings.* November 21.

Repreſentatives of a ſovereign people!

IT was a glorious day for the univerſe when the national convention of France pronounced theſe words, *royalty is aboliſhed.* From that new æra multitudes ſhall date their political exiſtence. Since the firſt eſtabliſhment of ſocieties kings have been in open revolt againſt nations; but nations are now beginning to exert their collective ſtrength for cruſhing kings. Reaſon, which ſhines forth from every part, reveals eternal truths; ſhe unrolls the great charter of the rights of man, that appaller of deſpots.

Like gunpowder, the more liberty is compreſſed the more terrible is its exploſion. It will ſoon explode in both the worlds to overturn thrones, which will be ſwallowed up in the ſovereignty of the people. Then will arrive the moment when the ſtupid pride of tyrants ſhall be humbled, when ſlave-merchants and kings ſhall be the antipathy of purified Europe; when their hereditary wickedneſs ſhall exiſt no longer but in the archives of guilt. Soon, in fine, ſhall the wounds of the nations be healed; the human ſpecies be regenerated, and the condition of the great family be meliorated.

The reſpectable iſlanders who were our maſters in the ſocial art are become our diſciples; and, treading in our ſteps, ſoon ſhall the high-ſpirited Engliſh ſtrike a blow which ſhall reſound to the extremity of Aſia.

Already Malines, Oſtend, Mentz, Nice and Chambery behold the three-coloured flag floating on their ramparts. The greater part of the human race are enſlaved, ſays a philoſopher, only becauſe they know not how to ſay *no.*—You, worthy Savoyards, have ſaid *no*; at which liberty on a ſudden enlarging her horizon, hovered over your mountains, and in that moment you made your entrance into the univerſe.

Fear not you the menaces of the deſpots of Europe. They will aſſemble new phalanxes for making war in the ſpring; but this expiatory war ſhall prepare for them a tomb: the efforts of kings are the laſt teſtament of royalty. France, enſlaved, was heretofore the aſylum of dethroned princes: France, free, is become the ſupport of dethroned ſovereigns. She now declares, by the organ of her repreſentatives, that ſhe will act as in a common cauſe with all people who reſolve to ſhake off their bondage and obey themſelves alone.

The ſtatues of Capet are rolled in the duſt. They ſhall be transformed into cannon, and ſend their thunder againſt thoſe who may dare to raiſe their heads againſt the nation. If any one attempt to impoſe new chains upon us, we will break them upon his head. Liberty ſhall never be extinguiſhed among us until Frenchmen ſhall be no more; and may they all periſh rather than one ſlave be ſeen in France!

Generous Savoyards! you deſire to be incorporated with the French republic, to unite your fate with ours, to eſtabliſh your political rights on the ſame baſis with ours. The national convention muſt weigh, muſt ſolemnly diſcuſs a demand of ſuch importance; but, whatever may be its deciſion, in the French you ſhall always find friends.

Are not all men brothers? Can he who traverſes diſtant regions encounter a man who is not of the family, unleſs he encounters a king?

Perſuaded that with nations, as with individuals, the virtues are the only ſource of proſperity, let us develope, let us vivify that univerſal juſtice, which traces out to nations the extent of their rights and the circle of their duties. Let our arms be extended towards tyrants for combating them, towards men for embracing them, towards heaven for expreſſing our thanks. United by indiſſoluble bonds, let us form a concert of joy, which ſhall increaſe the ferocious deſpair of tyrants, and the hope of oppreſſed nations!

A new age is going to open;—the palms of fraternity and peace ſhall adorn its front! Then ſhall liberty, extending her pinions over all Europe, viſit her domains; and this part of the globe contain neither fortreſſes, nor frontiers, nor foreign people!

⁂ *As ſoon as the tumult of applauſe, and the cries of* Vive les nations! *were ſilenced,* M. Barrere *moved,* "that the preſident's anſwer ſhould be tranſlated into all languages, as the manifeſto of all nations againſt kings." *This motion was much applauded, and decreed without oppoſition.*

The Proviſional Executive Council of the French *Republic to the Prince Biſhop of* Rome, Nov. 25.

THE free French, children of the arts, whoſe reſidence at Rome ſupports and developes the taſte and the talents with which ſhe is honoured, undergo, by your order, an unjuſt perſecution. Removed from their labours in an arbitrary manner, encloſed in a rigorous priſon, pointed out to the public, and treated as guilty, before any tribunal has announced their crime, or rather, when they can be reproached with no other, than that of having made known their reſpect for the rights of humanity, and their love for that part of it which acknowledges them, they are deſigned to be ſhortly ſacrificed as victims to deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition united.

Doubtleſs, if it was lawful ever to buy, at the expence of innocence, the triumph of a good cauſe, this exceſs ſhould be ſuffered to be committed. The reign of the inquiſition would conclude on the day when it ſhould ſo dare to execute its fury, and the ſucceſſor of St. Peter would be no longer a prince on the day when he ſhould ſuffer it. Reaſon has cauſed her powerful voice to be every where heard; ſhe has reſtored, in the oppreſſed heart of man, the conſcience of his duties with the ſentiment of his force; ſhe has broken the ſceptre of tyranny; liberty has become the univerſal rallying point; and tyrants, trembling upon their thrones, can only, by favouring her, avoid a violent fall.

But it is not ſufficient for the French republic to foreſee the limit and extinction of tyranny in Europe; ſhe ought to ſhelter from the action of it all thoſe who belong to her. Already her miniſter for foreign affairs has demanded the releaſe of the French, arbitrarily detained at Rome; this day, her executive council reclaims them, in the name of juſtice, which they have not offended; in the name of the arts, which it is your intereſt to receive and protect; in the name of reaſon, which is indignant at this foreign proſecution; in the name of a free nation, bold and generous, who diſdains conqueſt, it is true, but who would make its rights to be reſpected; who is ready to revenge herſelf upon whomſoever dare contemn them; and who has not learned to conquer them from her prieſts and her kings, to permit that they ſhall be outraged by any perſon upon earth.

Pontiff of the Roman church, ſtill a prince in a ſtate ready to eſcape from you, you can no longer retain either, but by a diſintereſted profeſſion of thoſe evangelical principles, which breathe the pureſt democracy, the tendereſt humanity, and the moſt perfect equality. The ages of ignorance are paſt; men can no longer be ſubdued, but by conviction; or conducted, but by truth; or attached, but by their own happineſs; the art of politics and the ſecret of government are reduced to an acknowledgment of their rights, and to the care of facilitating their exerciſe for the greateſt good to all, and the leaſt poſſible damage to each.

Such are now the maxims of the French republic; too juſt to be ſilent upon any occaſion, even in affairs of diplomacy; too powerful to have recourſe to menace; but, at the ſame time, too noble to conceal an outrage; ſhe is ready to puniſh it, if peaceable demands ſhall remain without effect.

Given at the executive council,
Nov. 25, 1792.
(Signed)
ROLAND, CLAVIERE, LEBRUN, MONGE, PACHE, and GARAT.

Decree for extending the French *Syſtem to all Countries occupied by their Armies; paſſed* December 15.

THE National Convention, after having heard the report of the united finance, military, and diplomatic committees, faithful to the principles of the ſovereignty of the people, which will not permit them to acknowledge any of the inſtitutions militating againſt it, and willing to fix the regulations to be obſerved by the generals of the armies of the republic, in thoſe countries to which they may carry their arms, decree—

Art. I. In thoſe countries which are or ſhall be occupied by the armies of the French republic, the generals ſhall immediately proclaim, in the name of the French nation, the abolition of all the exiſting impoſts or contribution; of tythes; of all feudal and manorial rights, fixed or caſual; of all real or perſonal ſervices; of the excluſive right of hunting and fiſhing; of ſtate labour; of the nobility; and generally, all privileges:—they ſhall declare to the people, that they bring them peace, ſuccours, fraternity, liberty, and equality.

Art. II. They ſhall proclaim the ſovereignty of the people, and the ſuppreſſion of all exiſting authorities; they ſhall then convoke the people in primary or the commonalty aſſemblies, to create and organize a proviſionary adminiſtration; they ſhall cauſe the preſent decree, and the proclamation hereto annexed, to be publiſhed and affixed in the language or dialect of the country, and to be executed without delay in every diſtrict.

Art. III. All the agents and officers of the former government, military or civil, as well as the individuals lately reputed noble, and the members of any corporation lately privileged, ſhall, for the firſt election only, be inadmiſſible to any place in the proviſional adminiſtration or judicial power.

Art. IV. The generals ſhall forthwith place under the protection and ſafeguard of the French republic all property, moveable or immoveable, belonging to the treaſury, to the prince, to his voluntary abettors, adherents, or attendants; to the bodies and communities, both civil and religious: they ſhall cauſe to be drawn up, without delay, an exact ſtate thereof, which they ſhall tranſmit to the executive council; and they ſhall take every meaſure in their power to cauſe ſuch property to be reſpected.

Art. V. The proviſional adminiſtration, appointed by the people, ſhall be charged with the inſpection and management of all things put under the ſafeguard and protection of the French republic; they ſhall cauſe the laws in force to be executed, which relate to the determination of civil and criminal ſuits, to the police, and public ſafety; they ſhall be charged with the regulation and payment of the local expences, and ſuch as ſhall be neceſſary for the common defence; they ſhall eſtabliſh contributions, provided always that they be not levied on the indigent and laborious claſs of the people.

Art. VI. As ſoon as the proviſional adminiſtration ſhall be organized, the national convention ſhall name commiſſaries from their own body, to enter into fraternity with them.

Art. VII. The executive council ſhall alſo name national commiſſaries, who ſhall afterwards repair thither, for the purpoſe of concerting with the proviſional adminiſtration named by the people, upon the meaſures to be taken for the common defence, and upon the means to be employed for procuring the clothing and ſubſiſtence neceſſary for the armies of the republic, and to diſcharge the expences which they have incurred, or ſhall incur, while they remain upon their territories.

Art. VIII. The commiſſaries named by the proviſional executive power, ſhall tranſmit to them, every fifteen days, an account of their proceedings, together with their obſervations ſubjoined: the executive council ſhall approve or reject them,

and

and afterwards communicate the ſame to the convention.

Art. IX. The proviſional adminiſtration named by the people, and the functions of the national commiſſaries, ſhall ceaſe, as ſoon as the inhabitants, after having declared the ſovereignty, liberty, and independence of the people, ſhall have organized a free and popular form of government.

Art. X. The French republic ſhall deliver to the government which ſhall be eſtabliſhed, an account of the expences which the former ſhall have incurred in the common defence, and of the ſums which it may have received. The French republic ſhall make arrangements for what may remain due; and, in caſe the common intereſt ſhould then require the further continuance of the troops of the republic on the foreign territory, the republic ſhall make the neceſſary arrangements for their ſubſiſtence.

Art. XI. The French nation declares, that it will treat as enemies, the people, who, refuſing or renouncing liberty and equality, are deſirous of preſerving their prince and privileged caſts, or of entering into an accommodation with them. The nation promiſes and engages not to lay down its arms, until the ſovereignty and liberty of the people, on whoſe territory the French armies ſhall have entered, ſhall be eſtabliſhed; and not to conſent to any arrangement or treaty with the princes and privileged perſons ſo diſpoſſeſſed, with whom the republic is at war.

Subſtance of the Articles contained in the Definitive Treaty of Peace between Ruſſia *and the* Porte; *concluded at* Jaſſy, Jan. 9, 1792.

I. THERE ſhall be from henceforth a ſtable, permanent friendſhip between the high contracting powers.

II. All the ſtipulations in force before the late rupture ſhall be renewed.

III. The Dneiſter ſhall hereafter be conſidered as the frontier and line of demarcation between the reſpective ſtates. All the territories ſituated on the right hand of that river ſhall be reſtored to the Porte.

IV. The principal cities of Moldavia and Wallachia ſhall be confirmed in their ancient rights and privileges; the inhabitants ſhall be exempted from all tribute during two years; and thoſe who wiſh to ſell their property, and remove elſewhere, ſhall be permitted ſo to do.

V. The Sublime Porte hereby guarantees the tranquillity of Gruſinia, Georgia, and the neighbouring territories.

VI. The Sublime Porte undertakes to do the ſame in regard to Caucaſus.

VII. The Sublime Porte undertakes to do the ſame in regard to all the piracies of the Barbary corſairs, and to indemnify the ſubjects of Ruſſia from any loſſes they may ſuſtain in conſequence of an infraction of any of the above three articles.

VIII. Liberty ſhall be granted to priſoners of all nations, whether Ruſſians, Greeks, Moldavians, Poles, &c. &c.

IX. All hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe, &c. &c.

X. The two high contracting

powers ſhall ſend ambaſſadors reciprocally to each other.

XI. All the Ruſſian forces, either appertaining to the ſea or land ſervice, ſhall quit the Ottoman territories on or before the 10th of May.

XII. The ratification of the count de Reſborоſko and the grand vizier ſhall be interchanged within fifteen days.

XIII. That of the reſpective ſovereigns in five weeks, reckoning from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

Declaration of M. Bulgakow, Ruſſian *Ambaſſador at* Warſaw; *delivered to the Diet on the 18th of* May.

THE liberty and independence of the moſt ſerene republic of Poland have at all times excited the attention and concern of all her neighbours.

Her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſians, who, together with this claim, ſtill unites the right of her formal and poſitive engagements with the republic, has endeavoured in a more peculiar manner to watch over the inviolable preſervation of theſe two precious attributes of her political exiſtence.

Theſe continual and generous endeavours of her majeſty, being the effects of her love for juſtice and order, as well as her affection and good wiſhes towards a nation, whom the identity of origin, language, and ſo many other natural relations with the nation ſhe reigns over, rendered dear to her, did doubtleſs repreſs the ambition and avidity of thoſe rulers who, not ſatisfied with the ſhare of authority aſſigned to them by the laws of the ſtate, aſpired to a greater extent of power, at the expence of theſe very laws.

With this intent they have, on one hand, neglected nothing to weary out the active vigilance of the empreſs over the integrity of the rights and prerogatives of the illuſtrious Poliſh nation; and, on the other hand, to defame the purity and beneficence of her intentions, and to place them on every occaſion in a point of view abſolutely foreign to them.

In this manner they have had the perfidious addreſs to cauſe the act by which Ruſſia guarantees the lawful conſtitution of this nation, to be declared a cumberſome and humiliating yoke: whereas the greateſt realms, and among the reſt the German empire, far from rejecting ſuch guarantees, have conſidered, ſought, and accepted them as the moſt ſtable foundation of their property and independence. And, moreover, recent events prove, better than all the arguments which can be employed, the neceſſity and efficacy of ſuch a guarantee; without it the republic, ſunk under the attacks of her domeſtic enemies, could at this moment have had no other title to the aid of Ruſſia for raiſing her up again, than that of mere friendſhip, mere generoſity.

In the mean while, emboldened by their ſucceſs in propagating all kinds of deceptions and erroneous opinions through one part of the nation, thoſe who had long meditated the ſubjugation and ruin of its antient liberty, waited only for a favourable moment to carry their deſtructive deſigns into execution; and this moment they believed they might ſeize during the two wars with which Ruſſia was at once aſ-failed. About this time the diet aſſembled at Warſaw. The inſtructions which the nuncios had received from the dietines, fixed the ſame as a free and ordinary diet. All at once it was transformed into a confederate diet, without any known or apparent reaſon. The act of confederation, which was made public, announced the labours on which it was to be employed. The chief objects were to be—the maintenance of the free republican government—the maintenance of the magiſtrates in their functions and accuſtomed limits—and the preſervation of the property of citizens.

It is for the Poliſh nation themſelves, to judge, from the conſequences and reſult of the acts of that diet, how far it has abuſed public confidence, by departing from the original objects of its meeting, and adopting others which were diametrically oppoſite to them. Without entering upon an enumeration of all the illegalities and violations of the laws and immunities of the republic, which this confederate diet, or rather the faction prevailing in it, have committed, it will ſuffice to ſay, that after having uſurped, confounded, and concentrated in itſelf all branches of power (whoſe union in one ſingle hand is utterly incompatible with republican principles) it has moreover abuſed, in a moſt tyrannical manner, each branch of this power; it has prolonged its own duration for above three years and an half (a duration of which the Poliſh annals do not offer a ſingle inſtance); and finally crowned all its ruinous enterprizes by totally overturning from its foundation, on the 3d of May 1791, the edifice of government, under which the republic had flouriſhed and proſpered for ſo many ages.

That day beheld it diſappear, and on its ruins ariſe a monarchy, which offers, in the new laws by which they have pretended to limit it, nothing but contradictions among themſelves, incoherency with the old laws, and complete inſufficiency in every reſpect; leaving to the Polanders not even the bare ſhadow of that liberty and thoſe prerogatives of which they have always been ſo jealous.

The throne, elective as it was, is rendered hereditary, and the law, which the wiſdom of their anceſtors had dictated, and which forbids to meddle, during the life-time of the king, with the election of his ſucceſſor, has been violated as audaciouſly as were all thoſe that ſhould guarantee the perpetual continuance of the republic.

The means employed for conſummating theſe violent actions, were well enough calculated to characterize them. On the day of the revolution, the palace and the hall of the diet were crowded with the populace of Warſaw. Armed perſons were introduced there—cannons were brought from the arſenal, and ſtood ready to be diſcharged on ſuch as might endeavour to prevent the ſucceſs of the plot. The regiment of artillery, and the Lithuanian guards, were aſſembled for ſupporting the populace. Their fury was excited againſt thoſe whoſe reſiſtance was dreaded. Several nuncios, who perſevered in their patriotic ſentiments, were threatened with death: and the nuncio of Kalitſch, humbly approaching the throne to remind the king of the ſanctity of the oaths he had taken to the *pacta conventa*, that ſacred and indiſſoluble bond, which connected him with the nation, was unmercifully trampled under foot, in contempt of his inviolable character, as a repreſentative of this nation, and to the great ſcandal of every Polander, who has not loſt all ſenſe of honour and liberty. And it is a revolution effected in this manner, which the promoters endeavour to make paſs for the free and ſpontaneous will of the nation.

Not contented with the evils they have occaſioned in the boſom of their country, theſe men have endeavoured by all means to draw others upon her from abroad, by precipitating her into diſputes capable of degenerating into an open war with Ruſſia, the ancient ally, the beſt and moſt conſtant friend of the republic, and the Poliſh nation.

It required no leſs than all the magnanimity of the empreſs, and moreover all that juſtice and penetration, by which ſhe knows how to diſcern the intentions of the ſpirit of party from the general wiſh of the nation, to prevent the laſt extremes to which ſhe has been continually provoked.

A ſuccinct explanation of facts will evince the truth of this aſſertion.

On the declaration of the war, which the Ottoman Porte waged againſt Ruſſia, the ambaſſador of the empreſs delivered to the miniſtry of the republic, which had then no diet, a note, appriſing them of the marching of the Ruſſian troops through the Poliſh ſtates, and propoſing to appoint commiſſioners in the palatinates that were neareſt to the quarters of theſe troops, with whom they might treat for the furniſhing and payment of forage.

All this was regulated and ſettled amicably and with mutual ſatisfaction, notwithſtanding the fermentations of ill-will which ſeemed already to manifeſt themſelves. But as ſoon as the diet was formed, and the long-meditated plan of ſubverting the republic, had got the better of all conſiderations, of preſerving the internal and external peace of the kingdom, it was not only inſiſted upon that the Ruſſian troops, without even excepting the ſmall number that were to guard the magazines which they had formed, ſhould immediately withdraw from the Poliſh territories, but alſo the furniſhing them with proviſions was rendered difficult by means of ſeveral impediments: the eſtabliſhing of new magazines for their ſupport was oppoſed; and it was required, that even the old magazines ſhould be removed beyond the frontiers of the republic. On the ſame occaſion, the treaſury board made the unjuſt propoſal, that on croſſing the river Dnieſter, duties of exports ſhould be collected for theſe magazines, which were procured at a conſiderable expence, and to the very great profit of the Poliſh landed proprietors.

Such proceedings did not accord with the reſpect which ſhould be mutually ſhewn by two neighbouring nations, united moreover by the bonds of amity and alliance.

The vexations of all kinds, practiſed upon the ſubjects of her majeſty the empreſs, were carried to ſuch a height, that ſome of them, detained on the territory of the republic by their mercantile affairs, which they purſued on the faith of exiſting treaties, and the law of nations, were moſt maliciouſly accuſed of having excited the inhabitants of the places to revolt, and on that pretence arreſted and thrown into priſons. The judges who tried theſe people, finding no traces of the crime they ſtood impeached for, had recourſe to torture to extort a confeſſion; and after having in this manner forced it from them, theſe mercileſs judges condemned them to die, and cauſed them to be inhumanly executed. This firſt eſſay of inhumanity, injuſtice and cruelty, opened a vaſt field for inquiſitions of all kinds, which bore particularly on the provinces whoſe inhabitants profeſs the non-united orthodox Greek religion. The biſhop of Przejaſlav and abbot of Sluck, though a ſubject of the empreſs, fell a victim to this perſecution. Notwithſtanding his high eccleſiaſtic dignity, purity of manners, and auſterity of principles, he was accuſed of crimes which it was the buſineſs of malice, aided by a deſire of prolonging the fermentation thus occaſioned, to forge every moment. This prelate was ſeized and conducted to Warſaw, where he is ſtill detained in harſh captivity.

The law of nations was no longer reſpected, in the very boſom of the capital, towards the miniſters of the empreſs: for their chapel, (which is conſidered as a part of the hotel occupied by them, and which, by the Ruſſian arms fixed on the outſide, clearly points out to every body that it is a privileged place) was forced by Poliſh ſoldiers, who ſeized upon a miniſter of the altar, and carried him before an incompetent tribunal. The ſatisfaction which the miniſter has demanded on this ſubject, has been evaded upon vague and inſignificant pretences. In ſhort, not only the ſolemn treaties which connected Ruſſia and Poland were violated and tranſgreſſed in the moſt important articles, but the animoſity has been carried ſo far as to ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary to Turkey, then in open war with Ruſſia, offering to that power an offenſive treaty directed againſt this latter power: a fact of which the archives of the miniſterial correſpondence of the cabinet of Warſaw, contain the documents and cleareſt proofs.

Even the reſpect due to the perſon and the exalted rank of the empreſs, was not obſerved in the ſpeeches held in public ſeſſions in the diet; and this rudeneſs, inſtead of being reprimanded, as it deſerved, was even encouraged and applauded by the chiefs of the party that overturned the laws and the government of the republic.

The leaſt of theſe grievances, without mentioning thoſe which are voluntarily ſuppreſſed for the ſake of brevity, would juſtify, in the face of God and men, the reſolution of her majeſty to take ſignal vengeance. Yet it is not with this view that her majeſty publiſhes this declaration of the ſaid grievances. Her innate equity does not ſuffer her to confound all the Poliſh nation with one of its parties which has ſuprized and betrayed its confidence. The empreſs, on the contrary, is fully convinced, that the majority has had no part in any thing that has been done againſt her, and againſt the republic her ancient ally.

For this reaſon ſhe is willing to ſacrifice her juſt reſentment, to a hope more compatible with her generous and pacific ſentiments, of ſeeing all thoſe grievances remedied by means of a new diet, which ſhall more ſtrictly adhere to the orders of their conſtituents, and to the cardinal and immutable laws of the ſtate, than the preſent exiſting diet, which has treſpaſſed upon them all in the moſt palpable manner, and marked all their tranſactions, in oppoſition to thoſe laws, with the ſtamp of their own illegality.

But if her imperial majeſty refuſes to liſten to the voice of her own reſentment, ſhe cannot be deaf to the voice of claims made upon her by a great number of Polanders, among whom are ſeveral who are as illuſtrious by birth and rank in the republic as they are by their patriotic virtues, and ability for ſerving the ſtate.

Animated by a pure and laudable zeal for the welfare of their country, and the recovery of its former liberty and independence, they have united themſelves for the purpoſe of forming a lawful confederation, as the only effectual remedy for the misfortunes which the illegal and uſurping confederation at Warſaw has cauſed to the nation.

For this purpoſe they have ſolicited the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the empreſs, who did not heſitate to aſſure them of both, being guided on her part by her friendly and amicable diſpoſitions in favour of the republic, and her deſire of ſtrictly fulfilling the obligations of her treaties.

In order to acquit herſelf of this promiſe, the empreſs has ordered part of her troops to enter the territory of the republic. They ſhew themſelves there as friends, co-operating in the re-eſtabliſhment of the rights and prerogatives of the republic. All ſuch as ſhall receive them under this title, will, beſides a perfect oblivion of what is paſt, find every protection and ſecurity for their perſons and property; and her majeſty hopes, that all good Polanders, who truly love their native country, will know how to value the intentions of her imperial majeſty, and perceive that it is for their own benefit, that they ſhould co-operate with all their heart and ſoul in the generous endeavours which her majeſty is to employ, in conjunction with all true patriots, for reſtoring to the republic her liberty and laws, of which ſhe has been deprived by the pretended conſtitution of the 3d of May. If there ſhould be any who harbour ſcruples concerning the oath which they have been led to take from error, or which was extorted from them by force and ſeduction, ſuch ſhould conſider as the only true and ſacred oath, that by which they engaged to maintain and defend till death the free and republican government under which they were born; and that the renewal of this former oath is the only method of repairing the perjury of which they have been guilty in taking the new oath. Yet if there are any found, who, from their obſtinacy in a perverſe way of thinking, ſhould oppoſe the benevolent intentions of the empreſs, and the patriotic wiſhes of their fellow citizens, they may thank themſelves for the rigours and the evils, to which they will be expoſed; the more ſo, as they had it in their power to ſecure themſelves by a prompt and ſincere abjuration of their errors.

The underſigned envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary, charged with announcing theſe intentions of her imperial majeſty, and the juſt motives on which they are founded, is alſo charged to invite the illuſtrious Poliſh nation to place the moſt intire confidence in the generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs which guide the meaſures of her majeſty, and which make her ardently deſire to ſee the republic ſoon eſtabliſh itſelf on its baſis by a wiſe equipoiſe of powers, as the ſureſt means of perpetuating her internal tranquillity, and her relations of good neighbourhood and good harmony with all the neighbouring powers.

Given at Warſaw, May 7-18, 1792.

(Signed) D. VON BULGAKOW.

Letter from the King of Poland *to the King of* Pruſſia.

Warſaw, 31ſt May, 1792.

Sir, my Brother,

THIS letter will be delivered to your majeſty by count Potocki, grand marſhal of Lithuania.

I write it at an epoch when every conſideration impoſes on me the duty of defending the independence and territory of Poland. Both the one and the other are evidently attacked by the pretenſions of her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, pronounced in her declaration of the 18th of May, and by the hoſtilities which have followed that declaration. If the alliance which exiſts between your majeſty and me is a title to claim your ſuccour, it eſſentially imports me to know the mode that you will preſcribe for the fulfilment of theſe engagements. The poſitive knowledge of the ſentiments of your majeſty is as neceſſary to me for my conduct, as your forces are neceſſary to my ſucceſs.—It is apparent, that the territory of the republic, guaranteed by your majeſty, is violated: that its independence is invaded and attacked in a manner ſo general and extenſive, that deſcending even to the moſt ſubtle interpretations, it is impoſſible to aſcribe it merely to the ſingle article of the new conſtitution. On an occaſion when, as an ally, the dignity of your majeſty is ſo intimately united with the independence and honour of my nation, I have reaſon to expect that you will make known to me your ſentiments. My confidence in your majeſty will have no other limits than thoſe which you ſhall yourſelf impoſe; and in proportion as the ſuccours which you may be pleaſed to give to Poland ſhall be clearly and promptly announced, the more advantageous and dear to her will they be.

In the midſt of my inquietudes and fatigues, that which conſoles me is, that never was there a better cauſe, nor a cauſe which had for its ſupport an ally more reſpectable and more faithful, in the eyes of his contemporaries and of poſterity.

All that your majeſty ſhall pleaſe and deig nto confide to marſhal Potocki, the bearer of the preſent letter, will be entruſted with ſafety and utility, as he enjoys my utmoſt confidence, as well as that of all the nation, who are united with me on this great ſubject.

It is with ſentiments of the higheſt conſideration, and of the trueſt friendſhip, that I am

Your Majeſty's good brother,

STANISLAUS.

Letter of the King of Pruſſia *to the King of* Poland.

Berlin, June 8, 1792.

Sir, my Brother,

THE grand marſhal of Lithuania, count Potocki, has delivered to me your majeſty's letter, dated the 31ſt May. I there ſee, with regret, the embarraſſments in which Poland finds herſelf now involved. But I will acknowledge, with equal frankneſs, that after all that has paſſed for the laſt twelve months, theſe embarraſſments were to be foreſeen. Your majeſty will recollect, that on more than one occaſion the marquis de Luccheſini was charged to manifeſt not only to you, but the preponderating members of the government, my juſt apprehenſions on this ſubject. From the moment that the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity in Europe permitted me to explain myſelf, and that the empreſs of Ruſſia had ſhewn a decided oppoſition to the order of things eſtabliſhed on the 3d of May 1791, my way of thinking, and the language of my miniſters, have never varied; and in obſerving with a tranquil eye the new conſtitution, which the republic has given to itſelf without my privity or concurrence, I have never had the idea either of ſupporting or protecting it. I have predicted, on the contrary, that the threatening meaſures and the warlike preparations which the diet unceaſingly deliberated upon one after another, would infallibly provoke the reſentment of the empreſs of Ruſſia, and draw upon Poland the evils which it was pretended to avoid. The event has juſtified theſe appearances, and it cannot be diſſembled in the preſent moment, that without the new form of government for the republic, and without the efforts which have been announced for ſupporting it, the court of Ruſſia would not have determined on the vigorous proceedings ſhe has now embraced.

Whatever be the friendſhip which I ſwear to your majeſty, and the intereſt which I take in every thing that concerns you, you will yourſelf perceive that the ſtate of things being entirely changed ſince the alliance that I contracted with the republic, and the preſent conjuncture, brought on by the conſtitution of the 3d May 1791, poſterior to my treaty, not being applicable to the engagements therein ſtipulated, I am not bound to pay deference to the expectation of your majeſty, if the intentions of the patriotic party are ſtill the ſame, and if they perſiſt in the deſire of maintaining their own work; but if, re-tracing their ſteps, they would conſider the difficulties that are riſing up on all ſides, I ſhould be ready to concert meaſures with her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, and to explain myſelf at the ſame time with the court of Vienna, for the purpoſe of reconciling the different intereſts, and of agreeing on meaſures capable of reſtoring tranquillity to Poland.

I flatter myſelf that your majeſty will find in theſe diſpoſitions, and in theſe aſſurances, the ſentiments of ſincere friendſhip, and of the conſideration with which I am,

Your Majeſty's good brother,
FREDERICK-WILLIAM.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Anecdotes of Dr. Johnſon; *from Mr.* Boſwell's *Life of that celebrated Writer.*

Account of his Marriage.

IN a man whom religious education has ſecured from licentious indulgences, the paſſion of love, when once it has ſeized him, is exceedingly ſtrong; being unimpaired by diſſipation, and totally concentrated in one object. This was experienced by Johnſon, when he became the fervent admirer of Mrs. Porter, after her firſt huſband's death. Miſs Porter told me, that when he was firſt introduced to her mother, his appearance was very forbidding: he was then lean and lank, ſo that his immenſe ſtructure of bones was hideouſly ſtriking to the eye, and the ſcars of the ſcrophula were deeply viſible. He alſo wore his hair, which was ſtraight and ſtiff, and ſeparated behind; and he often had, ſeemingly, convulſive ſtarts and odd geſticulations, which tended to excite at once ſurprize and ridicule. Mrs. Porter was ſo much engaged by his converſation, that ſhe overlooked all theſe external diſadvantages, and ſaid to her daughter, "This is the moſt ſenſible man that I ever ſaw in my life."

Though Mrs. Porter was double the age of Johnſon, and her perſon and manner, as deſcribed to me by the late Mr. Garrick, were by no means pleaſing to others, ſhe muſt have had a ſuperiority of underſtanding and talents, as ſhe certainly inſpired him with a more than ordinary paſſion; and ſhe having ſignified her willingneſs to accept of his hand, he went to Litchfield to aſk his mother's conſent to the marriage, which he could not but be conſcious was a very imprudent ſcheme, both on account of their diſparity of years, and her want of fortune. But Mrs. Johnſon knew too well the ardour of her ſon's temper, and was too tender a parent, to oppoſe his inclinations.

I know not for what reaſon the marriage ceremony was not performed at Birmingham; but a reſolution was taken that it ſhould be at Derby, for which place the bride and bridegroom ſet out on horſeback, I ſuppoſe in very good humour. But though Mr. Topham Beauclerk uſed archly to mention Johnſon's having told him, with much gravity, "Sir, it was a love marriage on both ſides," I have had from my illuſtrious friend the following curious account of their journey to church upon the nuptial morn.—"Sir, ſhe had read the old romances, and had got into her head the fantaſtical notion that a woman of ſpirit ſhould uſe her lover like a dog. So, Sir, at firſt ſhe told me that I rode too faſt, and ſhe could not keep up with me; and, when I rode a little ſlower, ſhe paſſed me, and complained that I lagged behind. I was not to be made the ſlave of caprice; and I reſolved to begin as I meant to end. I therefore puſhed on briſkly, till I was fairly out of her ſight. The road lay between two hedges, ſo I was ſure ſhe could not miſs it; and I contrived that ſhe ſhould ſoon come up with me. When ſhe did, I obſerved her to be in tears."

This, it muſt be allowed, was a ſingular beginning of connubial felicity; but there is no doubt that Johnſon, though he thus ſhowed a manly firmneſs, proved a moſt affectionate and indulgent huſband to the laſt moment of Mrs. Johnſon's life: and in his "Prayers and Meditations," we find very remarkable evidence that his regard and fondneſs for her never ceaſed, even after her death.

His Reſentment of Lord Cheſterfield's *Conduct towards him.*

Lord Cheſterfield, to whom Johnſon had paid the high compliment of addreſſing to his Lordſhip the Plan of his Dictionary, had behaved to him in ſuch a manner as to excite his contempt and indignation. The world has been for many years amuſed with a ſtory confidently told, and as confidently repeated with additional circumſtances, that a ſudden diſguſt was taken by Johnſon upon occaſion of his having been one day kept long in waiting in his Lordſhip's antechamber, for which the reaſon aſſigned was, that he had company with him; and that at laſt, when the door opened, out walked Colley Cibber; and that Johnſon was ſo violently provoked, when he found for whom he had been ſo long excluded, that he went away in a paſſion, and never would return. I remember having mentioned this ſtory to George Lord Lyttelton, who told me, he was very intimate with Lord Cheſterfield; and holding it as a well-known truth, defended Lord Cheſterfield, by ſaying, that "Cibber, who had been introduced familiarly by the back-ſtairs, had probably not been there above ten minutes." It may ſeem ſtrange even to entertain a doubt concerning a ſtory ſo long and ſo widely current, and thus implicitly adopted, if not ſanctioned, by the authority which I have mentioned; but Johnſon himſelf aſſured me, that there was not the leaſt foundation for it. He told me, that there never was any particular incident which produced a quarrel between Lord Cheſterfield and him; but that his Lordſhip's continued neglect was the reaſon why he reſolved to have no connection with him. When the Dictionary was upon the eve of publication, Lord Cheſterfield, who, it is ſaid, had flattered himſelf with expectations that Johnſon would dedicate the work to him, attempted, in a courtly manner, to ſooth, and inſinuate himſelf with the Sage, conſcious, as it ſhould ſeem, of the cold indifference with which he had treated its learned author; and further, attempted to conciliate him, by writing two papers in "The World,"

World," in recommendation of the work; and it muſt be confeſſed, that they contain ſome ſtudied compliments, ſo finely turned, that if there had been no previous offence, it is probable that Johnſon would have been highly delighted. Praiſe, in general, was pleaſing to him; but by praiſe from a man of rank and elegant accompliſhments, he was peculiarly gratified.

His Lordſhip ſays, 'I think the public in general, and the republic of letters in particular, are greatly obliged to Mr. Johnſon, for having undertaken, and executed, ſo great and deſirable a work. Perfection is not to be expected from man: but if we are to judge by the various works of Johnſon already publiſhed, we have good reaſon to believe, that he will bring this as near to perfection as any man could do. The Plan of it, which he publiſhed ſome years ago, ſeems to me to be a proof of it. Nothing can be more rationally imagined, or more accurately and elegantly expreſſed. I therefore recommend the previous peruſal of it to all thoſe who intend to buy the Dictionary, and who, I ſuppoſe, are all thoſe who can afford it."

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"It muſt be owned, that our language is, at preſent, in a ſtate of anarchy, and hitherto, perhaps, it may not have been the worſe for it. During our free and open trade, many words and expreſſions have been imported, adopted, and naturalized from other languages, which have greatly enriched our own. Let it ſtill preſerve what real ſtrength and beauty it may have borrowed from others; but let it not, like the Tarpeian maid, be overwhelmed and cruſhed by unneceſſary ornaments. The time for diſcrimination ſeems to be now come. Toleration, adoption, and naturalization have run their lengths. Good order and authority are now neceſſary. But where ſhall we find them, and at the ſame time, the obedience due to them? We muſt have recourſe to the old Roman expedient in times of confuſion, and chuſe a dictator. Upon this principle I give my vote for Mr. Johnſon to fill that great and arduous poſt. And I hereby declare, that I make a total ſurrender of all my rights and privileges in the Engliſh language, as a free-born Britiſh ſubject, to the ſaid Mr. Johnſon, during the term of his dictatorſhip. Nay more, I will not only obey him, like an old Roman, as my dictator, but, like a modern Roman, I will implicitly believe in him as my Pope, and hold him to be infallible while in the chair, but no longer. More than this he cannot well require; for, I preſume, that obedience can never be expected, when there is neither terror to enforce, nor intereſt to invite it."

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"But a Grammar, a Dictionary, and a Hiſtory of our Language through its ſeveral ſtages, were ſtill wanting at home, and importunately called for from abroad. Mr. Johnſon's labours will now, I dare ſay, very fully ſupply that want, and greatly contribute to the farther ſpreading of our language in other countries. Learners were diſcouraged, by finding no ſtandard to reſort to; and, conſequently, thought it incapable of any. They will now be undeceived and encouraged."

This courtly device failed of its effect. Johnſon, who thought that "all was falſe and hollow," deſpiſed the honeyed words, and was even indignant that Lord Cheſterfield ſhould, for a moment, imagine, that he could be the dupe of ſuch an artifice. His expreſſion to me concerning Lord Cheſterfield, upon this occaſion, was, "Sir, after making great profeſſions, he had, for many years, taken no notice of me; but when my Dictionary was coming out, he fell a ſcribbling in "The World" about it. Upon which, I wrote him a letter expreſſed in civil terms, but ſuch as might ſhew him that I did not mind what he ſaid or wrote, and that I had done with him."

This is that celebrated letter of which ſo much has been ſaid, and about which curioſity has been ſo long excited, without being gratified. I for many years ſolicited Johnſon to favour me with a copy of it, that ſo excellent a compoſition might not be loſt to poſterity. He delayed from time to time to give it me*; till at laſt, in 1781, when we were on a viſit at Mr. Dilly's, at Southill in Bedfordſhire, he was pleaſed to dictate it to me from memory. He afterwards found among his papers a copy of it, which he had dictated to Mr. Baretti, with its title and corrections, in his own hand-writing.—This he gave to Mr. Langton; adding, that if it were to come into print, he wiſhed it to be from that copy. By Mr. Langton's kindneſs, I am enabled to enrich my work with a perfect tranſcript of what the world has ſo eagerly deſired to ſee.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

"MY LORD, *Feb.* 7, 1755.

"I have been lately informed, by the proprietor of The World, that two papers, in which my Dictionary is recommended to the publick, were written by your Lordſhip. To be ſo diſtinguiſhed, is an honour, which, being very little accuſtomed to favours from the great, I know not well how to receive, or in what terms to acknowledge.

"When, upon ſome ſlight encouragement, I firſt viſited your Lordſhip, I was overpowered, like the reſt of mankind, by the enchantment of your addreſs; and could not forbear to wiſh that I might boaſt myſelf *Le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*;—that I might obtain that regard for which I ſaw the world contending; but I found my attendance ſo little encouraged, that neither pride nor modeſty would ſuffer me to continue it. When I had once addreſſed your Lordſhip in publick, I had exhauſted all the art of pleaſing which a retired and uncourtly ſcholar can poſſeſs. I had done all that I could; and no man is well pleaſed to have his all neglected, be it ever ſo little.

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* Dr. Johnſon appeared to have had a remarkable delicacy with reſpect to the circulation of this letter; for Dr. Douglas, Biſhop of Saliſbury, informs me that having many years ago preſſed him to be allowed to read it to the ſecond Lord Hardwicke, who was very deſirous to hear it (promiſing at the ſame time, that no copy of it ſhould be taken) Johnſon ſeemed much pleaſed that it had attracted the attention of a nobleman of ſuch a reſpectable character; but after pauſing ſome time, declined to comply with the requeſt, ſaying, with a ſmile, "No, Sir; I have hurt the dog too much already;" or words to that purpoſe.

“ Seven years, my Lord, have now paſt, ſince I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulſed from your door; during which time I have been puſhing on my work through difficulties, of which it is uſeleſs to complain, and have brought it, at laſt, to the verge of publication, without one act of aſſiſtance*, one word of encouragement, or one ſmile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a Patron before.

“ The ſhepherd in Virgil grew at laſt acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks.

“ Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man ſtruggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleaſed to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am ſolitary, and cannot impart it†; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical aſperity not to confeſs obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the publick ſhould conſider me as owing that to a Patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myſelf.

“ Having carried on my work thus far with ſo little obligation to any favourer of learning, I ſhall not be diſappointed though I ſhould conclude it, if leſs be poſſible, with leſs; for I have been long wakened from that dream of hope, in which I once boaſted myſelf with ſo much exultation,

“ My Lord,
“ Your Lordſhip's moſt humble
“ Moſt obedient ſervant,
“ SAM. JOHNSON ‡.”

“ While this was the talk of the town, (ſays Dr. Adams, in a letter to me) I happened to viſit Dr. Warburton, who finding that I was acquainted with Johnſon, deſired me earneſtly to carry his compliments to him, and to tell him, that he honoured him for his manly behaviour in rejecting theſe condeſcenſions of Lord Cheſterfield, and for reſenting the treatment he had received from him, with a proper ſpirit. Johnſon was viſibly pleaſed with this compliment, for he had always a high opinion of Warburton [*]."—Indeed, the force of mind which appeared in this letter, was congenial with that which Warburton himſelf amply poſſeſſed.

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* The following note is ſubjoined by Mr. Langton. “ Dr. Johnſon, when he gave me this copy of his letter, deſired that I would annex to it his information to me, that whereas it is ſaid in the letter, that ‘ no aſſiſtance has been received,’ he did once receive from Lord Cheſterfield the ſum of ten pounds; but as that was ſo inconſiderable a ſum, he thought the mention of it could not properly find place in a letter of the kind that this was.”

† In this paſſage Dr. Johnſon evidently alludes to the loſs of his wife. We find the ſame tender recollection recurring to his mind upon innumerable occaſions;—and, perhaps, no man ever more forcibly felt the truth of the ſentiment ſo elegantly expreſſed by my friend Mr. Malone, in his Prologue to Mr. Jephſon's tragedy of JULIA:

“ Vain—wealth, and fame, and fortune's foſtering care,
“ If no fond breaſt the ſplendid bleſſings ſhare;
“ And, each day's buſtling pageantry once paſt,
“ There, only there, our bliſs is found at laſt.”

‡ Upon comparing this copy with that which Dr. Johnſon dictated to me from recollection, the variations are found to be ſo ſlight, that this muſt be added to the many other proofs which he gave of the wonderful extent and accuracy of his memory. To gratify the curious in compoſition, I have depoſited both the copies in the Britiſh Muſeum.

There is a curious minute circumſtance which ſtruck me, in comparing the various editions of Johnſon's imitations of Juvenal. In the tenth Satire, one of the couplets upon the vanity of wiſhes even for literary diſtinction ſtood thus;

"Yet think what ills the ſcholar's life aſſail,
"Pride, envy, want, the *garret*, and the jail."

But after experiencing the uneaſineſs which Lord Cheſterfield's fallacious patronage made him feel, he diſmiſſed the word *garret* from the ſad groupe, and in all the ſubſequent editions the line ſtands

"Pride, envy, want, the *Patron*, and the jail."

That Lord Cheſterfield muſt have been mortified by the lofty contempt, and polite yet keen ſatire with which Johnſon exhibited him to himſelf in this letter, it is impoſſible to doubt. He, however, with that gloſſy duplicity which was his conſtant ſtudy, affected to be quite unconcerned. Dr. Adams mentioned to Mr. Robert Dodſley, that he was ſorry Johnſon had written his letter to Lord Cheſterfield. Dodſley, with the true feelings of trade, ſaid "he was very ſorry too; for that he had a property in the Dictionary, to which his Lordſhip's patronage might have been of conſequence." He then told Dr. Adams, that Lord Cheſterfield had ſhewn him the letter. "I ſhould have imagined (replied Dr. Adams) that Lord Cheſterfield would have concealed it." "Poh! (ſaid Dodſley) do you think a letter from Johnſon could hurt Lord Cheſterfield? Not at all, Sir. It lay upon his table, where any body might ſee it. He read it to me; ſaid, 'this man has great powers,' pointed out the ſevereſt paſſages, and obſerved how well they were expreſſed." This air of indifference, which impoſed upon the worthy Dodſley, was certainly nothing but a ſpecimen of that diſſimulation which Lord Cheſterfield inculcated as one of the moſt eſſential leſſons for the conduct of life. His Lordſhip endeavoured to juſtify himſelf to Dodſley from the charges brought againſt him by Johnſon;

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[*] Soon after Edwards's Canons of Criticiſm came out, Johnſon was dining at Tonſon the Bookſeller's, with Hayman the Painter, and ſome more company.—Hayman related to Sir Joſhua Reynolds, that the converſation having turned upon Edwards's book, the gentlemen praiſed it much, and Johnſon allowed its merit. But when they went farther, and appeared to put that author upon a level with Warburton: "Nay, (ſaid Johnſon,) he has given him ſome ſmart hits to be ſure; but there is no proportion between the two men; they muſt not be named together. A fly, Sir, may ſting a ſtately horſe and make him wince; but one is but an inſect, and the other is a horſe ſtill."

but we may judge of the flimſineſs of his defence, from his having excuſed his neglect of Johnſon, by ſaying that "he had heard he had changed his lodgings, and did not know where he lived;" as if there could have been the ſmalleſt difficulty to inform himſelf of that circumſtance, by inquiring in the literary circle with which his Lordſhip was well acquainted, and was, indeed, himſelf one of its ornaments.

Dr. Adams expoſtulated with Johnſon, and ſuggeſted, that his not being admitted when he called on him, was, probably, not to be imputed to Lord Cheſterfield; for his Lordſhip had declared to Dodſley, that "he would have turned off the beſt ſervant he ever had, if he had known that he denied him to a man who would have been always more than welcome;" and, in confirmation of this, he inſiſted on Lord Cheſterfield's general affability and eaſineſs of acceſs, eſpecially to literary men. "Sir, (ſaid Johnſon) that is not Lord Cheſterfield; he is the proudeſt man this day exiſting." "No, (ſaid Dr. Adams) there is one perſon, at leaſt, as proud; I think, by your own account, you are the prouder man of the two." "But mine, (replied Johnſon, inſtantly) was *defenſive* pride." This, as Dr. Adams well obſerved, was one of thoſe happy turns for which he was ſo remarkably ready.

His Penſion.

The acceſſion of George the Third to the throne of theſe kingdoms, opened a new and brighter proſpect to men of literary merit, who had been honoured with no mark of royal favour in the preceding reign. His preſent Majeſty's education in this country, as well as his taſte and beneficence, prompted him to be the patron of ſcience and the arts; and early this year Johnſon having been repreſented to him as a very learned and good man, without any certain proviſion, his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant him a penſion of three hundred pounds a year. The Earl of Bute, who was then Prime Miniſter, had the honour to announce this inſtance of his ſovereign's bounty, concerning which, many and various ſtories, all equally erroneous, have been propagated, maliciouſly repreſenting it as a political bribe to Johnſon to deſert his avowed principles, and become the tool of a government which he held to be founded in uſurpation. I have taken care to have it in my power to refute them from the moſt authentic information. Lord Bute told me, that Mr. Wedderburne, now Lord Loughborough, was the perſon who firſt mentioned this ſubject to him. Lord Loughborough told me, that the penſion was granted to Johnſon ſolely as the reward of his literary merit, without any ſtipulation whatever, or even tacit underſtanding, that he ſhould write for adminiſtration.—His Lordſhip added, that he was confident the political tracts which Johnſon afterwards did write, as they were entirely conſonant with his own opinions, would have been written by him, though no penſion had been granted to him.

Mr. Thomas Sheridan and Mr. Murphy, who then lived a good deal both with him and Mr. Wedderburne, told me, that they previouſly talked with Johnſon upon this matter, and that it was perfectly underſtood by all parties, that the penſion was merely honorary. Sir Joſhua Reynolds told me, that Johnſon called on him after his Majeſty's intention had been notified to him, and ſaid he wiſhed to conſult his friends as to the propriety of his accepting this mark of the royal favour, after the definitions which he had given in his Dictionary of *penſion* and *penſioners*. He ſaid he would not have Sir Joſhua's anſwer till next day, when he would call again, and deſired he might think of it. Sir Joſhua anſwered, that he was clear to give his opinion then, that there could be no objection to his receiving from the King a reward for literary merit; and that certainly the definitions in his Dictionary were not applicable to him. Johnſon, it ſhould ſeem, was ſatisfied, for he did not call again till he had accepted the penſion, and had waited on Lord Bute to thank him. He then told Sir Joſhua that Lord Bute ſaid to him expreſsly, "It is not given you for any thing you are to do, but for what you have done." His Lordſhip, he ſaid, behaved in the handſomeſt manner. He repeated the words twice, that he might be ſure Johnſon heard them, and thus ſet his mind perfectly at eaſe. This nobleman, who has been ſo virulently abuſed, acted with great honour in this inſtance, and diſplayed a mind truly liberal. A miniſter of a more narrow and ſelfiſh diſpoſition would have availed himſelf of ſuch an opportunity to fix an implied obligation on a man of Johnſon's powerful talents to give him his ſupport.

Mr. Murphy and the late Mr. Sheridan ſeverally contended for the diſtinction of having been the firſt who mentioned to Mr. Wedderburne that Johnſon ought to have a penſion. When I ſpoke of this to Lord Loughborough, wiſhing to know if he recollected the prime mover in the buſineſs, he ſaid, "All his friends aſſiſted:" and when I told him that Mr. Sheridan ſtrenuouſly aſſerted his claim to it, his Lordſhip ſaid, "He rang the bell." And it is but juſt to add, that Mr. Sheridan told me, that when he communicated to Dr. Johnſon that a penſion was to be granted him, he replied in a fervour of gratitude, "The Engliſh language does not afford me terms adequate to my feelings on this occaſion. I muſt have recourſe to the French. I am *penetré* with his Majeſty's goodneſs." When I repeated this to Dr. Johnſon, he did not contradict it.

His definitions of *penſion* and *penſioner*, partly founded on the ſatirical verſes of Pope, which he quotes, may be generally true; and yet every body muſt allow, that there may be, and have been, inſtances of penſions given and received upon liberal and honourable terms. Thus, then, it is clear, that there was nothing inconſiſtent or humiliating in Johnſon's accepting of a penſion ſo unconditionally and ſo honourably offered to him.

His Interview with the King.

In February, 1767, there happened one of the moſt remarkable incidents of Johnſon's life, which gratified his monarchical enthuſiaſm, and which he loved to relate with all its circumſtances, when requeſted by his friends. This was his being honoured by a private converſation with his Majeſty, in the library at the Queen's houſe. He had frequently viſited thoſe ſplendid rooms and noble collection of books*, which he uſed to ſay, was more numerous and curious than he ſuppoſed any perſon could have made in the time which the King had employed. Mr. Barnard, the librarian, took care that he ſhould have every accommodation that could contribute to his eaſe and convenience, while indulging his literary taſte in that place; ſo that he had here a very agreeable reſource at leiſure hours.

His Majeſty having been informed of his occaſional viſits, was pleaſed to ſignify a deſire that he ſhould be told when Dr. Johnſon came next to the library. Accordingly, the next time that Johnſon did come, as ſoon as he was fairly engaged with a book, on which, while he ſat by the fire, he ſeemed quite intent, Mr. Barnard ſtole round to the apartment where the King was, and, in obedience to his Majeſty's commands, mentioned that Dr. Johnſon was then in the library. His Majeſty ſaid he was at leiſure, and would go to him; upon which Mr. Barnard took one of the candles that ſtood on the King's table, and lighted his Majeſty through a ſuite of rooms, till they came to a private door into the library, of which his Majeſty had the key. Being entered, Mr. Barnard ſtepped forward haſtily to Dr. Johnſon, who was ſtill in a profound ſtudy, and whiſpered him, "Sir, here is the King." Johnſon ſtarted up, and ſtood ſtill. His Majeſty approached him, and at once was courteouſly eaſy†.

His Majeſty began by obſerving, that he underſtood he came ſometimes to the library; and then mentioning

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* Dr. Johnſon had the honour of contributing his aſſiſtance towards the formation of this library; for I have read a long letter from him to Mr. Barnard, giving the moſt maſterly inſtructions on the ſubject. I wiſhed much to have gratified my readers with the peruſal of this letter, and have reaſon to think that his Majeſty would have been graciouſly pleaſed to permit its publication; but Mr. Barnard, to whom I applied, declined it "on his own account."

† The particulars of this converſation I have been at great pains to collect with the utmoſt authenticity, from Dr. Johnſon's own detail to myſelf; from Mr. Langton, who was preſent when he gave an account of it to Dr. Joſeph Warton, and ſeveral other friends, at Sir Joſhua Reynolds's; from Mr. Barnard; from the copy of a letter written by the late Mr. Strahan the printer, to Biſhop Warburton; and from a minute, the original of which is among the papers of the late Sir James Caldwell, and a copy of which was moſt obligingly obtained for me from his ſon Sir John Caldwell, by Sir Francis Lumm. To all theſe gentlemen I beg leave to make my grateful acknowledgements, and particularly to Sir Francis Lumm, who was pleaſed to take a great deal of trouble, and even had the minute laid before the King by Lord Caermarthen, now Duke of Leeds, then one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, who announced to Sir Francis the royal pleaſure concerning it by a letter, in theſe words: "I have the King's commands to aſſure you, Sir, how ſenſible his Majeſty is of your attention in communicating the minute of the converſation previous to its publication. As there appears no objection to your complying with Mr. Boſwell's wiſhes on the ſubject, you are at full liberty to deliver it to that gentleman, to make ſuch uſe of in his Life of Dr. Johnſon, as he may think proper."

tioning his having heard that the Doctor had been lately at Oxford, asked him if he was not fond of going thither. To which Johnſon anſwered, that he was indeed fond of going to Oxford ſometimes, but was likewiſe glad to come back again. The King then aſked him what they were doing at Oxford. Johnſon anſwered, he could not much commend their diligence, but that in ſome reſpects they were mended, for they had put their preſs under better regulations, and were at that time printing Polybius. He was then aſked, whether there were better libraries at Oxford or Cambridge. He anſwered, he believed the Bodleian was larger than any they had at Cambridge; at the ſame time adding, "I hope, whether we have more books or not than they have at Cambridge, we ſhall make as good uſe of them as they do." Being aſked whether All-Souls or Chriſt-Church library was the largeſt, he anſwered, "All-Souls library is the largeſt we have, except the Bodleian." "Aye, (ſaid the King,) that is the publick library."

His Majeſty enquired if he was then writing any thing. He anſwered, he was not, for he had pretty well told the world what he knew, and muſt now read to acquire more knowledge. The King, as it ſhould ſeem with a view to urge him to rely on his own ſtores as an original writer, and to continue his labours, then ſaid, "I do not think you borrow much from any body." Johnſon ſaid, he thought he had already done his part as a writer. "I ſhould have thought ſo too, (ſaid the King) if you had not written ſo well." Johnſon obſerved to me, upon this, that "No man could have paid a handſomer compliment; and it was fit for a King to pay. It was deciſive." When aſked by another friend, at Sir Joſhua Reynolds's, whether he made any reply to this high compliment, he anſwered, "No, ſir. When the king had ſaid it, it was to be ſo. It was not for me to bandy civilities with my ſovereign." Perhaps no man who had ſpent his whole life in courts could have ſhewn a more nice and dignified ſenſe of true politeneſs, than Johnſon did in this inſtance.

His Majeſty having obſerved to him that he ſuppoſed he muſt have read a great deal; Johnſon anſwered, that he thought more than he read; that he had read a great deal in the early part of his life, but having fallen into ill health, he had not been able to read much, compared with others: for inſtance, he ſaid he had not read much compared with Dr. Warburton. Upon which the King ſaid, that he heard Dr. Warburton was a man of ſuch general knowledge, that you could ſcarce talk with him on any ſubject on which he was not qualified to ſpeak; and that his learning reſembled Garrick's acting, in its univerſality *. His Majeſty then talked of the controverſy between Warburton and Lowth, which he ſeemed to have read, and aſked Johnſon what he thought of it.

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* The Reverend Mr. Strahan clearly recollects having been told by Johnſon, that the king obſerved that Pope made Warburton a biſhop. "True, Sir (ſaid Johnſon) but Warburton did more for Pope; he made him a Chriſtian:" alluding, no doubt, to his ingenious comments on the "Eſſay on Man."

Johnſon anſwered, "Warburton has moſt general, moſt ſcholaſtic learning; Lowth is the more correct ſcholar. I do not know which of them calls names beſt." The King was pleaſed to ſay he was of the ſame opinion; adding, "You do not think then, Dr. Johnſon, that there was much argument in the caſe." Johnſon ſaid, he did not think there was. "Why truly (ſaid the King) when once it comes to calling names, argument is pretty well at an end."

His Majeſty then aſked him what he thought of lord Lyttelton's hiſtory, which was then juſt publiſhed. Johnſon ſaid, he thought his ſtyle pretty good, but that he had blamed Henry the Second rather too much. "Why (ſaid the King) they ſeldom do theſe things by halves." "No, ſir (anſwered Johnſon) not to kings." But fearing to be miſunderſtood, he proceeded to explain himſelf; and immediately ſubjoined, "That for thoſe who ſpoke worſe of kings than they deſerved, he could find no excuſe; but that he could more eaſily conceive how ſome might ſpeak better of them than they deſerved, without any ill intention; for, as kings had much in their power to give, thoſe who were favoured by them would frequently, from gratitude, exaggerate their praiſes; and as this proceeded from a good motive, it was certainly excuſable, as far as error could be excuſable."

The King then aſked him what he thought of Dr. Hill. Johnſon anſwered, that he was an ingenious man, but had no veracity; and immediately mentioned, as an inſtance of it, an aſſertion of that writer, that he had ſeen objects magnified to a much greater degree by uſing three or four microſcopes at a time, than by uſing one. "Now (added Johnſon) every one acquainted with microſcopes knows, that the more of them he looks through, the leſs the object will appear." "Why (replied the King) this is not only telling an untruth, but telling it clumſily; for, if that be the caſe, every one who can look through a microſcope will be able to detect him."

"I now (ſaid Johnſon to his friends, when relating what had paſſed) began to conſider that I was depreciating this man in the eſtimation of his ſovereign, and thought it was time for me to ſay ſomething that might be more favourable." He added, therefore, that Dr. Hill was, notwithſtanding, a very curious obſerver; and if he would have been contented to tell the world no more than he knew, he might have been a very conſiderable man, and needed not to have recourſe to ſuch mean expedients to raiſe his reputation.

The King then talked of literary journals, mentioned particularly the *Journal des Savans*, and aſked Johnſon if it was well done. Johnſon ſaid, it was formerly very well done, and gave ſome account of the perſons who began it, and carried it on for ſome years; enlarging, at the ſame time, on the nature and uſe of ſuch works. The King aſked him if it was well done now. Johnſon anſwered, he had no reaſon to think that it was. The King then aſked him if there were any other literary Journals publiſhed in this kingdom, except the Monthly and Critical Reviews; and on being anſwered there were no other, his Majeſty aſked which of them was the beſt: Johnſon anſwered, that the Monthly Review was done with moſt care, the Critical upon the beſt principles; adding, that the authors of the Monthly Review were enemies to the church. This the King ſaid he was ſorry to hear.

The converſation next turned on the Philoſophical Tranſactions; when Johnſon obſerved, that they had now a better method of arranging their materials than formerly. "Aye (ſaid the King) they are obliged to Dr. Johnſon for that;" for his Majeſty had heard and remembered the circumſtance, which Johnſon himſelf had forgot.

His Majeſty expreſſed a deſire to have the literary biography of this country ably executed, and propoſed to Dr. Johnſon to undertake it. Johnſon ſignified his readineſs to comply with his Majeſty's wiſhes.

During the whole of this interview, Johnſon talked to his Majeſty with profound reſpect, but ſtill in his firm manly manner, with a ſonorous voice, and never in that ſubdued tone which is commonly uſed at the levee and in the drawing-room. After the king withdrew, Johnſon ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed with his majeſty's converſation and gracious behaviour. He ſaid to Mr. Barnard, "Sir, they may talk of the King as they will; but he is the fineſt gentleman I have ever ſeen." And he afterwards obſerved to Mr. Langton, "Sir, his manners are thoſe of as fine a gentleman as we may ſuppoſe Lewis the Fourteenth or Charles the Second."

Johnſoniana, collected by Dr. Maxwell.

"My acquaintance with that great and venerable character commenced in the year 1754. I was introduced to him by Mr. Grierſon *, his majeſty's printer at Dublin, a gentleman of uncommon learning, and great wit and vivacity. Mr. Grierſon died in Germany, at the age of twenty-ſeven. Dr. Johnſon highly reſpected his abilities, and often obſerved, that he poſſeſſed more extenſive knowledge than any man of his years he had ever known. His induſtry was equal to his talents; and he particularly excelled in every ſpecies of philological learning, and was, perhaps, the beſt critic of the age he lived in.

"I muſt always remember with gratitude my obligation to Mr. Grierſon, for the honour and happineſs of Dr. Johnſon's acquaintance and friendſhip, which continued uninterrupted and undiminiſhed to his death: a connection that was at once the pride and happineſs of my life.

"What pity it is, that ſo much wit and good ſenſe as he continually exhibited in converſation, ſhould periſh unrecorded! Few perſons quitted his company without perceiving themſelves wiſer and better than they were before. On ſerious ſubjects, he flaſhed the moſt intereſting conviction upon his auditors; and upon lighter topics, you might have ſuppoſed — *Albano muſas de monte locutas.*

"Though I can hope to add but

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* Son of the learned Mrs. Grierſon, who was patroniſed by the late lord Granville, and was the editor of ſeveral of the claſſics.

little to the celebrity of ſo exalted a character, by any communications I can furniſh, yet out of pure reſpect to his memory, I will venture to tranſmit to you ſome anecdotes concerning him, which fell under my own obſervation. The very *minutiæ* of ſuch a character muſt be intereſting, and may be compared to the filings of diamonds.

"In politics he was deemed a tory, but certainly was not ſo in the obnoxious or party ſenſe of the term; for while he aſſerted the legal and ſalutary prerogatives of the crown, he no leſs reſpected the conſtitutional liberties of the people. Whiggiſm, at the time of the revolution, he ſaid, was accompanied with certain principles; but latterly, as a mere party diſtinction under Walpole and the Pelhams, was no better than the politics of ſtock-jobbers, and the religion of infidels.

"He deteſted the idea of governing by parliamentary corruption; and aſſerted moſt ſtrenuouſly, that a prince ſteadily and conſpicuouſly purſuing the intereſts of his people, could not fail of parliamentary concurrence. A prince of ability, he contended, might and ſhould be the directing ſoul and ſpirit of his own adminiſtration; in ſhort, his own miniſter, and not the mere head of a party: and then, and not till then, would the royal dignity be ſincerely reſpected.

"Johnſon ſeemed to think, that a certain degree of crown influence over the houſes of parliament (not meaning a corrupt and ſhameful dependence) was very ſalutary, nay even neceſſary, in our mixed government. 'For (ſaid he) if the members were under no crown influence, and diſqualified from receiving any gratification from court, and reſembled, as they poſſibly might, Pym and Haſlerig, and other ſtubborn and ſturdy members of the Long Parliament, the wheels of government would be totally obſtructed. Such men would oppoſe, merely to ſhew their power, from envy, jealouſy, and perverſity of diſpoſition; and not gaining themſelves, would hate and oppoſe all who did: not loving the perſon of the prince, and conceiving they owed him little gratitude, from the mere ſpirit of inſolence and contradiction, they would oppoſe and thwart him upon all occaſions.'

"The inſeparable imperfection annexed to all human governments, conſiſted, he ſaid, in not being able to create a ſufficient fund of virtue and principle to carry the laws into due and effectual execution. Wiſdom might plan, but virtue alone could execute. And where could ſufficient virtue be found? A variety of delegated, and often diſcretionary powers muſt be entruſted ſomewhere; which, if not governed by integrity and conſcience, would neceſſarily be abuſed, till at laſt the conſtable would ſell his for a ſhilling.

"This excellent perſon was ſometimes charged with abetting ſlaviſh and arbitrary principles of government. Nothing in my opinion could be a groſſer calumny and miſrepreſentation; for how can it be rationally ſuppoſed, that he ſhould adopt ſuch pernicious and abſurd opinions, who ſupported his philoſophical character with ſo much dignity, was extremely jealous of his perſonal liberty and independence, and could not brook the ſmalleſt appearance of neglect or inſult, even from the higheſt perſonages?

"But let us view him in ſome inſtances of more familiar life.

"His general mode of life, during my acquaintance, ſeemed to be pretty uniform. About twelve o'clock I commonly viſited him, and frequently found him in bed, or declaiming over his tea, which he drank very plentifully. He generally had a levee of morning viſitors, chiefly men of letters: Hawkeſworth, Goldſmith, Murphy, Langton, Stevens, Beauclerk, &c. &c. and ſometimes learned ladies, particularly I remember a French lady of wit and faſhion doing him the honour of a viſit. He ſeemed to me to be conſidered as a kind of public oracle, whom every body thought they had a right to viſit and conſult; and doubtleſs they were well rewarded. I never could diſcover how he found time for his compoſitions. He declaimed all the morning, then went to dinner at a tavern, where he commonly ſtaid late, and then drank his tea at ſome friend's houſe, over which he loitered a great while, but ſeldom took ſupper. I fancy he muſt have read and wrote chiefly in the night, for I can ſcarcely recollect that he ever refuſed going with me to a tavern; and he often went to Ranelagh, which he deemed a place of innocent recreation.

"He frequently gave all the ſilver in his pocket to the poor, who watched him, between his houſe and the tavern where he dined. He walked the ſtreets at all hours, and ſaid he was never robbed, for the rogues knew he had little money, nor had the appearance of having much.

"Though the moſt acceſſible and communicative man alive, yet when he ſuſpected he was invited to be exhibited, he conſtantly ſpurned the invitation.

"Two young women from Staffordſhire viſited him when I was preſent, to conſult him on the ſubject of Methodiſm, to which they were inclined. 'Come (ſaid he) you pretty fools, dine with Maxwell and me at the Mitre, and we will talk over that ſubject;' which they did, and after dinner he took one of them upon his knee, and fondled her for half an hour together.

"Upon a viſit to me at a country lodging near Twickenham, he aſked what ſort of ſociety I had there, I told him, but indifferent; as they chiefly conſiſted of opulent traders, retired from buſineſs. He ſaid, he never much liked that claſs of people; 'For, ſir (ſaid he) they have loſt the civility of tradeſmen, without acquiring the manners of gentlemen.'

"Johnſon was much attached to London: he obſerved, that a man ſtored his mind better there, than any where elſe; and that in remote ſituations, a man's body might be feaſted, but his mind was ſtarved, and his faculties apt to degenerate, from want of exerciſe and competition. No place (he ſaid) cured a man's vanity or arrogance, ſo well as London; for as no man was either great or good *per ſe*, but as compared with others not ſo good or great, he was ſure to find in the metropolis many his equals, and ſome his ſuperiors. He obſerved, that a man in London was in leſs danger of falling in love indiſcreetly, than any where elſe; for there the difficulty of deciding between the conflicting pretenſions of a vaſt variety of objects, kept him ſafe. He told me, that he had frequently been offered country preferment, if he would conſent to take orders; but he could not leave the improved ſociety of the capital, or conſent to exchange the exhilarating joys and ſplendid decorations of public life, for the obſcurity, inſipidity, and uniformity of remote ſituations.

" Speaking of Mr. Harte, canon of Windſor, and writer of ' The Hiſtory of Guſtavus Adolphus,' he much commended him as a ſcholar, and a man of the moſt companionable talents he had ever known. He ſaid, the defects in his hiſtory proceeded not from imbecility, but from foppery.

" He loved, he ſaid, the old black letter books; they were rich in matter, though their ſtyle was inelegant; wonderfully ſo, conſidering how converſant the writers were with the beſt models of antiquity.

" Burton's ' Anatomy of Melancholy,' he ſaid, was the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours ſooner than he wiſhed to riſe.

" He frequently exhorted me to ſet about writing a hiſtory of Ireland; and archly remarked, there had been ſome good Iriſh writers, and that one Iriſhman might at leaſt aſpire to be equal to another. He had great compaſſion for the miſeries and diſtreſſes of the Iriſh nation, particularly the Papiſts; and ſeverely reprobated the barbarous debilitating policy of the Britiſh government, which, he ſaid, was the moſt deteſtable mode of perſecution. To a gentleman, who hinted ſuch policy might be neceſſary to ſupport the authority of the Engliſh government, he replied by ſaying, ' Let the authority of the Engliſh government periſh, rather than be maintained by iniquity. Better would it be to reſtrain the turbulence of the natives by the authority of the ſword, and to make them amenable to law and juſtice by an effectual and vigorous police, than to grind them to powder by all manner of diſabilities and incapacities. Better (ſaid he) to hang or drown people at once, than by an unrelenting perſecution to beggar and ſtarve them.' The moderation and humanity of the preſent times have, in ſome meaſure, juſtified the wiſdom of his obſervations.

" Dr. Johnſon was often accuſed of prejudices, nay, antipathy, with regard to the natives of Scotland. Surely, ſo illiberal a prejudice never entered his mind: and it is well known, many natives of that reſpectable country poſſeſſed a large ſhare in his eſteem; nor were any of them ever excluded from his good offices, as far as opportunity permitted. True it is, he conſidered the Scotch, nationally, as a crafty, deſigning people, eagerly attentive to their own intereſt, and too apt to overlook the claims and pretenſions of other people. ' While they confine their benevolence, in a manner, excluſively to thoſe of their own country, they expect to ſhare in the good offices of other people. Now (ſaid Johnſon) this principle is either right or wrong; if right, we ſhould do well to imitate ſuch conduct; if wrong, we cannot too much deteſt it.'

" Being ſolicited to compoſe a funeral ſermon for the daughter of a tradeſman, he naturally enquired into the character of the deceaſed; and being told ſhe was remarkable for her humility and condeſcenſion to inferiors, he obſerved, that thoſe were very laudable qualities, but it might not be ſo eaſy to diſcover who the lady's inferiors were.

"Of a certain player he remarked, that his converſation uſually threatened and announced more than it performed; that he fed you with a continual renovation of hope, to end in a conſtant ſucceſſion of diſappointment.

"When exaſperated by contradiction, he was apt to treat his opponents with too much acrimony: as, 'Sir, you don't ſee your way through that queſtion:'—'Sir, you talk the language of ignorance.' On my obſerving to him that a certain gentleman had remained ſilent the whole evening, in the midſt of a very brilliant and learned ſociety, 'Sir (ſaid he) the converſation overflowed, and drowned him.'

"His philoſophy, though auſtere and ſolemn, was by no means moroſe and cynical, and never blunted the laudable ſenſibilities of his character, or exempted him from the influence of the tender paſſions. Want of tenderneſs, he always alledged, was want of parts, and was no leſs a proof of ſtupidity than depravity.

"Speaking of Mr. Hanway, who publiſhed 'An Eight Day's Journey from London to Portſmouth,' 'Jonas (ſaid he) acquired ſome reputation by travelling abroad, but loſt it all by travelling at home.'

"Of the paſſion of love he remarked, that its violence and ill effects were much exaggerated; for who knows any real ſufferings on that head, more than from the exorbitancy of any other paſſion?

"He much commended 'Law's Serious Call,' which he ſaid was the fineſt piece of hortatory theology in any language. 'Law (ſaid he) fell latterly into the reveries of Jacob Behmen, whom Law alledged to have been ſomewhat in the ſame ſtate with St. Paul, and to have ſeen *unutterable things*. Were it even ſo (ſaid Johnſon) Jacob would have reſembled St. Paul ſtill more, by not attempting to utter them.'

"He obſerved, that the eſtabliſhed clergy in general did not preach plain enough; and that poliſhed periods and glittering ſentences flew over the heads of the common people, without any impreſſion upon their hearts. Something might be neceſſary, he obſerved, to excite the affections of the common people, who were ſunk in languor and lethargy, and therefore he ſuppoſed that the new concomitants of methodiſm might probably produce ſo deſirable an effect. The mind, like the body, he obſerved, delighted in change and novelty, and even in religion itſelf, courted new appearances and modifications. Whatever might be thought of ſome methodiſt teachers, he ſaid, he could ſcarcely doubt the ſincerity of that man, who travelled nine hundred miles in a month, and preached twelve times a week; for no adequate reward, merely temporal, could be given for ſuch indefatigable labour.

"Of Dr. Prieſtley's theological works, he remarked, that they tended to unſettle every thing, and yet ſettled nothing.

"He was much affected by the death of his mother, and wrote to me to come and aſſiſt him to compoſe his mind, which indeed I found extremely agitated. He lamented that all ſerious and religious converſation was baniſhed from the ſociety of men, and yet great advantages might be derived from it. All acknowledged, he ſaid, what hardly any body practiſed, the obligation we were under of making the concerns of eternity the governing principles of our lives. Every man, he obſerved, at laſt wiſhes for retreat: he ſees his expectations fruſtrated in the world, and begins to wean himſelf from it, and to prepare for everlaſting ſeparation.

"He obſerved, that the influence of London now extended every where, and that from all manner of communication being opened, there ſhortly would be no remains of the ancient ſimplicity, or places of cheap retreat to be found.

"He was no admirer of blank-verſe, and ſaid it always failed, unleſs ſuſtained by the dignity of the ſubject. In blank-verſe, he ſaid, the language ſuffered more diſtortion, to keep it out of proſe, than any inconvenience or limitation to be apprehended from the ſhackles and circumſpection of rhyme.

"He reproved me once for ſaying grace without mention of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; and hoped in future I would be more mindful of the apoſtolical injunction.

"He refuſed to go out of a room before me at Mr. Langton's houſe; ſaying, he hoped he knew his rank better than to preſume to take place of a Doctor in Divinity. I mention ſuch little anecdotes, merely to ſhew the peculiar turn and habit of his mind.

"He uſed frequently to obſerve, that there was more to be endured than enjoyed, in the general condition of human life; and frequently quoted thoſe lines of Dryden:

> "Strange cozenage! none would live paſt years again,
> "Yet all hope pleaſure from what ſtill remain."

For his part, he ſaid, he never paſſed that week in his life which he would wiſh to repeat, were an angel to make the propoſal to him.

"He was of opinion, that the Engliſh nation cultivated both their ſoil and their reaſon better than any other people; but admitted that the French, though not the higheſt, perhaps, in any department of literature, yet in every department were very high. Intellectual pre-eminence, he obſerved, was the higheſt ſuperiority; and that every nation derived their higheſt reputation from the ſplendour and dignity of their writers. Voltaire, he ſaid, was a good narrator, and that his principal merit conſiſted in a happy ſelection and arrangement of circumſtances.

"Speaking of the French novels, compared with Richardſon's, he ſaid they might be pretty baubles, but a wren was not an eagle.

"In a Latin converſation with the Pere Boſcovitz, at the houſe of Mrs. Cholmondeley, I heard him maintain the ſuperiority of Sir Iſaac Newton over all foreign philoſophers, with a dignity and eloquence that ſurprized that learned foreigner. It being obſerved to him, that a rage for every thing Engliſh prevailed much in France after Lord Chatham's glorious war, he ſaid, 'he did not wonder at it, for that we had drubbed thoſe fellows into a proper reverence for us, and that their national petulance required periodical chaſtiſement.'

"Lord Lyttelton's Dialogues, he deemed a nugatory performance. 'That man (ſaid he) ſat down to write a book, to tell the world what the world had all his life been telling him.'

"Somebody obſerving that the Scotch Highlanders in the year 1745, had made ſurprizing efforts, conſidering their numerous wants and diſadvantages: 'Yes, ſir (ſaid he) their wants were numerous; but you have not mentioned the greateſt of them all,—the want of law.'

"Speaking of the *inward light*, to which ſome methodiſts pretended, he ſaid, it was a principle utterly incompatible with ſocial or civil ſecurity. 'If a man (ſaid he) pretends to a principle of action of which I can know nothing, nay, not ſo much as that he has it, but only that he pretends to it; how can I tell what that perſon may be prompted to do? When a perſon profeſſes to be governed by a written aſcertained law, I can then know where to find him.'

"The poem of Fingal, he ſaid, was a mere unconnected rhapſody, a tireſome repetition of the ſame images. 'In vain ſhall we look for the *lucidus ordo*, where there is neither end or object, deſign or moral, *nec certa recurrit imago*.'

"Being aſked by a young nobleman, what was become of the gallantry and military ſpirit of the old Engliſh nobility, he replied, 'Why, my lord, I'll tell you what is become of it; it is gone into the city to look for a fortune.'

"Speaking of a dull tireſome fellow, whom he chanced to meet, he ſaid, 'That fellow ſeems to me to poſſeſs but one idea, and that is a wrong one.'

"Much enquiry having been made concerning a gentleman who had quitted a company where Johnſon was, and no information being obtained; at laſt Johnſon obſerved, that 'he did not care to ſpeak ill of any man behind his back, but he believed the gentleman was an *attorney*.'

"He ſpoke with much contempt of the notice taken of Woodhouſe, the poetical ſhoemaker. He ſaid, it was all vanity and childiſhneſs; and that ſuch objects were, to thoſe who patroniſed them, mere mirrors of their own ſuperiority. 'They had better (ſaid he) furniſh the man with good implements for his trade, than raiſe ſubſcriptions for his poems. He may make an excellent ſhoemaker, but can never make a good poet. A ſchool-boy's exerciſe may be a pretty thing for a ſchool-boy; but it is no treat for a man.'

"Speaking of Boetius, who was the favourite writer of the middle ages, he ſaid it was very ſurpriſing, that upon ſuch a ſubject, and in ſuch a ſituation, he ſhould be *magis philoſophus quàm Chriſtianus*.

"Speaking of Arthur Murphy, whom he very much loved, 'I don't know (ſaid he) that Arthur can be claſſed with the very firſt dramatic writers; yet at preſent I doubt much whether we have any thing ſuperior to Arthur.'

"Speaking of the national debt, he ſaid, it was an idle dream to ſuppoſe that the country could ſink under it. Let the public creditors be ever ſo clamorous, the intereſt of millions muſt ever prevail over that of thouſands.

"Of Dr. Kennicott's Collations, he obſerved, that though the text ſhould not be much mended thereby, yet it was no ſmall advantage to know, that we had as good a text as the moſt conſummate induſtry and diligence could procure.

" Johnſon obſerved, that ſo many objections might be made to every thing, that nothing could overcome them but the neceſſity of doing ſomething. No man would be of any profeſſion, as ſimply oppoſed to not being of it: but every one muſt do ſomething.

" He remarked, that a London pariſh was a very comfortleſs thing; for the clergyman ſeldom knew the face of one out of ten of his pariſhioners.

" Of the late Mr. Mallet he ſpoke with no great reſpect: ſaid, he was ready for any dirty job: that he had wrote againſt Byng at the inſtigation of the miniſtry, and was equally ready to write for him, provided he found his account in it.

" A gentleman who had been very unhappy in marriage, married immediately after his wife died: Johnſon ſaid, it was the triumph of hope over experience.

" He obſerved, that a man of ſenſe and education ſhould meet a ſuitable companion in a wife. It was a miſerable thing when the converſation could only be ſuch as, whether the mutton ſhould be boiled or roaſted, and probably a diſpute about that.

" He did not approve of late marriages, obſerving, that more was loſt in point of time, than compenſated for by any poſſible advantages. Even ill aſſorted marriages were preferable to cheerleſs celibacy.

" Of old Sheridan, he remarked, that he neither wanted parts nor literature; but that his vanity and Quixotiſm obſcured his merits.

" He ſaid, foppery was never cured; it was the bad ſtamina of the mind, which, like thoſe of the body, were never rectified: once a coxcomb, and always a coxcomb.

" Being told that Gilbert Cowper called him the Caliban of literature; 'Well (ſaid he) I muſt dub him the Punchinello.'

" Speaking of the old earl of Corke and Orrery, he ſaid, 'that man ſpent his life in catching at an object, [literary eminence] which he had not power to graſp.'

" To find a ſubſtitution for violated morality, he ſaid, was the leading feature in all perverſions of religion.

" He often uſed to quote, with great pathos, thoſe fine lines of Virgil:

'Optima quæque dies miſeris mortalibus ævi
'Prima fugit; ſubeunt morbi, triſtiſque ſenectus,
'Et labor, et duræ rapit inclementia mortis.'

His Character.

His figure was large and well formed, and his countenance of the caſt of an ancient ſtatue; yet his appearance was rendered ſtrange and ſomewhat uncouth, by convulſive cramps, by the ſcars of that diſtemper which it was once imagined the royal touch could cure, and by a ſlovenly mode of dreſs. He had the uſe only of one eye; yet ſo much does mind govern and even ſupply the deficiency of organs, that his viſual perceptions, as far as they extended, were uncommonly quick and accurate. So morbid was his temperament, that he never knew the natural joy of a free and vigorous uſe of his limbs: when he walked, it was like the ſtruggling gait of one in fetters; when he rode, he had no command or direction of his horſe, but was carried as if in a balloon. That with his conſtitution and habits of life he ſhould have lived ſeventy-five years, is a proof that an inherent *vivida vis* is a powerful preſervative of the human frame.

Man is, in general, made up of contradictory qualities; and theſe will ever ſhew themſelves in ſtrange ſucceſſion where a conſiſtency in appearance at leaſt, if not in reality, has not been attained by long habits of philoſophical diſcipline. In proportion to the native vigour of the mind, the contradictory qualities will be the more prominent, and more difficult to be adjuſted; and, therefore, we are not to wonder, that Johnſon exhibited an eminent example of this remark which I have made upon human nature. At different times, he ſeemed a different man, in ſome reſpects; not, however, in any great or eſſential article, upon which he had fully employed his mind, and ſettled certain principles of duty, but only in his manners, and in the diſplay of argument and fancy in his talk. He was prone to ſuperſtition, but not to credulity. Though his imagination might incline him to a belief of the marvellous and the myſterious, his vigorous reaſon examined the evidence with jealouſy. He was a ſincere and zealous Chriſtian, of high Church-of-England and monarchical principles, which he would not tamely ſuffer to be queſtioned; and had, perhaps, at an early period, narrowed his mind ſomewhat too much, both as to religion and politics. His being impreſſed with the danger of extreme latitude in either, though he was of a very independent ſpirit, occaſioned his appearing ſomewhat unfavourable to the prevalence of that noble freedom of ſentiment which is the beſt poſſeſſion of man. Nor can it be denied, that he had many prejudices; which, however, frequently ſuggeſted many of his pointed ſayings, that rather ſhew a playfulneſs of fancy than any ſettled malignity. He was ſteady and inflexible in maintaining the obligations of religion and morality; both from a regard for the order of ſociety, and from a veneration for the GREAT SOURCE of all order; correct, nay, ſtern in his taſte; hard to pleaſe, and eaſily offended; impetuous and irritable in his temper, but of a moſt humane and benevolent heart, which ſhewed itſelf not only in a moſt liberal charity, as far as his circumſtances would allow, but in a thouſand inſtances of active benevolence. He was afflicted with a bodily diſeaſe, which made him often reſtleſs and fretful; and with a conſtitutional melancholy, the clouds of which darkened the brightneſs of his fancy, and gave a gloomy caſt to his whole courſe of thinking; we, therefore, ought not to wonder at his ſallies of impatience and paſſion at any time; eſpecially when provoked by obtruſive ignorance, or preſuming petulance; and allowance muſt be made for his uttering haſty and ſatyrical ſallies even againſt his beſt friends. And, ſurely, when it is conſidered, that, "amidſt ſickneſs and ſorrow," he exerted his faculties in ſo many works for the benefit of mankind, and particularly that he atchieved the great and admirable DICTIONARY of our language, we muſt be aſtoniſhed at his reſolution. The ſolemn text, "of him to whom much is given, much will be required," ed," ſeems to have been ever preſent to his mind, in a rigorous ſenſe, and to have made him diſſatisfied with his labours and acts of goodneſs, however comparatively great; ſo that the unavoidable conſciouſneſs of his ſuperiority was, in that reſpect, a cauſe of diſquiet. He ſuffered ſo much from this, and from the gloom which perpetually haunted him, and made ſolitude frightful, that it may be ſaid of him, "If in this life only he had hope, he was of all men moſt miſerable." He loved praiſe, when it was brought to him; but was too proud to ſeek for it. He was ſomewhat ſuſceptible of flattery. As he was general and unconfined in his ſtudies, he cannot be conſidered as maſter of any one particular ſcience; but he had accumulated a vaſt and various collection of learning and knowledge, which was ſo arranged in his mind, as to be ever in readineſs to be brought forth. But his ſuperiority over other learned men conſiſted chiefly in what may be called the art of thinking, the art of uſing his mind; a certain continual power of ſeizing the uſeful ſubſtance of all that he knew, and exhibiting it in a clear and forcible manner; ſo that knowledge, which we often ſee to be no better than lumber in men of dull underſtanding, was, in him, true, evident, and actual wiſdom. His moral precepts are practical; for they are drawn from an intimate acquaintance with human nature. His maxims carry conviction; for they are founded on the baſis of common ſenſe, and a very attentive and minute ſurvey of real life. His mind was ſo full of imagery, that he might have been perpetually a poet; yet it is remarkable, that, however rich his proſe is in this reſpect, his poetical pieces, in general, have not much of that ſplendour, but are rather diſtinguiſhed by ſtrong ſentiment, and acute obſervation, conveyed in harmonious and energetic verſe, particularly in heroic couplets. Though uſually grave, and even aweful, in his deportment, he poſſeſſed uncommon and peculiar powers of wit and humour; he frequently indulged himſelf in colloquial pleaſantry; and the heartieſt merriment was often enjoyed in his company; with this great advantage, that as it was entirely free from any poiſonous tincture of vice or impiety, it was ſalutary to thoſe who ſhared in it. He had accuſtomed himſelf to ſuch accuracy in his common converſation, that he at all times expreſſed his thoughts with great force, and an elegant choice of language, the effect of which was aided by his having a loud voice, and a ſlow deliberate utterance. In him were united a moſt logical head with a moſt fertile imagination, which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing; for he could reaſon cloſe or wide, as he ſaw beſt for the moment. Exulting in his intellectual ſtrength and dexterity, he could, when he pleaſed, be the greateſt ſophiſt that ever contended in the liſts of declamation; and, from a ſpirit of contradiction, and a delight in ſhewing his powers, he would often maintain the wrong ſide with equal warmth and ingenuity; ſo that, when there was an audience, his real opinions could ſeldom be gathered from his talk; though when he was in company with a ſingle friend, he would diſcuſs a ſubject with genuine fairneſs:

but he was too conſcientious to make error permanent and pernicious, by deliberately writing it; and in all his numerous works, he earneſtly inculcated what appeared to him to be the truth; his piety being conſtant, and the ruling principle of all his conduct.

Such was **Samuel Johnson**; a man whoſe talents, acquirements, and virtues, were ſo extraordinary, that the more his character is conſidered, the more he will be regarded by the preſent age, and by poſterity, with admiration and reverence.

Character of Dr. Goldſmith. *From the ſame.*

OLIVER Goldſmith was a native of Ireland, and a contemporary with Mr. Burke, at Trinity College, Dublin, but did not then give much promiſe of future celebrity. He, however, obſerved to Mr. Malone, that "though he made no great figure in mathematics, which was a ſtudy in much repute there, he could turn an Ode of Horace into Engliſh better than any of them." He afterwards ſtudied phyſic at Edinburgh, and upon the Continent; and I have been informed, was enabled to purſue his travels on foot, partly by demanding at Univerſities to enter the liſts as a diſputant, by which, according to the cuſtom of many of them, he was entitled to the premium of a crown, when luckily for him his challenge was not accepted; ſo that, as I once obſerved to Dr. Johnſon, he *diſputed* his paſſage through Europe. He then came to England, and was employed ſucceſſively in the capacities of an uſher to an academy, a corrector of the preſs, a reviewer, and a writer for a news-paper. He had ſagacity enough to cultivate aſſiduouſly the acquaintance of Johnſon, and his faculties were gradually enlarged by the contemplation of ſuch a model. To me and many others it appeared that he ſtudiouſly copied the manner of Johnſon, though, indeed, upon a ſmaller ſcale.

At this time I think he had publiſhed nothing with his name, tho' it was pretty generally known that *one Dr. Goldſmith* was the author of "An Eſſay on the preſent State of polite Literature," and of "The Citizen of the World," a ſeries of letters ſuppoſed to be written from London by a Chineſe. No man had the art of diſplaying with more advantage as a writer, whatever literary acquiſitions he made. "*Nihil quod tetigit, non ornavit* [*]." His mind reſembled a fertile, but thin ſoil. There was a quick, but not a ſtrong vegetation, of whatever chanced to be thrown upon it. No deep root could be ſtruck. The oak of the foreſt did not grow there; but the elegant ſhrubbery and the fragrant parterre appeared in gay ſucceſſion. It has been generally circulated and believed that he was a mere fool in converſation [†]; but, in

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[*] See his epitaph in Weſtminſter Abbey, written by Dr. Johnſon.

[†] In alluſion to this, Mr. Horace Walpole, who admired his writings, ſaid he was "an inſpired idiot;" and Garrick deſcribed him as one

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in truth, this has been greatly exaggerated. He had, no doubt, a more than common ſhare of that hurry of ideas which we often find in his countrymen, and which ſometimes produces a laughable confuſion in expreſſing them. He was very much what the French call *un etourdi*, and from vanity and an eager deſire of being conſpicuous wherever he was, he frequently talked careleſsly without knowledge of the ſubject, or even without thought. His perſon was ſhort, his countenance coarſe and vulgar, his deportment that of a ſcholar aukwardly affecting the eaſy gentleman. Thoſe who were in any way diſtinguiſhed, excited envy in him to ſo ridiculous an exceſs, that the inſtances of it are hardly credible. When accompanying two beautiful young ladies [*] with their mother on a tour in France, he was ſeriouſly angry that more attention was paid to them than to him; and once at the exhibition of the *Fantoccini* in London, when thoſe who ſat next him obſerved with what dexterity a puppet was made to toſs a pike, he could not bear that it ſhould have ſuch praiſe; and exclaimed with ſome warmth, "Pſhaw! I can do it better myſelf [†]."

He, I am afraid, had no ſettled ſyſtem of any ſort, ſo that his conduct muſt not be ſtrictly ſcrutiniſed; but his affections were ſocial and generous, and when he had money he gave it away very liberally. His deſire of imaginary conſequence predominated over his attention to truth. When he began to riſe into notice, he ſaid he had a brother who was dean of Durham [‡], a fiction ſo eaſily detected, that it is wonderful how he ſhould have been ſo inconſiderate as to hazard it. He boaſted to me at this time of the power of his pen in commanding money, which I believe was true in a certain degree, though in the inſtance he gave he was by no means correct. He told me that he had ſold a novel for four hundred pounds. This was his "Vicar of Wakefield." But Johnſon informed me, that he had made the bargain

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" ——————— for ſhortneſs call'd Noll,
" Who wrote like an angel, and talk'd like poor Poll."

Sir Joſhua Reynolds mentioned to me that he frequently heard Goldſmith talk warmly of the pleaſure of being liked, and obſerve how hard it would be if literary excellence ſhould preclude a man from that ſatisfaction, which he perceived it often did, from the envy which attended it; and therefore Sir Joſhua was convinced that he was intentionally more abſurd, in order to leſſen himſelf in ſocial intercourſe, truſting that his character would be ſufficiently ſupported by his works. If it indeed was his intention to appear abſurd in company, he was often very ſucceſsful. But with due deference to Sir Joſhua's ingenuity, I think the conjecture too refined.

[*] Miſs Hornecks, one of whom is now married to Henry Bunbury, eſquire, and the other to colonel Gwyn.

[†] He went home with Mr. Burke to ſupper; and broke his ſhin by attempting to exhibit to the company how much better he could jump over a ſtick than the puppets.

[‡] I am willing to hope that there may have been ſome miſtake as to this anecdote, though I had it from a dignitary of the church. Dr. Iſaac Goldſmith, his near relation, was dean of Cloyne, in 1747.

for Goldſmith, and the price was ſixty pounds. "And, Sir (ſaid he) a ſufficient price too, when it was ſold; for then the fame of Goldſmith had not been elevated, as it afterwards was, by his 'Traveller;' and the bookſeller had ſuch faint hopes of profit by his bargain, that he kept the manuſcript by him a long time, and did not publiſh it till after the Traveller had appeared. Then, to be ſure, it was accidentally worth more money."

Mrs. Piozzi * and Sir John Hawkins † have ſtrangely miſtated the hiſtory of Goldſmith's ſituation and Johnſon's friendly interference, when this novel was ſold. I ſhall give it authentically from Johnſon's own exact narration:

"I received one morning a meſſage from poor Goldſmith, that he was in great diſtreſs, and, as it was not in his power to come to me, begging that I would come to him as ſoon as poſſible. I ſent him a guinea, and promiſed to come to him directly. I accordingly went as ſoon as I was dreſt, and found that his landlady had arreſted him for his rent, at which he was in a violent paſſion. I perceived that he had already changed my guinea, and had got a bottle of Madeira, and a glaſs before him. I put the cork into the bottle, deſired he would be calm, and began to talk to him of the means by which he might be extricated. He then told me that he had a novel ready for the preſs, which he produced to me. I looked into it, and ſaw its merit; told the landlady I ſhould ſoon return, and having gone to a bookſeller, ſold it for ſixty pounds. I brought Goldſmith the money, and he diſcharged his rent, not without rating his landlady in a high tone for having uſed him ſo ill."

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In our way to the club to-night, when I regretted that Goldſmith would, upon every occaſion, endeavour to ſhine, by which he often expoſed himſelf, Mr. Langton obſerved, that he was not like Addiſon, who was content with the fame of his writings, and did not aim alſo at excellency in converſation, for which he found himſelf unfit; and that he ſaid to a lady, who complained of his having talked little in company, "Madam, I have but nine-pence in ready money, but I can draw for a thouſand pounds." I obſerved, that Goldſmith had a great deal of gold in his cabinet, but, not content with that, was always taking out his purſe.—*Johnſon.* "Yes, Sir, and that ſo often an empty purſe!"

Goldſmith's inceſſant deſire of being conſpicuous in company, was the occaſion of his ſometimes appearing to ſuch diſadvantage as one ſhould hardly have ſuppoſed poſſible in a man of his genius. When his literary reputation had riſen deſervedly high, and his ſociety was much courted, he became very jealous of the extraordinary attention which was every where paid to Johnſon. One evening, in a circle of wits, he found fault with me for talking of Johnſon as entitled to the honour of unqueſtionable ſuperiority. "Sir (ſaid he) you are for making a monarchy of what ſhould be a republic."

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* Anecdotes of Johnſon, p. 119.
† Life of Johnſon, p. 420.

He was ſtill more mortified, when talking in a company with fluent vivacity, and, as he flattered himſelf, to the admiration of all who were preſent; a German who ſat next him, and perceived Johnſon rolling himſelf, as if about to ſpeak, ſuddenly ſtopped him, ſaying, "Stay, ſtay,—Toctor Shonſon is going to ſay ſomething." This was, no doubt, very provoking, eſpecially to one ſo irritable as Goldſmith, who frequently mentioned it with ſtrong expreſſions of indignation.

It may alſo be obſerved, that Goldſmith was ſometimes content to be treated with an eaſy familiarity, but, upon occaſions, would be conſequential and important. An inſtance of this occurred in a ſmall particular. Johnſon had a way of contracting the names of his friends; as Beauclerk, Beau; Boſwell, Bozzy; Langton, Lanky; Murphy, Mur; Sheridan, Sherry. I remember one day, when Tom Davies was telling that Dr. Johnſon ſaid, "We are all in labour for a name to *Goldy*'s play," Goldſmith ſeemed diſpleaſed that ſuch a liberty ſhould be taken with his name, and ſaid, "I have often deſired him not to call me *Goldy*." Tom was remarkably attentive to the moſt minute circumſtance about Johnſon. I recollect his telling me once, on my arrival in London, "Sir, our great friend has made an improvement on his appellation of old Mr. Sheridan. He calls him now *Sherry derry*."

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Goldſmith being mentioned, Johnſon obſerved that it was long before his merit came to be acknowledged. That he once complained to him, in ludicrous terms of diſtreſs, "Whenever I write any thing, the public *make a point* to know nothing about it:" but that his 'Traveller' brought him into high reputation.—*Langton.* "There is not one bad line in that poem; not one of Dryden's careleſs verſes." *Sir Joſhua.* "I was glad to hear Charles Fox ſay it was one of the fineſt poems in the Engliſh language." *Langton.* "Why was you glad? You ſurely had no doubt of this before." *Johnſon.* "No; the merit of 'The Traveller' is ſo well eſtabliſhed, that Mr. Fox's praiſe cannot augment it, nor his cenſure diminiſh it." *Sir Joſhua.* "But his friends may ſuſpect they had a too great partiality for him." *Johnſon.* "Nay, Sir, the partiality of his friends was always againſt him. It was with difficulty we could give him a hearing. Goldſmith had no ſettled notions upon any ſubject; ſo he talked always at random. It ſeemed to be his intention to blurt out whatever was in his mind, and ſee what would become of it. He was angry too when catched in an abſurdity; but it did not prevent him from falling into another the next minute. I remember Chamier, after talking with him for ſome time, ſaid, 'Well, I do believe he wrote this poem himſelf: and, let me tell you, that is believing a great deal.' Chamier once aſked him what he meant by *ſlow*, the laſt word in the firſt line of 'The Traveller,'

'Remote, unfriended, melancholy, ſlow.'

Did he mean tardineſs of locomotion? Goldſmith, who would ſay ſomething without conſideration, anſwered, 'Yes.' I was ſitting by, and ſaid, 'No, Sir; you do not mean tardineſs of locomotion; you mean, that ſluggiſhneſs of mind which comes upon a man in ſolitude.' Chamier believed then that I had written the line, as much as if he had ſeen me write it. Goldſmith, however, was a man, who, whatever he wrote, did it better than any other man could do. He deſerved a place in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and every year he lived would have deſerved it better. He had, indeed, been at no pains to fill his mind with knowledge. He tranſplanted it from one place to another; and it did not ſettle in his mind; ſo he could not tell what was in his own books."

Character of Sir William Temple. *From the ſecond Volume of Lord* Mountmorres's *Hiſtory of the principal Tranſactions of the Iriſh Parliament.*

SIR William Temple was elected, together with his father, a repreſentative for the county of Carlow, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-one; he was then about thirty years of age. According to his own account, his loyalty, his principles, and attachment to the conſtitution, would not allow him to enter upon the ſcene of public affairs before that period.

For three generations the Temple family were in the moſt important public ſtations in Ireland. William Temple the grandfather had been the firſt provoſt of the univerſity of Dublin; Sir John Temple, his father, was maſter of the rolls from the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-nine, and a member of the houſe of commons; and his ſecond ſon, the ſolicitor general, Sir John Temple, was for a ſeſſion deputy ſpeaker, which was the only inſtance of ſuch a deſignation, that occurs in the annals of the Iriſh parliament*.

Sir William Temple attended parliament only in the ſeſſions from one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-one to one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-three: he was appointed envoy to the biſhop of Munſter in September one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-five, previous to the meeting, and did not appear in his place during that laſt ſeſſion; nor did he return again to Ireland till lord Eſſex's adminiſtration in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, when he wrote the letter to his Excellency upon the advancement of the trade of Ireland.

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* The following is an authentic account of the deſcendants of Sir John Temple, and of the diſtribution of the property of the family: Sir John Temple, maſter of the rolls in Ireland in 1639, left two ſons; Sir William Temple, baronet, and Sir John Temple, knight, ſolicitor-general and deputy ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in 1661, during the abſence of the ſpeaker, Sir Audley Mervin, as a parliamentary commiſſioner in England. The latter ſettled in England in the year 1685, and was father to the firſt, and great grandfather to the preſent lord Palmerſton.—Sir William Temple's ſon, who was a victim of political deſpair in his father's life-time, ſoon after the Revolution, left two daughters; the elder was married to her couſin, Mr. Temple, and the younger to Mr. Bacon, of Suffolk: in the iſſue of the latter, the greater part of Sir William Temple's property has been veſted, and they are ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of ſome valuable papers of their great anceſtors.

His ſervices as a parliamentary commiſſioner in England were ſuch, that parliament voted him an extra reward, beſides what he had in common with his colleagues; and upon his return from England, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-two, he reſumed his wonted activity and uſeful exertions in parliament; but he ſeems to have had early views and ſchemes to engage in a more extenſive ſphere, and in that brilliant diplomatic career which he afterwards purſued, and for which no man was ever more qualified, from the univerſality of his learning and the elegance of his accompliſhments. He wrote with the greateſt facility in Latin and French; and a few of his diſpatches are in Spaniſh, which I remember to have heard from a very intelligent Spaniard*, were not correct; but to write with tolerable intelligence in that language, muſt be admitted to be a rare and uncommon talent.

It was the great abilities he diſplayed as a man of buſineſs in the Iriſh parliament, (for however excellent his compoſitions are, there are no proofs of his being an eloquent ſpeaker either in the Iriſh or the Britiſh ſenate) that recommended him to the patronage of the duke of Ormond; and it was the peculiar eulogium of that illuſtrious nobleman, to have ſelected two ſuch characters as Sir Robert Southwell and Sir William Temple for foreign embaſſies.

His friendſhip with the duke of Ormond was uniform and conſtant through all the changes of fortune. "I confeſs," ſays Sir William Temple, in his firſt letter to his grace, "I am extremely pleaſed "with any teſtimony of your fa-"vour and recollection of me, "which I muſt account to be the "beſt, as I muſt ever conſider them "as the firſt of my good fortunes; "nor ſhall I be ever ſo much "pleaſed with any lucky hit that "may happen to me in public em-"ployments, from any other re-"ſpect, than from ſome occaſion "to teſtify the gratitude and re-"ſentment of kindneſs ſhewn to "me, when I was idle and un-"known."

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* Colonel de Miranda. This gentleman, a native of Mexico, is one of the moſt extenſive and enlightened travellers which the preſent, or perhaps any period can boaſt; and it is with peculiar delight and ſatisfaction that the author recollects the information he has received from his friendſhip and converſation. Colonel de Miranda ſpent near ten years in travelling through the whole continent of America, and in every part of Europe, particularly in Ruſſia and Turkey. He has made the moſt valuable obſervations and collections in every country he has viſited, which he has arranged with a rare and claſſical ſtyle, and a happy combination of ancient and modern learning.—The empreſs of Ruſſia, with that diſcernment and liberal protection of ſcience which will immortalize the name of the ſecond Catherine, has diſtinguiſhed this extraordinary man by her favour and protection, and ſeemed deſirous to have induced him to ſettle in Ruſſia, as one whoſe knowledge and ability, whenever or wherever they ſhall be diſplayed, muſt be a ſignal and valuable acquiſition to any country.

To dwell upon a character and upon a career which was ſo brilliant and ſo well known, would be ſuperfluous, though ſome enlargement upon ſuch a ſubject is almoſt unavoidable.

After his ſucceſs in his firſt commiſſion to Van Galen, the warlike biſhop of Munſter, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-five; after his good fortune in his firſt embaſſy, his addreſs in negociating the triple alliance, where the firſt principles of the Dutch conſtitution were ſuperſeded by the repreſentation of an over-ruling neceſſity, which had remained inviolate ſince the union of Utrecht; after the joy with which he was received by the Dutch deputies upon his ſecond embaſſy, who told him that his appearance among them at that time was like that of the ſwallow in ſpring, the certain harbinger and ſure forerunner of fair weather; after the brilliant teſtimony of his merit from De Wit and from the ſtates; after all thoſe ſhining qualities and uncommon ſucceſſes; we cannot help lamenting his fate in his laſt embaſſy, and how much he was traverſed by Du Croſs, a wretched minion, who was diſpatched from the ducheſs of Portſmouth's bed-chamber, when the ſecond Charles became the miſerable penſioner of Lewis the Fourteenth, and was induced to abandon his allies in the treaty of Nimeguen.

As no ambaſſador ever kept up the port and dignity of his character* better than Sir William Temple, it is ſtill more to the diſgrace of that court, that the arrears of his appointments were never diſcharged, and that he was no gainer, perhaps a loſer, by his embaſſies.

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* Of the ſtate with which Sir William Temple travelled as ambaſſador to the congreſs of Nimeguen, the following account of his paſſing the Pont Volant there, will be found very curious and ſatisfactory. Vol. ii. page 342. Oct. Ed.—"The river of Nimeguen is very rapid in the midſt of the ſtream which lies near the town, and ſpreads very broad upon the other ſide to the Betuwe, being upon flat grounds: the firſt part of it is paſſed by a very large ferry-boat, which held at once my two coaches and ſix horſes, one waggon, and my trunks, and eight ſaddle-horſes, and would have received many more. This boat is of a contrivance ſo ſingular, as well as ſo commodious, that I have much wondered never to have ſeen it practiſed in any other place; for the force of the ſtream drives the boat acroſs the river without the leaſt pains of the men, being kept to its courſe by a ſtrong cable extended from one ſide to the other, and faſtened to a pulley ſet up for that purpoſe in the boat; ſo that no ſtreſs of weather hinders this paſſage, and the harder the ſtream runs, the ſooner it is made. Where the river grows ſhallow and the current ſlack, on the Betuwe ſide, it is ſupplied by a bridge of planks for about two hundred paces, which are ill kept, many looſe or ſhaking, and no defence on the ſides. When my coaches were upon this bridge, the cannon of the town began to fire, and ſo continued all the while I was upon the river; which was a piece of civility well underſtood: but my horſes were ſo unruly with that noiſe and the clatter of the planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the river than into the boat: but when, with the help of my ſervants on foot that led them, we got in there, we were as ſafe as in a houſe, and got well away to the town, where I landed at Sir Lionel Jenkins' houſe, and ſtaid there till late in the evening, to avoid any viſits or ceremonies that night."

It was his maxim, that the ſureſt rule of deception in an ambaſſador was to ſpeak the truth, becauſe men would never believe thoſe miniſters to be ſincere: a maxim in contradiction to that infamous rule of Sir Henry Wooton's, that an ambaſſador was a man deputed to tell lies for the benefit of his country.

The conſequence of his character, and of his ſincerity, was ſo great, that the intereſts of rival nations, and of contending parties were depoſited in his hands, as in a ſacred aſylum of probity and honour; and mankind were charmed with the proof of that well known but neglected aphoriſm, that "honeſty is the beſt policy;" contrary to the opinion of thoſe reptiles who too often glide into public employments by the miſerable ſhifts of cunning and deceit; who place the reputation of wiſdom in the accumulation of wealth, and in the exerciſe of that inſtinct, which mankind poſſeſs in common with the meaneſt and moſt contemptible animals.

The retirement of this great man has bequeathed the moſt invaluable legacy to poſterity. Of the taſte and elegance of his writings too much can never be ſaid, illuminated as they are by that probity and candour which pervade them, and thoſe charms which render truth irreſiſtible.

Though other writers may be more the objects of imitation to the ſcholar, yet his ſtyle is certainly the beſt adapted to the politician and the man of faſhion: nor would ſuch an opinion be given, were it not for an anecdote of Swift which I had from the late Mr. Sheridan, who told me the dean always recommended him as the beſt model, and had repeatedly ſaid that the ſtyle of Sir William Temple was the eaſieſt, the moſt liberal, and the moſt brilliant in our language.

When we conſider the contempt of wealth, the diſintereſtedneſs of Temple; when we perceive, that in his whole life, his thoughts were ever turned, rather upon how much leſs he wanted, than how much more; when we conſider that his promiſe to Charles the Second, That he would live for the remainder of his days as good a ſubject as any he had, but would never more engage in public employments, was moſt religiouſly kept, even after that revolution of which he himſelf had been a primary cauſe, by the negociation of the prince's match with queen Mary; we muſt recognize that true genuine definition of a man of honour, which may be truly explained, by a ſcrupulous attachment to profeſſions and engagements.

In a word, when we conſider his probity, his diſintereſtedneſs, his contempt of wealth, the genuine beauty of his ſtyle, which was as brilliant, as harmonious, and as pure as his life and manners; when we reflect upon the treaſures which he has bequeathed by his example and by his works to his country, which no man ever loved better, or eſteemed more; we cannot avoid conſidering Sir William Temple as one of the greateſt characters which has appeared upon the political ſtage; and he may be juſtly claſſed with the greateſt names of antiquity, and with the moſt brilliant characters which adorn and illuſtrate the Grecian or Roman annals.

Account of Dr. Jortin; *extracted from Memoirs of his Life and Writings, by* John Diſney, *D. D.*

JOHN Jortin, the ſubject of theſe memoirs, was born in the pariſh of St. Giles in the Fields, in the county of Middleſex, October 23, 1698.

His father, Renatus Jortin, was a native of Bretagne in France, and had ſtudied at Saumur. His teſtimonial from that academy is dated 1682, and is now in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendants. He came into England a young man, along with his father, uncle, two aunts, and two ſiſters, about the year 1685, when the Proteſtants fled from France, on account of the revocation of the edict of Nantz by Louis the Fourteenth. Soon after his ſettlement in this country, he married Martha, daughter of the Rev. Daniel Rogers, of Haverſham, in Buckinghamſhire, who deſcended from a family of the ſame name that reſided at Lees, near Chelmsford, in Eſſex, in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and had produced ſome clergymen, diſtinguiſhed by their abilities and learning.

Mr. Renatus Jortin was appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to king William the Third, in the year 1691 *; and was, afterwards, ſucceſſively ſecretary to admiral Edward Ruſſel, earl of Orford, ſir George Rooke, and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel; and periſhed with the latter when his ſhip unfortunately ſtruck upon the rocks, called "The Biſhop and his Clerks," off Scilly, October 22, 1707.

After this melancholy event, Mrs. Jortin removed into the neighbourhood of the Charterhouſe, the better to accommodate the education of her ſon, who was now nine years of age, and ſent him to that ſeminary as a day-ſcholar. He learned French at home, and ſpake it well. At the age of fifteen he had completed his claſſical ſtudies at ſchool, after which he remained at home about a year, and perfected himſelf in writing and arithmetic.

On the 16th of May 1715, he was admitted penſioner of Jeſus College in Cambridge; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his abilities, that whilſt he was an undergraduate, he was engaged by the recommendation of his tutor, the learned Dr. Styan Thirlby, to tranſlate ſome of Euſtathius's notes on Homer for Mr. Pope.

Mr. Jortin was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in January 1718-19; and was elected fellow of Jeſus College, October 9, 1721. He proceeded to take the degree of Maſter of Arts at the commencement 1722.

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* After this, and before I was born (ſays Dr. Jortin in his Adverſaria) he took a fancy to change his name into *Jordain*, and to give it an Engliſh appearance; being fond I ſuppoſe of paſſing for an Engliſhman, as he ſpoke Engliſh perfectly, and without any foreign accent. This gave me ſome trouble afterwards, when I went into deacon's orders under biſhop Kennet, for the regiſter of St. Giles in the Fields wrote my name, as it ſtood there, *Jordain*. I gave the biſhop an account how it came to paſs. After my father's death, my mother thought it proper to aſſume the true name of Jortin; and ſhe and I always wrote it ſo.

I did not think there was any perſon left of our name, till lately (1770) I found in a news-paper, that a merchantman came to one of our ports, commanded by captain Jortin, from the Weſt Indies.

On the tenth of October 1722, Mr. Jortin was appointed one of the moderators, at the diſputations in the ſophs' ſchool, and, at Michaelmas in the ſucceeding year, he was elected one of the taxors. The learned Dr. Edmund Law, late biſhop of Carliſle, who took his firſt degrees in arts 1723, told me, ſome few years before his death, that he kept an opponency under Mr. Jortin when moderator; and though he was every way eminently qualified to diſcharge the duty of his office, was a man of few words. The biſhop added, however, in the courſe of our converſation, that, in conſequence of that exerciſe, Mr. Jortin recommended him in the univerſity, and thereby laid the foundation of his future advancement.

In the courſe of the year 1722, Mr. Jortin publiſhed a few Latin poems, which were well received, entitled "Luſus Poetici."—

Mr. Jortin was ordained deacon by Dr. White Kennet, biſhop of Peterborough, September 22, 1723; and prieſt by Dr. Thomas Greene, biſhop of Ely, June 24, 1724. On the 20th of January 1726-7, he was preſented by the maſter and fellows of Jeſus College, to the vicarage of Swaveſey, near Cambridge, and in January 1727-8, agreeably to the ſtatutes, he reſigned his fellowſhip.

About the month of February 1728, he married Ann, daughter of Mr. Chibnall, of Newport Pagnell, in Buckinghamſhire *. On the 1ſt of February 1730-1, he reſigned
his

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* In the firſt volume of the "Miſcellaneous Obſervations," p. 379, and in the firſt volume of "Tracts," &c. p. 47. "the following inſcription is ſubmitted to the judgment of the learned." It was republiſhed, as we are informed, by the very ingenious Mr. Thomas Warton, in his "Inſcriptionum Romanarum metricarum Delectus," London, 1758; as an *ancient* inſcription.

INSCRIPTIONIS FRAGMENTUM.
D. M.

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QUÆ. TE. SVB. TENERA. RAPVERVNT. PAETA. IVVENTA.
O. VTINAM. ME. CRVDELIA. FATA. VOCENT.
VT. LINQVAM. TERRAS. INVISAQVE. LVMINA. SOLIS.
VTQVE. TVVS. RVRSVM. CORPORE. SIM. POSITO.
TV. CAVE. LETHÆO. CONTINGAS. ORA. LIQVORE.
ET. CITO. VENTVRI. SIS. MEMOR. ORO. VIRI.
TE. SEQVAR. OBSCVRVM. PER. ITER. DVX. IBIT. EVNTI.
FIDVS. AMOR. TENEBRAS. LAMPADE. DISCVTIENS.

In Dodſley's "Collection of Poems," vol. iv. p. 188. and in Dr. Jortin's "Tracts," &c. vol. i. p. 472. is a beautiful tranſlation of the preceding inſcription, by the Rev. Mr. Merrick.

Thee, PÆTA, death's relentleſs hand
  Cut off in earlieſt bloom:
Oh! had the fates for me ordain'd
  To ſhare an equal doom;

With

his vicarage of Swaveſey, and not long after ſettled in London, where he was engaged as reader and preacher at a chapel belonging to the pariſh of St. Giles in the Fields, then in New Street, near Great Ruſſel Street, Bloomſbury. In this ſituation he continued till 1746.

On Mr. Jortin's removal to London, he publiſhed "Four Sermons on the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion," in a ſmall volume in duodecimo.—

In the years 1731 and 1732, Mr. Jortin, in conjunction with ſome literary friends, publiſhed, in a ſeries of twenty-four ſix-penny numbers, "Miſcellaneous Obſervations upon Authors Ancient and Modern;" making together two volumes in octavo.—

Our author's ſkill and taſte for critical learning, were again exhibited in ſome excellent "Remarks on Spenſer's Poems [*]," publiſhed in 1734, in octavo; to which were ſubjoined "Remarks on Milton [†]." And in a periodical work, entitled, "The Preſent State of the Republic of Letters," for Auguſt in the ſame year, he publiſhed "Remarks on Seneca [‡]."—

Mr. Jortin was preſented by the earl of Winchelſea to the vicarage of Eaſtwell, in Kent, worth about one hundred and twenty pounds a year, ſome time in 1737; but the air of the place not agreeing with his health, he ſoon reſigned it, and returned to London. He, therefore, continued to officiate at the chapel in New Street, until he was appointed (March 20th, 1746-7) by his friend Dr. Zachary Pearce, then rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, afternoon preacher at a chapel of eaſe belonging to that pariſh, in Oxendon Street, in the place of the Rev. —— Johnſon, then lately deceaſed; in which ſituation he continued till 1760.

In the year 1746, Mr. Jortin publiſhed his "Diſcourſes concerning the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion," which included the ſubſtance of the "Four Diſcourſes" before mentioned, and have ſince paſſed through ſeveral editions [§].

With joy this buſy world I'd leave,
This hated light reſign,
To lay me in the peaceful grave,
And be for ever thine.

Do thou, if Lethe court thy lip,
To taſte its ſtream forbear:
Still in thy ſoul his image keep,
Who haſtes to meet thee there.

Safe o'er the dark and dreary ſhore
In queſt of thee I'll roam;
Love with his lamp ſhall run before,
And break the circling gloom.

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[*] Reprinted in "Tracts Philological, &c." vol. i. p. 54—285, with additional notes, by anonymous, p. 287—306.

[†] Reprinted in "Tracts Philological, &c." vol. i. p. 307—345.

[‡] Article ix. ſigned J—, reprinted in "Tracts Philological, &c." p. 404—424; where it is incorporated with two other ſhort papers on Seneca's tragedies, from "Miſ. Obſervations," vol. i. p. 55. and 127.

[§] The *ſecond* edition was publiſhed the next year, 1747; the *third* 1752; the *fourth* 1768.

Mr. Warburton, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn, engaged Mr. Jortin, in the year 1747, to aſſiſt him occaſionally at the chapel there; and he continued his aſſiſtant about three years.

Upon the tranſlation of Dr. Matthew Hutton from the ſee of Bangor to the archbiſhopric of York, Dr. Zachary Pearce was appointed to ſucceed him. Dr. Pearce requeſted Mr. Jortin to preach the ſermon at his conſecration, in the pariſh church of Kenſington, on February 21ſt, 1747; which was afterwards publiſhed with the uſual authoritative mandate prefixed, JUSSU SUPERIORUM.—

On the recommendation of archbiſhop Herring and biſhop Sherlock, Mr. Jortin was appointed, by the earl of Burlington, on the 26th of December 1749, preacher of the lecture founded by Mr. Boyle. An appointment, honourable from the nature of the foundation; and from the reſpectable characters of ſeveral of the clergy who had preceded him in the duties of it; and we may alſo add, from the patronage of the noble truſtee, and the recommendation of the two prelates, at whoſe inſtance he had received it.—

The mutual friendſhip between Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin continued after their connection at Lincoln's Inn chapel had ceaſed; inſomuch, that the former announced, in the ſecond edition of his JULIAN, the ſpeedy publication of his "learned friend Mr. Jortin's curious diſſertations on eccleſiaſtical antiquity; compoſed, like his life, not in the ſpirit of controverſy, nor, what is ſtill worſe, of party, but of truth and candor *.—

Mr. Warburton's favourable notification of the forwardneſs of the "Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory," was very ſoon followed by the publication of the firſt volume, early in the year 1751; and however ſanguine may have been the expectations of the friends of Mr. Jortin, they were not diſappointed.—

Hitherto it ſhould ſeem that Mr. Jortin had partaken of ſome of the ingredients which are too frequently found to conſtitute a ſcholar's wages, according to Eraſmus, "ſhort commons and little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction." He had many friends who knew how to value his learning, but none of them had hitherto ſucceſsfully ſought to reward it.

In the month of May 1751, archbiſhop Herring gave Mr. Jortin, unſolicited, the rectory of St. Dunſtan in the Eaſt, London, worth two hundred pounds a year; "a favour valuable in itſelf, but made doubly ſo by the giver, by the manner, by being conferred upon one," as himſelf ſays, "who had received few obligations of this kind, and by ſettling him amongſt thoſe whom he had great reaſon to love and to eſteem †."

Nothing could more enhance the obligation, than the public and handſome manner in which it was conferred. The account which is given of the interview between the archbiſhop and Mr. Jortin is, I believe, authentic, and has in it ſome circumſtances which ſhew the libe-

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[*] See Warburton's "Julian," 2d edit. 1751. p 316, note.

[†] See dedication to the ſecond vol. of "Remarks on E. H." p. iv.

ral and amiable character of the prelate, and characterize the ſimple manners of the clerk. Mr. Jortin dined at the feaſt of the ſons of the clergy, where archbiſhop Herring was preſent; and on being told that the archbiſhop was deſirous of renewing his acquaintance with him, he prepared for going to the upper end of the room, by looking for his hat, among a great number which lay together in a confuſed manner; but being told by his friends that his hat was by no means neceſſary, he proceeded to the prelate without it. The archbiſhop complimented him on his talents and learning, and cloſed the converſation, by giving him, in the preſence of the clergy, the rectory of St. Dunſtan in the Eaſt. Mr. Jortin then returned to his ſeat, telling his friends, "I have loſt my hat, but I have got a living *."

In Auguſt this year, Mr. Jortin paid a viſit to his friends at Cambridge, where he had not been ſince the time of his quitting the univerſity †; but it is moſt probable that this journey, in the autumn of 1751, was principally intended as a viſit to the libraries in the univerſity; and the more ſo, as he was at that time much occupied in preparing the ſecond volume of the "Remarks" for the preſs, and which was publiſhed the following ſpring.—

Mr. Jortin had the continuation of his "Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory" in ſo great forwardneſs for the preſs, that he publiſhed the ſecond volume in the ſpring 1752. And having been ſo lately patronized by archbiſhop Herring, he introduced it with a dedication to that worthy and benevolent prelate, in language not indeed of "modern politeneſs, but of ancient ſimplicity."

The reſentment which he had incurred from the orthodox, by the catholic ſpirit which he had ſhewn in his former volume, though then freſh in his mind, and ſtill working to his further prejudice, he did not wiſh to dwell upon, but rather to look on the favourable ſide of the contingent events of human life. In this view, I apprehend, he obſerves, in his dedication, that "the diſcourteſies which we experience, are things too common and too inſignificant to deſerve a place in our memory, or in our writings; it is beſt (ſays he) to bury them in eternal oblivion, and in their room to ſubſtitute the good offices of our friends, which ought to be remembered and recorded with pleaſure."

In excuſe for his omitting to make a laboured diſplay of the good qualities of his benefactor, or, as is too often the caſe, to aſcribe to him the poſſeſſion of thoſe attainments which did not belong to him, he concludes by telling us, in true claſſic purity of ſentiment, that it was a cuſtom among the ancients, "NOT TO SACRIFICE TO HEROES, TILL AFTER SUN-SET." And that this was not merely a happy thought, founded in fact, and applied in compliment, we may have the beſt proof by turning to what he ſays of the ſame great man, after his deceaſe, and when his dignities and patron-

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* See "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1773, p. 438; and Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 260, note *.

† See "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 260, note *.

age were in the poſſeſſion of a ſucceſſor who was of a quite contrary ſpirit [*].

The deſign of the whole of this work, agreeably to a former intimation, was “to defend and recommend Chriſtianity, which was then, and continues to be daily aſſaulted and inſulted.”—

Mr. Jortin was fond of muſic, and learned it after he came to reſide in London, in 1730. He was a good player of thorough-baſs on the harpſichord. His maſter was Mr. Petit, a Frenchman, who is ſaid to have been a good player of Corelli's muſic on the violin [†]. But the ſcholar appears to have conſidered and attended to it as a ſcience, as well as an amuſement and relaxation from ſeverer ſtudies. That Milton [‡] ſhould attune his lyre was natural, but that the rough and inflexible Luther [§] ſhould be a compoſer and performer on muſic, is extraordinary. Jortin was led to muſic by genius and temper. We have before had occaſion to ſpeak of his genius and talents for poetry; we may now form a very competent opinion of his taſte and judgment in a ſiſter art, from his “Letter concerning the Muſic of the Ancients.” This letter is addreſſed to Mr. Aviſon, the Author of an “Eſſay on Muſical Expreſſion,” and is added, without his name, to the ſecond edition of that Eſſay, printed 1753; but is given to its proper owner in the third edition, publiſhed 1775 [‖].—

In 1754 was publiſhed the third

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[*] After citing an honourable teſtimony of Eraſmus to the memory of archbiſhop Warham, (Life of Eraſmus, vol. i. p. 42.) he proceeds—“It is with a melancholy kind of pleaſure that I tranſcribe theſe paſſages, and ſhall in other parts of this work inſert other teſtimonies to the honour of the archbiſhop; whilſt in the character of this amiable prelate, drawn by ſo maſterly a hand, I contemplate that of my late patron (Thomas Herring, archbiſhop of Canterbury) who, beſides the good qualities in which he reſembled Warham, had piety without ſuperſtition, and moderation without meanneſs, an open and a liberal way of thinking, and a conſtant attachment to the cauſe of ſober and rational liberty, both civil and religious. Thus he lived and died, and few men ever paſſed through this malevolent world, better beloved, and leſs cenſured, than he.

“He told me once, with an obliging condeſcenſion, which I can never forget, that he would be to me what Warham was to Eraſmus; and what he promiſed, he performed: only leſs fortunate in the choice of his humble friend, who could not be to him what Eraſmus was to Warham. But if theſe pages ſhould live, protected by the ſubject which they treat, and the materials of which they are compoſed, they may perhaps aſſiſt in doing juſtice to his memory.

His mihi dilectum nomen, maneſque verendos,
His ſaltem accumulem donis, et fungar amico
Munere! non totus, raptus licet, optime Præſul,
Eriperis: redit os placidum, moreſque benigni,
Et venit ante oculos, et pectore vivit imago.”

[†] See Nichols's “Anecdotes of Bowyer,” p. 259.

[‡] See “Letter,” p. 26.

[§] See “Life of Eraſmus,” vol. i. p. 126.

[‖] Republiſhed in “Tracts Philological,” &c. 1790, vol. ii. p. 1—39.

volume of our author's "Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory."—

Archbiſhop Herring's friendſhip for Mr. Jortin was ſhewn on different occaſions, by rendering him ſubſtantial ſervices, by intending others in which he was not able to ſucceed, and by general attentions which marked his regard and eſteem for Mr. Jortin.

In the year 1755, the archbiſhop conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. "I thought it too late in life," writes Jortin in a private manuſcript, "as I told him, to go and take it at Cambridge, under a profeſſor, who, in point of academical ſtanding, might have taken his firſt degree under me, when I was moderator. I was willing to owe this favour to him, which I would not have aſked or accepted from any other archbiſhop."

But, beſides the complimentary accommodation of Dr. Jortin, in ſparing him a diſagreeable errand to Cambridge, as he ſtates it above, he was alſo excuſed ſubſcribing the thirty-nine articles, agreeably to the privilege of diſpenſing with ſuch ſubſcription, which is uniformly claimed and exerciſed by the archbiſhops of Canterbury.—

In the ſame year (1755) in which he was preferred to his degree in divinity, he publiſhed his "Six Diſſertations on different Subjects," which "are equally remarkable (ſays Dr. Knox) for taſte, learning, originality, and ingenuity *." They are upon "ſubjects theological, moral, and hiſtorical, and as ſuch," ſays their author in a very ſhort preface, "of general uſe and application. The laſt eſſay," adds he, "is rather of the philological kind, and intended for thoſe who are ſomewhat converſant with the claſſic writers, and with the learned languages."—

Dr. Jortin publiſhed the firſt volume of his "Life of Eraſmus," in quarto, in the year 1758; and by the publication of the ſecond volume in 1760, he completed a work which, from the ſubject of it, "extended his reputation beyond the limits of his native country, and eſtabliſhed his literary character in the remoteſt univerſities of Europe."—

Dr. Jortin eſſentially injured his health, by his application to his Life of Eraſmus, as I was aſſured by a very reſpectable friend who knew him well. In his preface to that work, he addreſſed himſelf to his friends, "recommending himſelf to their favour, whilſt he was with them, and his name, when he was gone hence; and intreating them in a wiſh, that he might paſs the evening of a ſtudious and unambitious life, in an humble but not a ſlothful obſcurity; and never forfeit the kind continuance of their accuſtomed approbation."

"But," as is elſewhere obſerved, "whatever he or his friends might wiſh, he was to live hereafter neither ſo ſtudiouſly, nor ſo obſcurely, as his imagination had figured out to him; more public ſcenes, than any he had yet been engaged in, ſtill awaited him."

Dr. Hayter, biſhop of London, with whom, by the way, Dr. Jortin had always been upon intimate terms, and for whom he had a great eſteem, died January 9th, 1762; and Dr. Oſbaldiſton, who was alſo his friend, and then biſhop of Car-

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* See "Knox's Eſſays."

liſle, was promoted to the ſee of London. So early as the 10th of March that year, Dr. Jortin was appointed chaplain to biſhop Oſbaldiſton; and about the latter end of the ſame month, was collated by his lordſhip to the prebend of Harleſton, in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. In the following October, the biſhop gave him the vicarage of Kenſington, worth about 300 l. a year; ſoon after which he quitted his houſe in Hatton Garden, and went to reſide there.

In 1763, Dr. Jortin aſſiſted Mr. Markland in correcting the proof ſheets of the "Supplices Mulieres," of Euripides, in quarto. He had before done the ſame for a little treatiſe by the ſame learned gentleman, entitled, "De *Græcorum* quintâ declinatione impariſyllabicâ, et inde formatâ *Latinorum* tertia, Quæſtio Grammatica," which had been firſt printed in 1761, and was now annexed to the "Supplices Mulieres."—Of our author, it is ſaid in an advertiſement prefixed, "Abſente auctore, vicem ejus ad prelum ſuſcepit vir doctiſſimus Joannes Jortinus, S. T. P. cujus eruditæ curæ multum debere hinc editionem profitetur commentator."

Biſhop Oſbaldiſton gave a repeated proof, about a month before his death, of his determined patronage of our author, by appointing him archdeacon of London, in April 1764; and it has been generally ſaid that the biſhop had offered him the rectory of St. James's, Weſtminſter, upon the death of Dr. Samuel Nicholls, in November 1763; but that he choſe to continue at Kenſington, that being a ſituation he much liked, and better adapted to his then advanced age.—

Dr. Jortin continued to live in the then vicarage houſe at Kenſington, dividing his time between his paſtoral functions and his ſtudy, enjoying himſelf with his uſual ſerenity, till the 27th of Auguſt 1770, when he was ſeized with a diſorder in his breaſt and lungs. He grew continually worſe, notwithſtanding all medical aſſiſtance; and without undergoing much pain, in the courſe of his illneſs, or his underſtanding being in the leaſt impaired, he died the 5th of September, in the 72d year of his age. The laſt words of this deſervedly eminent man were expreſſed in the anſwer he gave to a female attendant who offered him ſome nouriſhment, a very ſhort time before his departure, when he ſaid, with great compoſure; "No! I HAVE ENOUGH OF EVERY THING."

He left the following direction in writing for his funeral: "Bury me in a private manner by day-light at Kenſington, in the church, or rather in the new church-yard, and lay a flat ſtone over the grave. Let the inſcription be only this:

JOANNES JORTIN
MORTALIS ESSE DESIIT
ANNO SALUTIS [MDCCLXX]
ÆTATIS [LXXII.]"

He was accordingly buried about nine o'clock in the morning, in the new church-yard at Kenſington, and the above inſcription was put on his grave-ſtone.

Dr. Jortin left a widow, [who died June 24th, 1778, and was buried in the ſame grave] and two children, Rogers Jortin, eſq. of the Exchequer office, Lincoln's Inn; and Martha, married to the Rev. Samuel Darby, formerly fellow of Jeſus college, Cambridge, and now rector of Whatfield, near Hadleigh, Suffolk.

Particulars of the Life of Dr. Dee, *a Favourite of* Queen Elizabeth. *From the firſt Volume of* Lyſons's *Environs of* London.

DR. DEE was the ſon of Rowland Dee, gentleman-ſewer to Henry VIII. and grandſon of Bedo Dee, ſtandard-bearer to lord de Ferrars at the battle of Tournay; if any credit is to be given to his pedigree in the Britiſh Muſeum*, drawn up by himſelf, he was deſcended in a direct line from Tudor the Great. His father was impriſoned in the Tower in the year 1553. His mother, Johanna Dee, lived at Mortlake as early as the year 1568. The greater part of the following account, except where other authorities are quoted, is taken from the MS. narrative of his life,† which he read to the commiſſioners at his houſe at Mortlake.

John Dee was born in London, A. D. 1527. At the age of 15 he went to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he applied himſelf to his ſtudies with ſuch diligence that he allowed only four hours for ſleep, and two for his meals and recreation. In 1547 he went abroad to converſe with learned men, particularly mathematicians; and on his return the enſuing year was elected fellow of Trinity College, and made under-reader of the Greek language. He went to the continent again ſoon afterwards; and being then only 23 years of age, read public lectures at Paris upon the Elements of Euclid to crowded audiences, and was viſited by perſons of the higheſt rank, who were anxious to become his pupils. In 1553, Edward VI. took him under his patronage, allowed him a penſion, and gave him the rectories of Upton-upon-Severn in Worceſterſhire, and Long Lednam in Lincolnſhire. About this time he was offered a handſome ſalary for reading lectures upon natural philoſophy at Oxford. In Queen Mary's reign he was out of favour; and being ſuſpected of treaſonable deſigns, was committed to the cuſtody of biſhop Bonner, but eſcaped better than his fellow-priſoner Green, who ſuffered at the ſtake. Queen Elizabeth, upon her acceſſion to the throne, immediately took Dee under her patronage, and among other marks of her favour appointed him, though a layman, to the deanery of Glouceſter; of which however he never got poſſeſſion. In 1575 the queen, with ſeveral of the nobility, came to his houſe at Mortlake, with an intention of ſeeing his library; but hearing that his wife was lately dead, they did not enter the houſe. Dee attended her majeſty at the door, and explained to her the properties of a glaſs which had occaſioned much converſation, and given riſe to a report that he was a magician. In 1578 he married Jane, daughter of Bartholomew Fromound, eſq. of Eaſt-Cheam. In 1581 he firſt began his incantations in concert with one Edward Kelly. Albert Laſki, a Poliſh nobleman of high rank,

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* Cotton Cart. Antiq. xiv. 1. In this pedigree he calls himſelf Johannes Dee, Philoſophus, and makes himſelf couſin to the queen; at the bottom is a ſmall whole length drawing of him in a fur gown.

† One copy of this narrative is among Dr. Dee's MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, and another in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford.

(and I have no doubt of large fortune, or he would not have anſwered their purpoſe,) was admitted into a kind of partnerſhip with them. They pretended to carry on their converſations with ſpirits by means of a ſhow-ſtone, which Dee affirmed was given him by an angel. Kelly was the ſeer, who, when they had finiſhed their invocations, was to report what ſpirits he ſaw, and what they ſaid; whilſt Dee, who ſat at a table, noted all in a book. A folio volume of theſe notes was publiſhed by Caſaubon, and many more remain in MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum. They contain the moſt unintelligible jargon. The conſecrated cakes of wax uſed in theſe ceremonies, marked with hieroglyphics and mathematical figures, are alſo in the Muſeum. The ſhow-ſtone, which is a round piece of volcanic glaſs finely poliſhed, is in the earl of Orford's collection at Strawberry-hill. This farce was carried on for ſome time, till at length the whole party having involved themſelves in debt, they were obliged ſuddenly to quit England. They left Mortlake Sept. 21, 1583; the mob, who had always been prejudiced againſt him as a magician, immediately upon his departure broke into his houſe, and deſtroyed a great part of his furniture and books. Meanwhile Dee and his friends haſtened to Poland, where they flattered themſelves that they ſhould meet with great encouragement through the intereſt of Laſki; but were grievouſly diſappointed in their expectations, and reduced to great diſtreſs. They then bent their courſe to Germany, but the emperor baniſhed them his dominions. At length, in the year 1589, the queen ordered him to return, being then in Bohemia*. On his arrival in England, he waited upon her majeſty at Richmond, and was very graciouſly received. She aſſured him that he might rely upon her protection in the proſecution of his ſtudies. Having been in England three years without reaping any advantage from the promiſe which had been made him, he was induced to preſent a petition to the queen, praying that ſhe would appoint commiſſioners to inquire into the loſſes and injuries which he had ſuſtained, the ſervices he had done her majeſty, and the various diſappointments which he had encountered. In conſequence of this application Sir Thomas Gorge, knt. and Mr. ſecretary Wolley were actually appointed commiſſioners to hear his grievances, and ſat as ſuch at his houſe at Mortlake, Nov. 22, 1592, to whom, ſitting in his library, he related his caſe at large. In the mean time two tables were placed near him; on one of them were the proper vouchers for the facts he aſſerted, to which he conſtantly referred; on the other, all the printed books and MSS. which he had written. Among the ſervices which he had rendered to the queen he reckons ſome conſultations with her majeſty's phyſicians at home, and a journey of 1,500 miles, which he undertook in the winter ſeaſon, to hold a conference with the moſt learned philoſophers on the continent upon the means of reſtoring and preſerving her health. In enumerating his loſſes, he eſtimates the damage ſuſtained in his library * at 390 l. His whole collection, which conſiſted of 4000 books, of which a great part were MSS. he valued at 2000 l. Among the latter he mentions a large collection of deeds and charters relating principally to eſtates in Ireland, which he got out of a ruined church. He ſays, they had been examined by heralds, clerks of the office of records in the Tower, and other antiquaries, who had ſpent whole days at his houſe in looking them over; and had taken away to their liking. His chemical apparatus, which coſt him 200 l. was entirely deſtroyed by the mob, when he left Mortlake in 1583; at the ſame time they beat in pieces a fine quadrant of Chancellor's, which coſt him 20 l. and took away a magnet for which he gave 33 l. Among the many promiſes of preferment which had been made him to ſo little effect, he particularly ſpecifies Dr. Aubrey's benefices in the dioceſe of St. David's, and the maſterſhip of St. Croſs. He concludes with deſiring ſpeedy relief, and gives his reaſons for preferring the maſterſhip of St. Croſs to any other appointment, it being a retired ſituation well adapted for his ſtudies, with a good houſe annexed; whereas his preſent ſituation at Mortlake was too public, and his houſe too ſmall to entertain the foreign literati who reſorted to him. Upon the report of the commiſſioners, "the queen willed the lady Howard to write ſome words of comfort to his wife, and ſend ſome friendly tokens beſides;" ſhe commanded Sir Thomas Gorge to take him 100 marks, and ſaid, "that St. Croſs he ſhould have," and that the incumbent Dr. Bennet might be removed to ſome biſhopric; and aſſigned him a penſion of 200 l. per annum out of the biſhopric of Oxford till it ſhould become vacant. All theſe promiſes, like the former, came to nothing: the maſterſhip of St. Croſs he never got. The next year indeed he was preſented to the chancellorſhip of St. Paul's, but this was by no means adequate to his expectations; and he continued to memorialiſe her majeſty, till at length he procured the wardenſhip of Mancheſter, in 1595 †. Here he continued ſeven

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* The following prayer (taken from Dee's MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum), which is in itſelf a curioſity, will give ſome idea of the diſtreſs to which they were reduced whilſt in Bohemia. It is dated at Prague, 1585:

"We deſire God, of his greate and infinite mercies, to grant us the helpe of his hevenly myniſters, that we may by them be directed how or by whom to be ayded and releaſed in this neceſſitie for meat and drinke for us and for our family, wherewith we ſtand at this inſtant much oppreſſed; and the rather becauſe it might be hurtful to us, and the credit of the actions wherein we are linked and vowed unto his hevenly Majeſty (by the myniſtry and comfort of his holy aungels) to lay ſuch thinges as are the ornament of our howſe and the coveringe of our bodies in pawne, either unto ſuch as are rebels agaynſt his Divine Majeſty, the Jewes, or the people of this cytteye, which are malicious and full of wicked ſlaunder.— I Jane Dee, humbly requeſt this thing of God, acknowledging myſelfe his ſervant and hand-mayden, to whom I commit my body and ſowle. Edward Kelly wrote this for Jane Dee." No. 5007. Ayſcough's Cat.

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* A catalogue of Dr. Dee's library, under the name of Bibliotheca Mortlakienſis, is to be found in the Britiſh Muſeum, in the Harleian Catalogue. There is another copy in the Bodleian Library.

† Biographia Britannica.

years, leading a very unquiet life, and continually engaged in diſputes with the fellows. He returned to Mortlake in 1604. King James at firſt patronized, but was afterwards prejudiced againſt him and his ſtudies; upon which Dee preſented a petition to his majeſty, and another in verſe to the houſe of commons, praying that he might be brought to trial, having been accuſed of calling up evil ſpirits *. Dr. Dee died at Mortlake in the year 1608, having been ſo poor in the latter part of his life as to be obliged to ſell his library piecemeal for ſubſiſtence †. He was buried in the chancel of Mortlake church, where Aubrey ſays, an old marble ſtone was ſhown as belonging to his tomb ‡.

The houſe where Dr. Dee lived is now the property of Richard Godman Temple, eſq. as appears by a ſurvey of Mortlake §, taken A.D. 1617, where it is called an ancient houſe. It was moſt probably built in the reign of Henry VII. An old room ornamented with red and white roſes exiſted a few years ago.

It is the opinion of ſome writers, that Dee was employed by queen Elizabeth as a ſpy ‖; and ſome have gone ſo far as to ſuppoſe that all the notes of his pretended converſations with ſpirits were, in fact, political intelligence, couched in cyphers. As they contain a kind of jargon meaning nothing in itſelf, they might undoubtedly be uſed occaſionally for ſuch purpoſes. Dee himſelf avers in his narrative, that he was taken into the queen's ſervice on her acceſſion to the throne, when ſhe promiſed, that where her brother had given him a crown, ſhe would give him a noble. The inſtances of her majeſty's attention to him were ſtriking and numerous, and certainly prove either that ſhe was indebted to him for real, or that he duped her by magnifying the importance of imaginary ſervices. When he was ſick, the queen ordered her own phyſicians to attend him, "ſent him divers rarities to eat, and the honourable lady Sidney to attend on him, and comfort him with divers ſpeeches from her majeſty pithy and gracious ⸸!" The queen frequently viſited him at his houſe at Mortlake; one day ſhe came on horſeback, and "exhorted him to take his mother's death patiently." Another time, as he deſcribes it himſelf, "ſhe came from Richmond in her coach, the higher way of Mortlake field, and when ſhe came right againſt the church, ſhe turned down (ſays he) towards my houſe, and when ſhe was againſt my garden in the field, her majeſty ſtaid there a good while, and then came into the field at the great gate of the field,

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* Lives of Eminent Cambridge Men, Harleian MSS. Brit. Muſ. 7177.

† Lilly's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, p. 148.

‡ Antiquities of Surrey, vol. i. p. 82.

§ In this ſurvey Mr. Temple's houſe is deſcribed as belonging to the heirs of Bartholomew Brickwood; in the pariſh accounts about the ſame date, the houſe, which is aſſeſſed as Bartholomew Brickwood's, is ſaid lately to have belonged to Mr. Dee.

‖ Lilly, who lived ſoon after Dee, avers poſitively that he was queen Elizabeth's intelligencer. Hiſtory of his Life and Times, p. 146.

⸸ Narrative of his Life, as above, Brit. Muſ.

where her majeſty eſpied me at my door making reverend and dutiful obeyſances to her; and with her hand her majeſty beckoned me to come unto her, and I came to her coach-ſide; her majeſty then very ſpeedily pulled off her glove, and gave me her hand to kiſs; and to be ſhort, her majeſty willed me to reſort oftener to her court, and by ſome of her privy chamber, to give her to weete when I am there *."

Dee was undoubtedly a man of very great reſearch and ſingular learning, as is evident by his various writings both printed and MSS. in almoſt every ſcience. He wrote upon the reformation of the Gregorian calendar; on the mode of propagating the goſpel on the other ſide of the Atlantic; on geography; natural philoſophy, particularly optics; mathematics; metaphyſics; aſtronomy; aſtrology; and the occult ſciences. He wrote an account alſo of his voyage to St. Helena, and a treatiſe on the queen's right to certain foreign countries; and projected a ſcheme for the preſervation of ancient MSS. by eſtabliſhing a general repoſitory, a plan which is in a great meaſure realiſed by that noble national collection at the Britiſh Muſeum. Whether with all his learning he was himſelf the dupe of an enthuſiaſtic imagination, or whether he availed himſelf of his knowledge to dupe others, in an age when all ranks were given to credulity, may perhaps admit of a queſtion. I own I am rather inclined to the latter opinion. As a proof of the ſuperſtition and credulity of the age, it will not be amiſs to mention that Dee was employed to determine, according to the opinion of the ancient aſtrologers, what day would be moſt fortunate for queen Elizabeth's coronation †. Some time afterwards he was ſent for by the lords of the council to counteract the ill effects which it was apprehended would befal the queen from a waxen image of her majeſty ſtuck full of pins, which was picked up in Lincoln's-inn-fields ‡. This we are told he performed "in a godly and artificial manner," in the preſence of the earl of Leiceſter, and Mr. ſecretary Wilſon. Dr. Dee was much connected with the earl, and has been accuſed of being an inſtrument in his nefarious deſigns §. He was much patronized and encouraged by Henry earl of Northumberland ‖, the earl of Oxford, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Sir Henry Sidney, and other great men belonging to the court. So great was his reputation abroad, that he was offered great ſalaries by various foreign princes if he would ſettle in their courts. The emperor of Ruſſia in particular ſent him a rich preſent, with an offer of conveying him and all his family to Peterſburgh, and promiſing to ſettle an annuity of 2000l. per annum upon him, and to grant him the rank of a privy counſellor. Theſe offers, it muſt be obſerved, were made before his laſt unſucceſsful journey to the continent.

Notwithſtanding the queen's patronage, and the various and rich preſents

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* MS. of Dr. Dee's in the Bodleian Library, among Smith's MSS.

† MS. Narrative of his Life.

‡ Ibid.

§ England's Worthies, p. 229.

‖ Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 492. 1ſt ed.

preſents which he was conſtantly in the habit of receiving, his unbounded extravagance kept him always poor. His journey from Bohemia in 1589, which coſt him * near 800 l. will afford ſome idea of his oſtentation. He was attended by a guard of horſe, and travelled with three coaches beſides baggage-waggons. The coaches, with harneſs for 12 horſes, he bought new upon the occaſion. When he arrived in England, he appears not to have been worth a penny, and to have ſubſiſted for the next three years upon the precarious bounty of his friends. During this period he received 500 l. in money, beſides veſſels of wine, whole ſheep, pigs, wheat, ſugar, and other commodities; he ſold his wife's jewels, his own rarities, and whatever could be ſpared out of his houſe; at the end of the three years he was 333 l. in debt. With theſe expenditures, which, according to the preſent value of money, we muſt eſtimate at more than 1000 l. per annum, he tells us, that "with great parſimony uſed, he preſerved himſelf and his family from hunger, ſtarving and nakedneſs †." Dr. Dee carried on his converſation with ſpirits till the year before his death, at which time he ſeems to have applied his pretended art to the diſcovery of hidden treaſure and ſtolen goods ‡, probably of procuring ſome preſent ſubſiſtence from thoſe who were ſilly enough to employ him.

Remarkable Story of one Elizabeth Ruſſel, *From the ſame.*

Extract from the Pariſh Regiſter of Streatham.

"—— RUSSEL, buried April 14, 1772. N. B. This perſon was always known under the guiſe or habit of a woman, and anſwered to the name of Elizabeth, as regiſtered in this pariſh Nov. 21, 1669, but at death proved to be a man." In ſpeaking of this extraordinary perſon, whoſe hiſtory I have taken ſome pains to inquire into, it will be neceſſary, in order to avoid confuſion among the relative pronouns, to make conſtant uſe of the maſculine gender, however oddly it may be ſometimes combined. The various adventures of his life, had they been collected by a contemporary, would have formed a volume as entertaining as thoſe of the celebrated Bampfylde Moore Carew, whom he accompanied in many of his rambles, and from whom probably he firſt took the hint of diſguiſing his ſex to anſwer ſome temporary purpoſe. Upon examining the pariſh regiſter, I find that John Ruſſel had three daughters, and two ſons; William, born in 1668, and Thomas, in 1672; there is little doubt therefore that the perſon here recorded was one of the two; and that when he aſſumed the female dreſs, he aſſumed alſo the name of his ſiſter Elizabeth, who probably either died in her infancy, or ſettled in ſome remote part of the country; under this name, in the year 1770, he applied for a certificate of his baptiſm. He attached himſelf at an early period of life to the gypſies, and being of a rambling diſpoſition viſited moſt parts of the continent as a ſtroller or vagabond. When advanced in years he ſettled at Chipſted in Kent, where he kept a large ſhop. Sometimes he travelled the country with goods, in the character of a married woman, having changed his *maiden* name for that of his huſband who carried the pack, and to his death was his reputed *widow*, being known by the familiar appellation of Bet Page. In the courſe of his travels he attached himſelf much to itinerant phyſicians, learned their noſtrums, and practiſed their art. His long experience gained him the character of a moſt infallible *doctreſs*, to which profeſſion he added that of an aſtrologer, and practiſed both with great profit; yet ſuch was his extravagance, that he died worth ſix ſhillings only. It was a common cuſtom with him to ſpend whatever he had in his pocket, at an alehouſe, where he uſually treated his companions. About twelve months before his death he came to reſide at his native place. His extraordinary age procured him the notice of many of the moſt reſpectable families in the neighbourhood, particularly that of Mr. Thrale, in whoſe kitchen he was frequently entertained. Dr. Johnſon, who found him a ſhrewd ſenſible perſon, with a good memory, was very fond of converſing with him. His faculties indeed were ſo little impaired by age, that a few days before he died, he had planned another ramble, in which his landlord's ſon was to have accompanied him. His death was very ſudden: the ſurprize of the neighbours may be well imagined, upon finding that the perſon, who, as long as the memory of any one then living could reach, had been always eſteemed and reputed to be a woman, was diſcovered to be a man; and the wonder was the greater as he had lived much among women, and had frequently been his landlady's bedfellow when an unexpected lodger came to the houſe. Among other precautions, to prevent the diſcovery of his ſex, he conſtantly wore a cloth tied under his chin; and his neighbours not having the penetration of Sir Hugh Evans, who ſpied Falſtaff's beard through his muffler, the motive was unſuſpected. After his death a large pair of nippers was found in his pocket, with which, it is ſuppoſed, he endeavoured to remove by degrees all tokens of manhood from his face. It may be obſerved, that ſuppoſing him to be the younger ſon of John Ruſſel, he would have been 100 years of age; if we ſuppoſe him to have been the elder, his age would have been 104. He himſelf uſed to aver that he was 108. He had a mixture of the habits and employments of both ſexes; for though he would drink hard with men, whoſe company indeed he chiefly affected, yet he was an excellent *ſempſtreſs*, and celebrated for making a good ſhirt. There was a wildneſs and eccentricity in his general conduct, which frequently bordered on inſanity; and, at leaſt, we may fairly conclude, to uſe a favourite expreſſion of Anthony Wood, the Oxford biographer, that he had "a rambling head, and a crazy pate."

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* MS. Narrative of his Life, as above.

† Ibid.

‡ Dee's Converſations with Spirits, publiſhed by Caſaubon. The laſt conference is dated Mortlake, 1607.

Anecdotes of Alexander Selkirk; *From the fourth vol. of* Sinclair's *Statiſtical Account of* Scotland.

ALEXANDER Selkirk was rendered famous by Monſ. de Foe, under the name of Robinſon Cruſoe. His hiſtory, diveſted of fable, is as follows: He was born in Largo in 1676. Having gone to ſea in his youth, and in the year 1703, being ſailing-maſter of the ſhip Cinque Ports, captain Stradling, bound for the South Seas, he was put on ſhore, on the iſland of Juan Fernandes, as a puniſhment for mutiny. In that ſolitude he remained four years and four months, from which he was at laſt relieved, and brought to England, by captain Woods Rogers. He had with him in the iſland his clothes and bedding, with a firelock, ſome powder, bullets, and tobacco, a hatchet, knife, kettle, his mathematical inſtruments and bible. He built two huts of piemento trees, and covered them with long graſs, and, in a ſhort time, lined them with ſkins of goats, which he killed with his muſket, ſo long as his powder laſted (which at firſt was but a pound); when that was ſpent, he caught them by ſpeed of foot. Having learned to produce fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, he dreſſed his victuals in one of his huts, and ſlept in the other, which was at ſome diſtance from his kitchen. A multitude of rats often diſturbed his repoſe, by gnawing his feet, and other parts of his body, which induced him to feed a number of cats for his protection. In a ſhort time, theſe became ſo tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and ſoon delivered him from the rats, his enemies. Upon his return he declared to his friends, that nothing gave him ſo much uneaſineſs, as the thoughts, that when he died, his body would be devoured by thoſe very cats he had with ſo much care tamed and fed. To divert his mind from ſuch melancholy thoughts, he would ſometimes dance and ſing among his kids and goats, at other times retire to his devotion. His clothes and ſhoes were ſoon worn, by running through the woods. In the want of ſhoes he found little inconvenience, as the ſoles of his feet became ſo hard, that he could run every where without difficulty. As for clothes, he made for himſelf a coat and cap of goats ſkins, ſewed with little thongs of the ſame, cut into proper form with his knife. His only needle was a nail. When his knife was worn to the back, he made others as well as he could, of ſome iron hoops that had been left on ſhore, by beating them thin, and grinding them on ſtones. By his long ſecluſion from intercourſe with men, he had ſo far forgot the uſe of ſpeech, that the people on board captain Rogers's ſhip could ſcarce underſtand him, for he ſeemed to ſpeak his words by halves. The cheſt and muſket which Selkirk had with him on the iſland, are now in the poſſeſſion of his grand-nephew, John Selkirk, weaver in Largo.

Dreſs, manners, and cuſtoms of the Muſcogulges, *members of the* Creek Confederacy. *From* Bartram's *travels through* North *and* South Carolina, *&c.*

THE youth of both ſexes are fond of decorating themſelves with external ornaments.—The men ſhave their head, leaving only a narrow creſt or comb, beginning at the crown of the head, where it is about two inches broad, and about the ſame height, and ſtands frizzed upright; but this creſt tending backwards, gradually widens, covering the hinder part of the head and back of the neck: the lank hair behind is ornamented with pendant ſilver quills, and then jointed or articulated ſilver plates; and uſually the middle faſcicle of hair, being by far the longeſt, is wrapped in a large quill of ſilver, or the joint of a ſmall reed, curiouſly ſculptured and painted; the hair continuing through it, terminates in a tail or taſſel.

Their ears are lacerated, ſeparating the border or cartilaginous limb, which at firſt is bound round very cloſe and tight with leather ſtrings or thongs, and anointed with freſh bear's oil, until healed: a piece of lead being faſtened to it, by its weight extends this cartilage an incredible length, which afterwards being craped, or bound round in braſs or ſilver wire, extends ſemicircularly like a bow or creſcent; and it is then very elaſtic, even ſo as to ſpring and bound about with the leaſt motion or flexure of the body: this is decorated with ſoft white plumes of heron feathers.

A very curious diadem or band, about four inches broad, and ingeniouſly wrought or woven, and curiouſly decorated with ſtones, beads, wampum, porcupine quills, &c. encircles their temples; the front peak of it being embelliſhed with a high waving plume of crane or heron feathers.

The clothing of their body is very ſimple and frugal. Sometimes a ruffled ſhirt of fine linen, next the ſkin, and a flap which covers their lower parts; this garment ſomewhat reſembles the ancient Roman breeches, or the kelt of the Highlanders; it uſually conſiſts of a piece of blue cloth, about eighteen inches wide; this they paſs between their thighs, and both ends being taken up and drawn through a belt round their waiſt, the ends fall down, one before, and the other behind, not quite to the knee; this flap is uſually plaited and indented at the ends, and ornamented with beads, tinſel lace, &c.

The leg is furniſhed with cloth boots; they reach from the ankle to the calf, and are ornamented with lace, beads, ſilver bells, &c.

The ſtillepica or moccaſin defends and adorns the feet; it ſeems to be an imitation of the ancient buſkin or ſandal, very ingeniouſly made of deer-ſkins, dreſſed very ſoft, and curiouſly ornamented according to fancy.

Beſide this attire, they have a large mantle of the fineſt cloth they are able to purchaſe, always either of a ſcarlet or blue colour; this mantle is fancifully decorated with rich lace or fringe round the border, and often with little round ſilver or braſs bells. Some have a ſhort cloak, juſt large enough to cover the ſhoulders and breaſt; this is moſt ingeniouſly conſtructed, of feathers woven or placed in a natural imbricated manner, uſually of the ſcarlet feathers of the flamingo, or others of the gayeſt colour.

They have large ſilver creſcents or gorgets, which being ſuſpended by a ribband round the neck, lie upon the breaſt; and the arms are ornamented with ſilver bands, or bracelets, and ſilver and gold chains, &c. A collar inveſts the neck.

The head, neck, and breaſt, are painted with vermilion, and ſome of the warriors have the ſkin of the breaſt, or muſcular parts of the body, very curiouſly inſcribed, or adorned, with hieroglyphic ſcrolls, flowers, figures of animals, ſtars, creſcents, and the ſun in the centre of the breaſt. This painting of the fleſh, I underſtand, is performed in their youth, by pricking the ſkin with a needle, until the blood ſtarts, and rubbing in a blueiſh tinct, which is as permanent as their life.

The ſhirt hangs looſe about their waiſt like a frock, or ſplit down before, reſembling a gown; and is ſometimes wrapped cloſe, and the waiſt encircled by a curious belt or ſaſh.

The dreſs of the females is ſomewhat different from that of the men: their flap or petticoat is made after a different manner, is larger and longer, reaching almoſt to the middle of the leg, and is put on differently; they have no ſhirt or ſhift, but a little ſhort waiſtcoat, uſually made of callico, printed linen, or fine cloth, decorated with lace, beads, &c. They never wear boots or ſtockings, but their buſkins reach to the middle of the leg. They never cut their hair, but plait it in wreaths, which are turned up, and faſtened on the crown, with a ſilver broach, forming a wreathed top-knot, decorated with an incredible quantity of ſilk ribbands, of various colours, which ſtream down on every ſide almoſt to the ground.—They never paint, except thoſe of a particular claſs, when diſpoſed to grant certain favours to the other ſex.

But theſe decorations are only to be conſidered as indulgencies on particular occaſions, and the privilege of youth; as at weddings, feſtivals, dances, &c. or when the men aſſemble to act the war farce, on the evening immediately preceding their march on a hoſtile expedition: for uſually they are almoſt naked, contenting themſelves with the flap and ſometimes a ſhirt, boots, and moccaſins. The mantle is ſeldom worn by the men, except at night, in the winter ſeaſon, when extremely cold; and by the women at dances, when it ſerves the purpoſe of a veil; and the females always wear the jacket flap and buſkin, even children as ſoon or before they can walk; whereas the male youth go perfectly naked until they are twelve or fifteen years of age.

The junior prieſts or ſtudents conſtantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl ſkin caſed and ſtuffed very ingeniouſly, ſo well executed, as almoſt to repreſent the living bird, having large ſparkling glaſs beads, or buttons, fixed in the head for eyes: this enſign of wiſdom and divination they wear ſometimes as a creſt on the top of the head, at other times the image ſits on the arm, or is borne on the hand.—Theſe bachelors are always diſtinguiſhable from the other people, by their taciturnity, grave and ſolemn countenance, dignified ſtep, and ſinging to themſelves ſongs or hymns, in a low ſweet voice, as they ſtroll about the towns.

Theſe people, like other nations, are fond of muſic and dancing: their muſic is both vocal and inſtrumental; but of the latter they have ſcarcely any thing worth the name; the tambour, rattle-gourd, and a kind of flute, made of a joint of reed, or the tibia of the deer's leg: on this inſtrument they perform badly, and at beſt it is rather a hideous

deous melancholy diſcord, than harmony. It is only young fellows who amuſe themſelves on this howling inſtrument; but the tambour and rattle, accompanied with their ſweet low voices, produce a pathetic harmony, keeping exact time together; and the countenance of the muſician, at proper times, ſeems to expreſs the ſolemn elevated ſtate of the mind: at that time there ſeems not only a harmony between him and his inſtrument, but it inſtantly touches the feelings of the attentive audience, as the influence of an active and powerful ſpirit; there is then an united univerſal ſenſation of delight, and peaceful union of ſouls throughout the aſſembly.

Their muſic, vocal and inſtrumental, united, keeps exact time with the performers or dancers.

They have an endleſs variety of ſteps, but the moſt common, and that which I term the moſt civil, and indeed the moſt admired and practiſed among themſelves, is a ſlow ſhuffling alternate ſtep; both feet move forward one after the other, firſt the right foot foremoſt, and next the left, moving one after the other, in oppoſite circles, *i. e.* firſt a circle of young men, and within a circle of young women, moving together oppoſite ways, the men with the courſe of the ſun, and the females contrary to it; the men ſtrike their arm with the open hand, and the girls clap hands, and raiſe their ſhrill ſweet voices, anſwering an elevated ſhout of the men at ſtated times of termination of the ſtanzas; and the girls perform an interlude or chorus ſeparately.

To accompany their dances they have ſongs, of different claſſes, as martial, bacchanalian, and amorous; which laſt, I muſt confeſs, are extravagantly libidinous; and they have moral ſongs, which ſeem to be the moſt eſteemed and practiſed; and anſwer the purpoſe of religious lectures.

Some of their moſt favourite ſongs and dances they have from their enemies, the Chactaws; for it ſeems theſe people are very eminent for poetry and muſic; every town amongſt them ſtrives to excel each other in compoſing new ſongs for dances; and, by a cuſtom amongſt them, they muſt have at leaſt one new ſong for exhibition at every annual buſk.

They have a variety of games for exerciſe and paſtime; ſome particular to the men, ſome to the female ſex, and others wherein both ſexes are engaged.

The ball-play is eſteemed the moſt noble and manly exerciſe. This game is exhibited in an extenſive level plain, uſually contiguous to the town: the inhabitants of one town play againſt another, in conſequence of a challenge, when the youth of both ſexes are often engaged, and ſometimes ſtake their whole ſubſtance. Here they perform amazing feats of ſtrength and agility. The game principally conſiſts in taking and carrying off the ball from the oppoſite party, after being hurled into the air, midway between two high pillars, which are the goals, and the party who bears off the ball to their pillar wins the game; each perſon has a racquet or hurl, which is an implement of a very curious conſtruction, ſomewhat reſembling a ladle or little hoop-net, with a handle near three feet in length, the hoop and handle of wood, and the netting of thongs of raw hide, or tendons of an animal.

The foot-ball is likewiſe a favourite, manly diverſion with them. Feaſting and dancing in the ſquare at evening ends all their games.

They have beſides, feaſts or feſtivals almoſt for every month in the year, which are chiefly dedicated to hunting and agriculture.

The buſk, or feaſt of firſt-fruits, is their principal feſtival; this ſeems to end the laſt, and begin the new year.

It commences in Auguſt, when their new crops of corn are arrived to perfect maturity: and every town celebrates the buſk ſeparately, when their own harveſt is ready.

If they have any religious rite or ceremony, this feſtival is its moſt ſolemn celebration.

When a town celebrates the buſk, having previouſly provided themſelves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other houſehold utenſils and furniture, they collect all their worn-out cloaths, and other deſpicable things, ſweep and cleanſe their houſes, ſquares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old proviſions, they caſt together into one common heap, and conſume it with fire. After having taken medicine, and faſted for three days, all the fire in the town is extinguiſhed. During this faſt they abſtain from the gratification of every appetite and paſſion whatever. A general amneſty is proclaimed, all malefactors may return to their town, and they are abſolved from their crimes, which are now forgotten, and they reſtored to favour.

On the fourth morning, the high-prieſt, by rubbing dry wood together, produces new fire in the public ſquare, from whence every habitation in the town is ſupplied with the new and pure flame.

Then the women go forth to the harveſt field, and bring from thence new corn and fruits, which being prepared in the beſt manner, in various diſhes, and drink withal, is brought with ſolemnity to the ſquare, where the people are aſſembled, apparelled in their new clothes and decorations. The women and children ſolace themſelves in their ſeparate families, and in the evening repair to the public ſquare, where they dance, ſing, and rejoice during the whole night, obſerving a proper and exemplary decorum: this continues three days, and the four following days they receive viſits, and rejoice with their friends from neighbouring towns, who have purified and prepared themſelves.

Character and manners of the Natives of Madagaſcar. *From the third vol. of* Pagès' *Travels round the World.*

FROM the hair, complexion, and make of the natives, I conceive them to be deſcended from different races of men. Some are ſhort and remarkably thick ſet in their perſons, with lank, ſmooth hair, and an olive complexion: they have a ſtrong reſemblance to the Malay Indians; nor indeed do I regard them as originally ſprung from the aborigines of Madagaſcar. Some are tall and well-proportioned; have criſped locks, large and beautiful eyes, an eaſy carriage, and an open and unreſerved countenance; and this claſs I ſhould eſteem the true poſterity of the primitive inhabitants: their colour is nearly black, and differs but little from that of the natives on the Malabar coaſt.

In their diſpoſition they are lively and obliging, but wholly deſtitute of genius; vain, whimſical, intereſted; dexterous in the uſe and application of their bodily faculties, but without the powers of combination; and in the general conduct of life, light, precipitate, and incapable of proſecuting in their minds any thing like principle or ſyſtem. They ſeem to have no title to what we call a decided character; good qualities they certainly poſſeſs, as well as bad, and hence I would claſs them with that deſcription of men, who, though of a weak mind, are yet found to inherit a conſiderable portion of wit and vivacity. But as they have few wants to be ſupplied, and fewer diſtinctions to promote rivalſhip, or ſentiments of emulation, their weakneſſes are rarely felt; while their virtues are of daily uſe, and operate habitually in the ordinary commerce of life. In emergencies, I mean ſituations of public danger, they might be miſtaken for a people collected, ſyſtematic, and brave; but the reſult of their conduct never correſponds to theſe pretenſions, unleſs the danger is of the greateſt urgency, and requires to be repelled with the utmoſt promptitude.

They wear an apron at the girdle, and ſomething of the ſame kind on the ſhoulders, with a bonnet conſtructed like an umbrella. The hair is combed into ſmall treſſes, and the beard is permitted to grow only on the chin.

The men are little addicted to agriculture, and are more inclined to look after their cattle, which roam in the woods. They conſtruct war-canoes, as well as canoes for the ordinary buſineſs of life. The latter are very ſmall, and navigated only with the oar; but the former, which are the property of the chief, are much larger, and have a ſort of rigging. Some of them carry a hundred men, and are in condition to ſail round the iſland.

The women have expreſſive faces, are in general of the middle ſize, though many of them are diminutively ſhort; and although I ſaw but few of them ugly, I cannot rank them either with the handſome or pretty part of the ſex. They have a long apron tied round the waiſt, with a kind of under-waiſtcoat, which barely covers the breaſts. They frequently wear, by way of ornament, a large plate of ſilver, of a circular form, and ſurpriſingly well manufactured. A number of ſmall ſilver chains are thrown round the neck, and fall down upon the boſom. The hair appears in a multitude of little treſſes, dangling over the forehead, or on the corner of the eye; or turned up in the form of a creſcent, or perhaps *à la grecque*, according to the particular fancy or taſte of the individual.

The women, beſides cultivating fields of rice, corn, and other ſorts of grain, are employed in planting trees and roots, particularly the caſſava, or Madagaſcar bread-tree, potatoes, and the banana or plantain. The leaves of the tree named rafia, by a particular treatment, are made to ſupply them with thread; and of theſe materials, dyed of various colours, they manufacture a ſpecies of cloth, which is woolly, and affords a very handſome article of dreſs. They are capricious enough, however, to give a preference to the cotton ſtuffs imported by Europeans from the continent, though of leſs value than their own. Every family is provided with a loom, and carries on a manufacture equal to its own conſumption. From the leaves of a tree, named *vacoua*, they procure materials for mats, bonnets, bags, and other uſeful articles.

Their common food conſiſts of rice, bananas, and dried fiſh; they conſume very little either of freſh meat, or freſh fiſh; their drink is rice-water, or the juice of the ſugar-cane, fermented with pimento and muſtard.

The houſes are ſmall, and in a very aukward ſtile of building. The walls are formed of bull-ruſhes, and the roof covered with plantain leaves. The principal part of the timber work conſiſts of maſſy pieces of wood, while the reſt is of bamboo, very rudely and clumſily executed. The floor is laid with the pith of the palm, or ſome other tree, and in many inſtances is conſiderably raiſed above the level of the ground, to avoid the exhalations of the ſoil. Houſes thus conſtructed, beſides tending to preſerve the health of the inhabitants, eſpecially during the rainy months, guard them from the annoyance of ſerpents and different ſpecies of inſects.

Although the natives have no regular form of religious worſhip, yet they adore one ſupreme being, as the patron of juſtice and goodneſs, who will judge men after death, and reward or puniſh them according to the merit or demerit of their actions. The rite of circumciſion is performed upon males between the ſeventh and eighth year of their age; unleſs delayed in order that the company may be more numerous, and the ceremony have a greater degree of celebrity. The day of circumciſion is ſolemnized in families with much joy and feſtivity, and concludes with the ſingular cuſtom of firing from a muſket the foreſkin of the patient.

They believe alſo in a devil or evil being; and upon this article of their creed is founded the craft of the Panſaret or Magician, who being ſuppoſed to defeat or control the machinations of the inviſible enemy, practiſes a thouſand tricks on the credulity of the multitude: few Indians indeed of good ſenſe give credit to the virtue of his inchantments; but the more ignorant and ſuperſtitious, who always compoſe the largeſt portion of the people, ſuffer themſelves to be miſerably duped by his fraud and impoſition. Amulets of a ſpecies of wood, ſuſpended round the neck, or preſerved in a little bag, are ſuppoſed to ſecure the poſſeſſor againſt wounds and the diſaſters of war. A ſhrimp or toad, applied with words of incantation to the head of a perſon afflicted by diſeaſe, is expected to reſtore the patient to his wonted health. Expoſing the ſick in a hut of a certain elevation, open towards the eaſt, from which is let fly an aſſemblage of party-coloured threads, is a ſovereign remedy in the moſt deſperate caſes. A cure is ſometimes effected by only painting the poſts or pillars of the patient's houſe of different colours. Perfumes mix in abundance in all the arts and inchantments of the magician. Madagaſcar, laſtly, preſents the traveller with many other abſurd obſervances, of which it may be difficult to trace the origin, but which in general ſeem to be the barbarous veſtiges of religious notions, indiſtinctly tranſmitted to the people from their Aſiatic neighbours: the rite of circumciſion, the common uſe of perfumes, and a profound veneration for the quarter of the Eaſt, are evidently the remains of religious ſyſtems of the higheſt antiquity.

But the moſt horrid part of their ſuperſtition conſiſts in this. When an infant has the misfortune to drop into the world on a day eſteemed unlucky, or of bad omen, by the Panſaret, he is expoſed or ſuffered to die of want, or to be devoured by wild beaſts. I never was an eye witneſs to this enormity; but have heard the exiſtence of it aſſerted by ſo many perſons of credit, that I am obliged to believe the practice to be but too frequent.

The natives are accuſtomed to hunt the whale all along their coaſt; and having been fortunate enough to ſtrike him with the harpoon, they wait till his ſtrength is nearly exhauſted, when they haul him towards the ſhore. The women, who by this time are aſſembled on the beach, raiſe ſongs of praiſe in honour of him who had the merit of giving the firſt wound. The chorus having withdrawn, the whale is dragged as near as poſſible to land, and ſurrounded by all the men of the village, when the public orator advances, and having pronounced a long oration on the pre-eminence and excellent qualities of the fiſh, the whale is cut up, and affords an immediate repaſt to the company.

The ſmalleſt matter of diſpute which happens to occur between the natives of Madagaſcar and the Europeans, or, indeed, between Indians of different tribes, receives a formal diſcuſſion in the *palaver*, or council of the tribe. Here they affect to conſider the ſubject before them very minutely, in its origin and probable conſequences. All the alliances, as well as diſputes, that have at any time ſubſiſted between them and the oppoſite party, are brought under review. Much time is ſpent in weighing the arguments of the ſpeakers on both ſides, and in general the ſeſſions of the palaver are ſpun out to a very tedious length before they can come to a deciſion. Such are the mighty pretenſions of the natives to talents for deliberation; pretenſions which, were they as ſolid as they are vain and affected, would ſerve to diſcredit the account I have already given of their character. But the fact is, the inhabitants of Madagaſcar are a people of a weak intellect, and far from being qualified by a ſound underſtanding to avail themſelves of maxims, drawn from experience, in conſidering the contingencies of futurity. Beſides, as the country is divided into many ſmall and independent ſtates, mutually diſpoſed to humble and depreſs each other, the intereſts of any individual community are very much involved, inſomuch that it is often difficult to ſay what is the line of conduct it ought in good policy to purſue. But their chief misfortune, as politicians and men of buſineſs, originates in the verſatility of their own minds; things of a trivial nature, ſuch as a ſmall preſent advantage, are ſufficient to unhinge their judgment, and to impede the execution of even their graveſt reſolves.

Property in this iſland conſiſts of cattle, grain, and ſlaves of the ſame nation with their maſters. Every perſon who has the misfortune to be made a priſoner of war, man, woman, or child, is reduced to the condition of ſlavery, and from that moment is regarded by his own kindred as an object of contempt.

Their arms conſiſt of a ſhield, and the *ſagay*, a ſpecies of lance, which they have the art of throwing with peculiar addreſs. They are tolerably well provided with muſkets, which they have purchaſed from the French, and in the management of which ſome of the natives are not unſkilful. A few of the petty princes have obtained ſwivel guns from the ſame quarter; and I am told the chief of Foulpoint is in condition to bring cannon into the field, affording an example of that infatuated avarice ſo notorious in the character of a French merchant.

The reſidence of the chief is within a fort or ſtocade, conſiſting of three rows of large trees, fixed in the ground ſo cloſe as almoſt to exclude the light. The outer row is about fifteen feet high, the next nine, and the laſt or innermoſt at leaſt ſix. The three rows, having ſcarcely any ſpace between them, form one compact maſs of timbers, all mutually ſtrengthening and ſupporting one another. They are faſtened together at the top by a croſs beam, ſtretching along a groove, common to all the ſtakes in the paling, and extending the whole breadth of the fort. The gate is extremely narrow, being intended to admit one perſon only in front; the door, compoſed of a number of ſmall ſtakes, rolls at the top on a tranſverſe axis, and is capable of being pulled up, and let down, in the manner of a portcullis, as occaſion may require. A double door is not unfrequent, which is incloſed in a caſe or frame, conſiſting likewiſe of ſtakes. Their forts in general are nothing more than ſimple paliſades, conſtructed in the form of an oblong ſquare; though ſome of them have the advantage of baſtions, and galleries, with openings, for the purpoſe of reconnoitring.

On the eve of war, the women, children, and cattle, retreat to the woods, and remain in concealment till the iſſue of the campaign. The village is then occupied only by the men, who, previouſly to an act of hoſtilities, ſacrifice an ox. An Indian, diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence, then riſes, and makes a long harangue on the arrogance and injuſtice of the enemy; his countrymen meanwhile dipping their ſagays in the blood of the victim. The carcaſe is now cut in pieces, with the ſkin, and diſtributed among the by-ſtanders, who inſtantly begin to devour each man his allowance with a horrid voracity; a ceremony ſufficiently deſcriptive of thoſe ferocious ſentiments with which they proceed to vindicate their rights, or avenge their wrongs. On this occaſion a ſtranger muſt not preſume to dip his lance in the blood, or to ſhare in the warlike entertainment, unleſs he is the reputed ally of the tribe; but touching the point of his ſagay with the point of theirs, ratifies his title to their alliance.

Their operations in the field are of a very deſultory deſcription, conſiſting chiefly in teazing and haraſſing the enemy, or in attempting to ſurpriſe him, diſadvantageouſly poſted, in the night. If they have reaſon to imagine that the enemy is off his guard, or little prepared for the defence of his fort, they form a blockade round it, and endeavour by a *coup-de-main* to make the chief a priſoner of war: ſhould they have the good fortune to ſucceed, they plunder his village, drive off his cattle, and enſlave his vaſſals; but ſeldom or never come to any thing like a regular engagement.

In ſituations where it is deemed ſufficient to remain on the defenſive, they ſhew conſiderable vigilance and addreſs in the uſe of advanced poſts, ſentinels, and above all, ſpies, who are conſtantly buſy in reconnoitring the ground and motions of the enemy. An example of this ſort fell under my obſervation at Mahanlevou. The chief of that ſeigniory, hearing that diſturbances were breaking out in the country, began to conſult his ſafety, by demoliſhing ſuch houſes in the vicinity of his palliſade as obſtructed his view. He fortified the mouth of his river by throwing up a mound of earth, and placing his fuſileers in ambuſcade in the ditch. On the top of the mound he laid a large plank of wood, pierced like a hay-rack, through the apertures of which they paſſed the barrels of their fire-locks. Heaps of graſs were ſo diſpoſed in front of the work, as to make it difficult to diſcover this maſked battery at the diſtance of a piſtol ſhot; while thoſe charged with its defence were wholly covered from the fire of the enemy. The chief never gives audience to an ambaſſador, till he has been previouſly informed by his ſentinels of the general nature and import of the embaſſy. Should the ambaſſador's inſtructions be deemed ſatisfactory, the chief makes his appearance, and admits him to an interview at ſome diſtance from the fort. He comes up and accoſts his excellency with a noble, manly, and ſedate mien; but on no occaſion whatever does he permit him to enter the gate of his palliſade.

The natives of Madagaſcar are ſuſceptible of very violent enmities, and ſometimes execute on their devoted objects the moſt deliberate cruelties. I ſaw a chief dreſſed in a necklace formed of the teeth of a rival whom he had ſlain in battle. A man of the ſame quality having captured a daughter and couſin of an obnoxious neighbour, ordered them into his preſence, and in cold blood, with a ſingle ſtroke of his lance, killed the former, diſmiſſing her companion to carry home the diſmal news to the parent; and to aſſure him at the ſame time, that he, and every ſoul under his roof, ſhould ſooner or later experience his vengeance, in a ſimilar manner.

I am doubtful, whether the ſenſibility natural to a man in an uncultivated or ſavage ſtate, when greatly exaſperated or provoked, with all the angry and unſocial paſſions in full poſſeſſion of him, may not act as an incentive to the cruelty of his revenge. How often has the ſavage of America, from the impulſe of natural goodneſs, welcomed me to his hut, and refreſhed me with the wild animal, which, with the ſweat of his brow, he had killed in the deſart; while in the mean time the ſcalp of an enemy hung dangling round his neck, and imparted to his ordinary beverage a delicious flavour! The New Zealander ſates his appetite with the quivering limbs of a gueſt, who, from folly or ingratitude, rouſes him into a paroxiſm of rage. The native of Madagaſcar, while he lives and aſſociates with a ſtranger as with a brother, may with great compoſure be ſeen pulling out the teeth of a man whom he ſlew in his anger: theſe are the ſpoils which at once ſoothe his rage and adorn his perſon; nor can a more deſirable object preſent itſelf to his ſenſes, than the tears and anguiſh of thoſe who were united by the moſt tender affection to the fortunes of his victim.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Experiments on the Production of Light from different Bodies by Heat and Attrition; *by* Mr. Thomas Wedgwood. *From the Firſt Part of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

BEFORE I begin to ſtate the experiments which are the ſubject of this paper, it may not perhaps be improper to give a very compendious hiſtory of the diſcoveries which have already been made relative to phoſphoric bodies; omitting, however, the electrical phoſphori, and ſuch as are evidently conſumed or decompoſed in the emiſſion of their light, as theſe are well known, and are too numerous and important to be ſlightly noticed.

Pliny was well acquainted with the luminous appearance of rotten wood, and of the eyes of dead fiſh. From this time I find nothing relative to the phoſphoriſm of bodies, till the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when Benvenuto Cellini, in his Art of Jewellery, mentions his having ſeen a carbuncle ſhine in the dark like coals nearly burnt out; and relates a ſtory of a coloured carbuncle having been found in a vineyard near Rome, by its ſhining in the night. About the year 1639, Vincenzo Caſcariolo, of Bologna, diſcovered, by accident, that when a certain ſtone found in that neighbourhood was calcined in a particular manner, it acquired the remarkable property of abſorbing the light of the ſun, of retaining it for ſome time, and of emitting it in the dark: ſubſequent experimenters found it to do the ſame with the light of a candle. In 1663, Mr. Boyle obſerved a particular diamond to give out a light almoſt equal to that of a glow-worm, when heated, rubbed, or preſſed; and inveſtigated very fully the nature of the light of dead fiſh, fleſh meat, and rotten wood. In 1677, Baldwin of Miſnia diſcovered, in the reſiduum of a diſtillation of chalk and nitrous acid, a phoſphorus ſimilar in its properties to the Bolognian, but not poſſeſſing the phoſphoric virtue in ſo eminent a degree. In 1705, Mr. Francis Hawkeſbee found that glaſs rubbed on glaſs, in common air, in the vacuum of an air-pump, or under water, "exhibited a conſiderable light." In 1724, M. du Fay diſcovered that almoſt all ſubſtances which could be reduced to a calx by fire only, or after ſolution in the nitrous acid, abſorbed and emitted light like the phoſphorus of Caſcariolo and of Baldwin; and that ſome diamonds, emeralds, and many other precious ſtones, emitted light in the dark, after being expoſed to the rays of the ſun. About the ſame time, Beccaria of Turin found almoſt every body in nature to be luminous after a ſimilar expoſure;

he added, too, this very important diſcovery; that an artificial phoſphorus, expoſed to the light in a coloured glaſs vial, emits, in the dark, rays of the identical colour of the vial. Mr. Margraaf, by an analyſis of the Bolognian ſtone, ſhews that it contains vitriolic acid united to calcareous earth, and that all gypſeous ſtones treated like the Bolognian, provided they are pure from iron, become phoſphoreſcent. About the year 1764, Mr. Canton made a phoſphorus of ſulphur and oyſter-ſhells calcined together, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many curious experiments made with it. He found that his phoſphorus might be made to ſhine by heating it, after it had ceaſed to be luminous of itſelf, but that the ſame heat would have this effect for a certain time only. Heat has been obſerved by ſeveral of theſe philoſophers to promote the emiſſion, and to ſhorten the duration, of the light of phoſphori. Fluor has been long known to give a fine bright light when heated. D. Hoffman diſcovered that red blende and feldſpat were luminous when pieces of either were rubbed together. Pott extended this diſcovery to all pure flints and cryſtals, and to porcelain. Keyſler found glacies mariæ to be luminous when heated. M. de la Metherie has obſerved ſome neutral ſalts and calcareous earths to be luminous in the ſame way. The Count de Razoumowſki, in a Memoir of the Phyſical Society of Lauſanne, ſhews that quartz and glaſs give out light, when ſtruck by almoſt any hard body, and that ſome few other bodies are luminous, when pieces of the ſame kind are rubbed upon one another: he finds quartz to give out its light under water.

This brief account includes, as far as I am able to collect, the chief diſcoveries which have been made concerning luminous bodies. I was led to make the following experiments from obſerving the light which proceeds from two quartz pebbles rubbed againſt each other: I ſearched for this property in many other bodies with ſucceſs, but met with two ſoft ſtones, which did not afford any light upon the moſt violent attrition. Conceiving that heat might probably be the cauſe of the light emitted by quartz from attrition, I attributed this failure to a want of ſufficient hardneſs in theſe friable ſtones for producing the neceſſary heat. Accordingly, ſprinkling ſome of their powder on a plate of iron nearly red hot, I had the ſatisfaction to obſerve it emitting a conſiderable light. Extending this mode of trial, I found that the phoſphoriſm of almoſt all bodies might be made apparent either by heat or by attrition; I ſhall therefore divide the ſubject of this paper into two parts: I. On the light produced by heat.—II. On the light produced by attrition.

I.

The beſt general method of producing the light by heat is, to reduce the body to a moderately fine powder, and to ſprinkle it, by ſmall portions at a time, on a thick plate of iron, or maſs of burnt luting made of ſand and clay, heated juſt below viſible redneſs, and removed into a perfectly dark place.

The following is a liſt of ſuch bodies as I have found to be luminous by this treatment, arranged according to the apparent intenſity of their light.

1. Blue fluor, from Derbyſhire, giving out a fetid ſmell on attrition.
2. Black and grey marbles, and fetid white marbles, from Derbyſhire.
Common blue fluor, from Derbyſhire.
Red feldſpat, from Saxony.
3. Diamond.
Oriental ruby.
Aerated barytes, from Chorley, in Lancaſhire.
Common whiting.
Iceland ſpar.
Sea ſhells.
Moorſtone, from Cornwall.
White fluor, from Derbyſhire.
4. Pure calcareous earth, precipitated from an acid ſolution.
—— argillaceous earth (of alum).
—— ſilicious earth.
—— new earth, from Sydney Cove.
Common magneſia.
Vitriolated barytes, from Scotland.
Steatites, from Cornwall.
Alabaſter.
Porcelain clay of Cornwall.
Mother of pearl.
Black flint.
Hard white marble.
Rock cryſtal, from the Eaſt Indies.
White quartz.
Porcelain.
Common earthen ware.
Whinſtone.
Emery.
Coal aſhes.
Sea ſand.
5. Gold, platina, ſilver, copper, iron, lead, tin, biſmuth, cobalt, zink.
Precipitates by an alkali from acid ſolutions of gold, ſilver, copper, iron, zink, biſmuth, tin, lead, cobalt, mercury, antimony, manganeſe.
Vitriolated tartar,
Cryſtals of tartar,
Borax,
Alum, } previouſly exſiccated.
Sea coal.
White paper,
—— linen,
—— woollen, } in ſmall pieces.
—— hair-powder.
Deal ſaw-duſt.
Rotten wood (not otherwiſe luminous).
White aſbeſtos.
Red irony mica.
Deep red porcelain.
6. Antimony, nickel.
Oils, lamp, linſeed, and olive,
White wax,
Spermaceti,
Butter, } luminous at and below boiling.

The duration of the light thus produced from different bodies is very unequal; in ſome the light is almoſt momentary, in others it laſts for ſome minutes, and may be prolonged by ſtirring the powder on the heater. It ſoon attains its greateſt brightneſs, and dies away gradually from that point; never appearing in a ſudden flaſh, like the light of quartz pebbles rubbed together. If blown upon, it is ſuddenly extinguiſhed, but immediately re-appears on diſcontinuing the blaſt.

The light of bodies is, in general, uncoloured; there are, however, ſome exceptions. Blue fluor, of that kind which gives out a fetid ſmell when rubbed, firſt emits a bright green light, reſembling that of the glow-worm ſo exactly, that when placed by the inſect juſt as it has attained its greateſt brightneſs, there is no ſenſible difference in the two lights, either of colour or intenſity. This bright green quickly changes into a beautiful lilac, which gradually fades away. Fetid marbles, and ſome kinds of chalk, give a bright reddiſh or orange light; pure calcareous earth, a bluiſh white light; Corniſh moorſtone emits a fine blue light; powder of ruby gives a beautiful red light, of ſhort continuance.

The moſt phoſphoreſcent marble is ſoft and friable, of a coarſe cryſtallized grain, and a fetid odour when rubbed; black and grey marbles are generally more luminous than the white. Moſt of the common white marbles are hard, and of a fine grain, and they are not very luminous, nor is their light of an orange colour. Different chalks vary as much as different marbles, in the intenſity and colour of their light, when no difference of external ſtructure is perceptible. The moſt phoſphoreſcent chalk loſes the brilliancy and redneſs of its light by being diſſolved in an acid, and precipitated by cauſtic fixed vegetable alkali—by being combined with vitriolic or fluor acid—by calcination by heat, or being combined with the aerial acid in the pellicle formed on the ſurface of lime-water. Marble would probably be affected in a ſimilar manner. The moſt phoſphoreſcent blue fluor gives the ſame light after being united to the vitriolic acid; though gypſum is far leſs luminous than fluor, and its light is colourleſs. Argil precipated from alum by an alkali, and magneſia, when combined with fluor acid, give out the ſame light as before.

Bodies emit their light when immerſed in boiling acid of vitriol, or in boiling oils; ſmall lumps of fluor or of marble make a ſingular appearance in the acid, as they are moved up and down by its action, and rendered brightly luminous by the heat: they ſeem equally luminous in pure, fixed, inflammable, or atmoſpheric air.

Feldſpat, the fetid fluor, and probably all phoſphoreſcent bodies, dropt, in moderately fine powder, into a flaſk containing a ſmall quantity of boiling oil at the bottom, emit a copious flaſh of light as ſoon as the powder touches the ſurface of the oil; when the particles of the body have lain at the bottom of the heated fluid for about a minute, they become but faintly luminous; if the flaſk be then agitated ſo as to raiſe ſome of theſe particles out of the oil, and lodge them on its ſides, they ſuddenly rekindle into the ſame brightneſs as at firſt, and preſerve this re-aſſumed luſtre for ſome time; and even after being again waſhed down into the oil, they may be readily diſtinguiſhed from the particles which have remained at the bottom. This experiment is extremely beautiful, and is not at all obſtructed by the faint light of the oil; it ſucceeds beſt with the ſtinking blue fluor of Derbyſhire.

Powdered marble, and probably every other body, when ſpread upon the heater, in the receiver of an air-pump, is equally luminous during the exhauſtion and re-admiſſion of the air.

Bodies are by far moſt luminous the firſt time they are heated, but cannot, perhaps, be entirely deprived of this property by any number of heatings, nor by any degree of heat. Chalk, fluor, and feldſpat, give out a very faint light on the heater, after having been expoſed to a ſmart red heat in an open crucible, in ſmall quantities, and kept frequently ſtirred for ſeveral hours; the feldſpat was equally luminous when laid hot upon the heater, or firſt cooled, and then laid on. Chalk and fluor were not tried in this particular. A bit of glaſs, melted in a heat of 120° of my father's thermometer, and as ſoon as it is cold reduced to powder, gives out light on being thrown upon the heater below redneſs.

Quartz, from the ſame original piece, is equally luminous when the *powder* is directly thrown upon the heater—when it is previouſly made red hot, and then cooled and thrown on—or when a *fragment of ſome ſize* has been made red hot, then pounded and thrown on.

For the moſt part, the ſofteſt bodies require the leaſt heat to become luminous; marble, chalk, fluor, &c. give a faint light when ſprinkled on melted tin juſt becoming ſolid. As the temperature of the heater is raiſed, they continue to give out more and more light.

Vitriols of iron, copper, and zink, previouſly exſiccated, when thrown on earthen ware or metal made nearly red hot, give minute flaſhes of light of momentary duration, ſuch as appear from ſome of the metallic precipitates, particularly zink, on a ſimilar treatment; with this difference, however, that the light of moſt of the precipitates is of a reddiſh hue.

The light of the metals is white, and exactly ſimilar to that of ſome earths.

White paper, when dipped in a ſolution of ſal ammoniac, and ſlowly dried, becomes black upon the heater, and then gives out much leſs light than common paper.

If a lump, of the ſize of a ſmall bean, of fluor, marble, feldſpat, or any of the moſt phoſphoreſcent bodies, be laid upon the heater, the light proceeds gradually upwards from the part in contact with the heater, till the whole maſs is thoroughly illuminated; if the ſame piece be heated a ſecond time, it is much leſs luminous; nor, if it be broken, are the fragments at all more luminous, either then, or after having been expoſed for a month to the light and ſunſhine.

A little boiling oil at the bottom of a glaſs flaſk, when agitated in the dark, illuminates the whole of the flaſk. The light of boiling oils proceeds, probably, from ſome kind of inflammation, as it is ſcarcely diſcernible unleſs the veſſel be agitated; and, if a little oil be thinly ſpread on the heater, a ſubtle lambent flame, of a bluiſh hue, inſtantly ariſes. The ſame thing takes place if horn, bone, hair, ſaliva, or any animal matter be laid upon the heater.

II.

The experiments on the light produced from different bodies by attrition, were chiefly made by rubbing in the dark two pieces of the ſame kind againſt each other: all that I tried, with a very few exceptions, were luminous by this treatment. The following is a liſt of them, arranged in the order of the apparent intenſity of their light; and as the lights are either white, or ſome ſhade of red, I have affixed figures to denote theſe differences; (0) denoting a pure white light; (1), the fainteſt tinge of red, or flame colour; (2), a deeper ſhade of red; (3) and (4), ſtill deeper ſhades.

1. Colourleſs, tranſparent, oriental rock cryſtal; and ſilicious cryſtals (0).
2. Diamond (0).
3. White quartz; white ſemitranſparent agate (1).
4. White agate, more opake (2).
   Semitranſparent feldſpat, from Scotland (2).
   Brown opake feldſpat, from Saxony (4).
   Chert of a duſky white, from North Wales (3).
5. Oriental ruby (4).
6. Topaz; oriental ſapphire (0).
7. Agate, deep coloured, brown and opake (4).
8. Clear blackiſh gun-flint (2).
9. Tawney ſemitranſparent flint (3).
10. Unglazed white biſcuit earthen ware (4).
11. Fine white porcelain (2).
12. Clear, blackiſh gun-flint, made opake by heat (3).
13. Flint glaſs (0).
14. Plate glaſs; green bottle glaſs (0).
15. Fine hard loaf ſugar (0).
16. Moorſtone, from Cornwall (1).
    Corune, ſemitranſparent, from the Eaſt Indies (1).
17. Iceland ſpar (0).
18. White enamel (2); tobacco pipe (3).
    White mica (0).
19. Unglazed biſcuit earthen ware, blackened by expoſing it, buried in charcoal in a cloſe crucible, to a white heat (4).
20. [*] Black vitreous maſs, made by melting together 5 of fluor, 1 of lime, and ſome charcoal powder (4).
21. Fluor; aerated and vitriolated barytes; white and black Derbyſhire marble; calcareous ſpar; cryſtals of borax; deep blue glaſs; mother of pearl.

Rock cryſtal, quartz, flint glaſs, and many other hard bodies, during attrition, emit now and then reddiſh ſparks of a vivid light, which retain their brightneſs in a paſſage of one, two, and even three inches, through the air.

A piece of opake agate, applied to the circumference of a wheel of fine grit, revolving at a moderate rate, becomes brightly red, even in day-light, at the touching part; if the wheel revolve at a quicker rate, the touching part emits a pure white light. In both caſes, glowing ſparks are continually emitted, ſome of which are not extinguiſhed before they have paſſed twelve or fourteen inches through the air; they explode gunpowder and inflammable air, and burn the ſkin; their brightneſs is not ſenſibly increaſed by paſſing into pure air. The corner of an angular piece of window glaſs being applied to the wheel in motion, a full eighth of an inch of the glaſs above the point of contact becomes, apparently, red hot, and retains the redneſs for a ſecond or two of time after its removal from the wheel; during the attrition, large red ſparks are continually emitted, and a mixture of ſoftened glaſs, and the ſand of the ſtone wheel, is collected about the touching point. Quartz, tranſparent agate, rock cryſtal, and window glaſs, give nearly the ſame flaſhing light, when rubbed againſt the ſtone wheel, or in the ordinary manner, excepting the tinge of red in the former, which it receives from the light of the grit: the tranſparent agate becomes red hot for a little way about the part in contact with the wheel, and is thus deprived of its tranſparency, as it would be if made red hot in a common fire; porcelain is heated to redneſs by the ſame treatment. The red ſparks which are emitted by all theſe bodies during their attrition, are heated particles about the magnitude of grains of fine ſand, broken off by the friction.

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[*] Some of this mixture taken out of the crucible before it was perfectly fuſed, gave out, when rubbed, a ſtrong ſmell like phoſphorus of urine; and on throwing ſome of it pulverized on a plate of iron, heated juſt below redneſs, it was very luminous, and preſented every appearance of burning phoſphorus.

Bodies give out their light the inſtant they are rubbed upon each other, and ceaſe to be luminous when the attrition is diſcontinued. Colourleſs, tranſparent, and ſemitranſparent bodies emit a flaſhing light, their whole maſſes being, for a moment, illuminated: opake bodies give little more than a defined ſpeck of red light, and are not luminous below the part ſtruck. The greateſt apparent quantity of light is produced by hard, uncoloured, tranſparent, and ſemitranſparent bodies, whoſe ſurfaces ſoon acquire an aſperity by rubbing together, as quartz, agate, &c. From an examination of the table, it appears that white lights are emitted from colourleſs tranſparent bodies; faint red, or flame-coloured, from white ſemitranſparent bodies; deeper red from more opake and coloured bodies; and the deepeſt red from opake and from deep-coloured bodies. Extremely faint lights, ſuch as thoſe given by fluor, marble, &c. are of a bluiſh white; quartz, very lightly rubbed, gives a very faint light of a bluiſh hue; when rubbed a little harder, it emits a flame-coloured light; when rubbed with violence, its light approaches to whiteneſs. Opake red feldſpat gives a deep red light by attrition; expoſed to a ſtrong heat in the furnace, it becomes white, and ſomewhat tranſparent, and when cool gives out, on attrition, as white a light as quartz; clear, blackiſh flint, made opake by heat, gives a redder light than before; deep-coloured glaſs gives out a red defined light without any flaſh, whilſt clear uncoloured glaſſes emit a white flaſhing light of ſome brightneſs.

Bodies are not luminous by ſimple preſſure; but when they are at all broken by the preſſure, the fragments rubbing on each other produce ſome light. Mr. Boyle, indeed, found a particular diamond to emit light when preſſed by a ſteel bodkin; but the diamond is phoſphoreſcent in ſo many ways, and is ſo curious and ſingular a body, both in properties and conſtitution, that it can ſcarcely be expected to exhibit the ſame appearances as the common claſs of earthy bodies.

Alum, indurated by having been kept long in a ſtate of fuſion, and being then much harder than loaf ſugar or borax, both which are luminous from moderate attrition, gives no light, though rubbed with much violence *.

If two pieces of glaſs or quartz be

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* The Count de Razoumowſki has inveſtigated the luminous property of bodies in a way which appears to me very unfavourable for the diſcovery of their true

be ſtrongly rubbed againſt each other, and then applied to the fine down of a feather, the down is not ſenſibly affected; if the ſame glaſs be rubbed on woollen cloth, and placed near the feather, the down is immediately attracted.

Rock cryſtal, quartz, feldſpat, white unglazed earthen ware, Derbyſhire black marble, and probably all phoſphoreſcent bodies, inſoluble in water, give out their light on rubbing them under water, as copiouſly as in air. Hard white ſugar, from the outſide of the loaf, gives out its light when rubbed in oil. Bodies ſeem equally luminous in atmoſpheric, pure, fixed, and inflammable, air.

All hard earthy bodies emit a peculiar ſmell on attrition. The moſt remarkable for this property are chert, quartz, feldſpat, biſcuit earthen ware, and rock cryſtal: this ſmell does not differ much in kind, though it does conſiderably in intenſity. Many of the ſofter bodies yield the ſame ſmell, but in a leſs degree, and, probably, none are entirely without it. It appears to be ſtrongeſt where the friction is greateſt: it has no dependance on the light produced by attrition, as it is often very ſtrong when no light is emitted.

Rock cryſtal, quartz, feldſpat, white biſcuit earthen ware, and probably all ſuch hard bodies, produce this ſmell under water.

Quartz ſtones, violently rubbed upon one another for a few minutes in a cup of water, communicate this ſmell, and a peculiar taſte, to the water. The taſte is probably derived from an impalpable powder, which floats in the water for many days.

Derbyſhire black marble, and the ſtinking blue fluor, give out, on attrition, a ſtrong ſmell peculiar to themſelves, both in air and water; they loſe this property by being once made red hot.

Quartz produces the ſmell equally ſtrong in fixed, pure, and common air.

Appendix.

After a conſiderable part of the above paper was printed, I repeated the experiment with boiling oil, with every poſſible precaution. I poured the powder into the flaſk through a funnel which reached to the bottom, ſo that none of it might be lodged on the ſides; for, not having attended to this circumſtance before, I was apprehenſive that the experiment was deluſive, and that the agitation of the hot oil might have waſhed down ſome freſh particles which had not been before heated;—then ſlowly pouring in a little oil, I boiled it for a few minutes, and removed it into a dark place. When the powder had become but faintly luminous, upon agitation, the experiment ſucceeded exactly. I then boiled and agitated the oil for ſix or ſeven times ſucceſſively, with the ſame reſult,

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true lights. He rubbed, not one piece againſt another of the ſame body, but, all of them againſt quartz or glaſs: he finds ſeveral metals luminous from this treatment, and attempts to draw ſome curious concluſions from the colour of their lights. I tried theſe metals in his own way, and found that no light was emitted except when the violence of the blow ſhattered the quartz or glaſs; a piece of the indurated alum will excite light from rock cryſtal, by breaking its ſurface, but this is the light of the fragments of the cryſtal rubbing on each other, and not of the alum.

except that the light of the powder grew ſomething fainter each time. If any one has the curioſity to repeat this ſingular experiment, he may attend to the following directions.—Upon each removal from the fire, ſtop the neck of the flaſk with a cork, having a ſmall hole pierced through it—wrap the neck round with tow—agitate the liquor by quickly raiſing and lowering the flaſk.

The ſparks which leave the ſurfaces of hard bodies during attrition, may be exactly imitated by burning a bit of duſty paper;—the particles of duſt are carried by the current of air through the blaze, and are made red hot in their paſſage.

Extracts from Experiments on Heat; by Major General Sir Benjamin Thompſon, *Knt. F. R. S. From the ſame.*

IT is well known, that the power which air poſſeſſes of holding water in ſolution is augmented by heat, and diminiſhed by cold, and that, if hot air is ſaturated with water, and if this air is afterwards cooled, a part of its water is neceſſarily depoſed. I took a cylindrical bottle of very clear tranſparent glaſs, about 8 inches in diameter, and 12 inches high, with a ſhort and narrow neck, and ſuſpending a ſmall piece of linen rag, moderately wet, in the middle of it, I plunged it into a large veſſel of water, warmed to about 100° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, where I ſuffered it to remain till the contained air was not only warm, but thoroughly ſaturated with the moiſture which it attracted from the linen rag, the mouth of the bulb being well ſtopped up during this time with a good cork; this being done, I removed the cork for a moment, to take away the linen rag, and ſtopping up the bottle again immediately, I took it out of the warm water, and plunged it into a large cylindrical jar, about 12 inches in diameter, and 16 inches high, containing juſt ſo much ice-cold water, that, when the bottle was plunged into it, and quite covered by it, the jar was quite full.

As the jar was of very fine tranſparent glaſs, as well as the bottle, and as the cold water contained in the jar was perfectly clear, I could ſee what paſſed in the bottle moſt diſtinctly; and having taken care to place the jar upon a table near the window, in a very favourable light, I ſet myſelf to obſerve the appearances which ſhould take place, with all that anxious expectation which a conviction that the reſult of the experiment muſt be deciſive, naturally inſpired.

I was certain, that the air contained in the bottle could not part with its heat, without at the ſame time, that is to ſay, *at the ſame moment*, and *in the ſame place*, parting with a proportion of its water; if, therefore, the heat penetrated the maſs of air from the centre to the ſurface, or *paſſed through it* from particle to particle, in the ſame manner as it is probable that it paſſes through water, and all other unelaſtic fluids, by far the greateſt part of the air contained in the bottle would part with its heat, when *not actually in contact with the glaſs*, and a proportional part of its water being let fall at the ſame time, and in the *ſame place*, would neceſſarily deſcend in the form of rain; and, though this rain might be too fine to be viſible in its deſcent, yet I was ſure I ſhould find it at the bottom of the bottle, if not in viſible drops of water, yet in that kind of cloudy covering which cold glaſs acquires from a contact with hot ſteam or watery vapour.

But if the particles of air, inſtead of communicating their heat from one to another, from the centre to the ſurface of the bottle, each in its turn, and for itſelf, came to the ſurface of the bottle, and there depoſited its heat, and its water, I concluded that the cloudineſs occaſioned by this depoſit of water would appear all over the bottle, or, at leaſt, not more of it at the bottom than at the ſides, but rather leſs; and this I found to be the caſe in fact.

The cloudineſs firſt made its appearance upon the ſides of the bottle, near the top of it; and from thence it gradually ſpread itſelf downwards, till, growing fainter as it deſcended lower, it was hardly viſible at the diſtance of half an inch from the bottom of the bottle; and upon the bottom itſelf, which was nearly flat, there was ſcarcely the ſmalleſt appearance of cloudineſs.

Theſe appearances, I think, are eaſy to be accounted for. The air immediately in contact with the glaſs being cooled, and having depoſited a part of its water upon the ſurface of the glaſs, at the ſame time that it communicates to it its heat, ſlides downwards by the ſides of the bottle in conſequence of its increaſed ſpecific gravity; and, taking its place at the bottom of the bottle, forces the whole maſs of hot air upwards; which, in its turn, coming to the ſides of the bottle, *there* depoſites its heat and its water, and afterwards bending its courſe downwards; this circulation is continued till all the air in the bottle has acquired the exact temperature of the water in the jar.

From hence it is clear why the firſt appearance of condenſed vapour is near the top of the bottle, as alſo why the greateſt collection of vapour is in that part; and that ſo very ſmall a quantity of it is found nearer the bottom of the bottle.

This experiment confirmed me in an opinion which I had for ſome time entertained, that, though the particles of air individually, or each for itſelf, are capable of receiving and *tranſporting* heat; yet air in a quieſcent ſtate, or as a fluid whoſe parts are at reſt with reſpect to each other, is not capable of conducting it, or giving it a paſſage; in ſhort, that heat is incapable of *paſſing through a maſs of air*, penetrating from one particle of it to another, and that it is to this circumſtance that its non-conducting power is principally owing.

It is alſo to this circumſtance, in a great meaſure, that it is owing that its non-conducting power, or its apparent warmth when employed as a covering for confining heat, is ſo remarkably increaſed upon being mixed with a ſmall quantity of any very fine, light, ſolid ſubſtance.

But there is another circumſtance which it is neceſſary to take into the account, and that is the attraction which ſubſiſts between air and the bodies above-mentioned, and other like ſubſtances, conſtituting natural and artificial clothing. For, though the incapacity of air to give a paſſage to heat in the manner ſolid bodies and non-elaſtic fluids permit it to paſs through them, may enable us to account for its warmth under certain circumſtances, yet the bare admiſſion of this principle does not ſeem to be ſufficient to account for the very extraordinary degrees of warmth which we find in furs and in feathers, and in various other kinds of natural and artificial clothing; nor even that which we find in ſnow; for if we ſuppoſe the particles of air to be at liberty to *carry off* the heat which theſe bodies are meant to confine, without any other obſtruction or hinderance than that ariſing from their *vis inertiæ*, or the force neceſſary to put them in motion, it ſeems probable that the ſucceſſion of freſh particles of cold air, and the conſequent loſs of heat, would be much more rapid than we find it to be in fact.

That an atttraction, and a very ſtrong one, actually ſubſiſts between the particles of air, and the fine hair or furs of beaſts, the feathers of birds, wool, &c. appears by the obſtinacy with which theſe ſubſtances retain the air which adheres to them, even when immerſed in water, and put under the receiver of an air-pump; and that this attraction is eſſential to the warmth of theſe bodies, I think is very eaſy to be demonſtrated.

In furs, for inſtance, the attraction between the particles of air, and the fine hairs in which it is concealed, being greater than the increaſed elaſticity, or repulſion of thoſe particles with regard to each other, ariſing from the heat communicated to them by the animal body, the air in the fur, though heated, is not eaſily diſplaced; and this coat of confined air is the real barrier which defends the animal body from the external cold. This air cannot *carry off* the heat of the animal, becauſe it is itſelf confined, by its attraction to the hair or fur; and it tranſmits it with great difficulty, if it tranſmits it at all.

Hence it appears why thoſe furs which are the fineſt, longeſt, and thickeſt, are likewiſe the warmeſt; and how the furs of the beaver, of the otter, and of other like quadrupeds which live much in water, and the feathers of water-fowls, are able to confine the heat of thoſe animals in winter, notwithſtanding the extreme coldneſs and great conducting power of the water in which they ſwim. The attraction between theſe ſubſtances, and the air which occupies their interſtices, is ſo great, that this air is not diſlodged even by the contact of water, but remaining in its place, it defends the body of the animal at the ſame time from being wet, and from being robbed of its heat by the ſurrounding cold fluid; and it is poſſible that the preſſure of this fluid upon the covering of air confined in the interſtices of the fur, or feathers, may at the ſame time increaſe its warmth, or non-conducting power, in ſuch a manner that the animal may not, in fact, loſe more heat when in water, than when in air: for we have ſeen by the foregoing experiments, that, under certain circumſtances, the warmth of a covering is increaſed, by bringing its component parts nearer together, or by increaſing its denſity even at the expence of its thickneſs.

Bears, wolves, foxes, hares, and other like quadrupeds, inhabitants of cold countries, which do not often take the water, have their fur much thicker upon their backs than upon their bellies. The heated air occupying the interſtices of the hairs of the animal tending naturally to riſe upwards, in conſequence of its increaſed elaſticity, would eſcape with much greater eaſe from the backs of quadrupeds than from their bellies, had not Providence wiſely guarded againſt this evil by increaſing the obſtructions in thoſe parts, which entangle it and confine it to the body of the animal. And this, I think, amounts almoſt to a proof of the principles aſſumed relative to the manner in which heat is carried off by air, and the cauſes of the non-conducting power of air, or its apparent warmth, when, being combined with other bodies, it acts as a covering for confining heat.

The ſnows which cover the ſurface of the earth in winter, in high latitudes, are doubtleſs deſigned by an all-provident Creator as a garment to defend it againſt the piercing winds from the polar regions, which prevail during the cold ſeaſon.

Theſe winds, notwithſtanding the vaſt tracts of continent over which they blow, retain their ſharpneſs as long as the ground they paſs over is covered with ſnow; and it is not till, meeting with the ocean, they acquire, from a contact with its waters, the heat which the ſnows prevent their acquiring from the earth, that the edge of their coldneſs is taken off, and they gradually die away and are loſt.

The winds are always found to be much colder when the ground is covered with ſnow than when it is bare, and this extraordinary coldneſs is vulgarly ſuppoſed to be communicated to the air by the ſnow; but this is an erroneous opinion, for theſe winds are in general much colder than the ſnow itſelf.

They retain their coldneſs, becauſe the ſnow prevents them from being warmed at the expence of the earth; and this is a ſtriking proof of the uſe of the ſnows in preſerving the heat of the earth during the winter, in cold latitudes.

It is remarkable that theſe winds ſeldom blow from the poles directly towards the equator, but from the land towards the ſea. Upon the eaſtern coaſt of North America the cold winds come from the north-weſt; but upon the weſtern coaſt of Europe, they blow from the north-eaſt.

That they ſhould blow towards thoſe parts where they can moſt eaſily acquire the heat they are in ſearch of, is not extraordinary; and that they ſhould gradually ceaſe and die away, upon being warmed by a contact with the waters of the ocean, is likewiſe agreeable to the nature and cauſes of their motion; and if I might be allowed a conjecture reſpecting the principal uſe of the ſeas, or the reaſon why the proportion of water upon the ſurface of our globe is ſo great, compared to that of the land, it is to maintain a more equal temperature in the different climates, by heating or cooling the winds which at certain periods blow from the great continents.

That cold winds actually grow much milder upon paſſing over the ſea, and that hot winds are refreſhed by a contact with its waters, is very certain; and it is equally certain that the winds from the ocean are, in all climates, much more temperate than thoſe which blow from the land.

In the iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland, there is not the leaſt doubt but the great mildneſs of the climate is entirely owing to their ſeparation from the neighbouring continent by ſo large a tract of ſea; and in all ſimilar ſituations, in every part of the globe, ſimilar cauſes are found to produce ſimilar effects.

The cold north-weſt winds, which prevail upon the coaſt of North America during the winter, ſeldom extend above 100 leagues from the ſhore, and they are always found to be leſs violent, and leſs piercing, as they are further from the land.

Theſe periodical winds from the continents of Europe and North America prevail moſt towards the end of the month of February, and in the month of March; and I conceive that they contribute very eſſentially towards bringing on an early ſpring, and a fruitful ſummer, particularly when they are very violent in the month of March, and if at that time the ground is well covered with ſnow. The whole atmoſphere of the polar regions being, as it were, tranſported into the ocean by theſe winds, is there warmed and ſaturated with water: and, a great accumulation of air upon the ſea being the neceſſary conſequence of the long continuance of theſe cold winds from the ſhore, upon their ceaſing the warm breezes from the ſea neceſſarily commence, and, ſpreading themſelves upon the land far and wide, aſſiſt the returning ſun in diſmantling the earth of the remains of her winter garment, and in bringing forward into life all the manifold beauties of the new-born year.

This warmed air which comes in from the ſea, having acquired its heat from a contact with the ocean, is, of courſe, ſaturated with water; and hence the warm ſhowers of April and May, ſo neceſſary to a fruitful ſeaſon.

The ocean may be conſidered as the great reſervoir and equalizer of heat; and its benign influences in preſerving a proper temperature in the atmoſphere operate in all ſeaſons and in all climates.

The parching winds from the land under the torrid zone are cooled by a contact with its waters; and, in return, the breezes from the ſea, which, at certain hours of the day, come in to the ſhores in almoſt all hot countries, bring with them refreſhment, and, as it were, new life and vigour both to the animal and vegetable creation, fainting and melting under the exceſſive heats of a burning ſun. What a vaſt tract of country, now the moſt fertile upon the face of the globe, would be abſolutely barren and uninhabitable on account of the exceſſive heat, were it not for theſe refreſhing ſea-breezes! And is it not more than probable, that the extremes of heat and of cold in the different ſeaſons in the temperate and frigid zones would be quite intolerable, were it not for the influence of the ocean in preſerving an equability of temperature?

As to theſe purpoſes the ocean is wonderfully well adapted, not only on account of the great power of water to abſorb heat, and the vaſt depth and extent of the different ſeas (which are ſuch that one ſummer or one winter could hardly be ſuppoſed to have any ſenſible effect in heating or cooling this enormous maſs); but alſo on account of the continual circulation which is carried on in the ocean itſelf, by means of the currents which prevail in it. The waters under the torrid zone being carried by theſe currents

rents towards the polar regions, are there cooled by a contact with the cold winds, and having thus communicated their heat to theſe inhoſpitable regions, return towards the equator, carrying with them refreſhment for thoſe parching climates.

The wiſdom and goodneſs of Providence have often been called in queſtion with regard to the diſtribution of land and water upon the ſurface of our globe, the vaſt extent of the ocean having been conſidered as a proof of the little regard that has been paid to man in this diſtribution. But, the more light we acquire relative to the real conſtitution of things, and the various uſes of the different parts of the viſible creation, the leſs we ſhall be diſpoſed to indulge ourſelves in ſuch frivolous criticiſms.

Deſcription of the Queen, the Male, and the Labouring Bee; from Obſervations on Bees, by John Hunter, *Eſq. F. R. S. From the ſame.*

THE queen bee, as ſhe is termed, has excited more curioſity than all the others, although much more belongs to the labourers. From the number of theſe, and from their expoſing themſelves, they have their hiſtory much better made out: but as there is only one queen, and ſhe ſcarcely ever ſeen, it being only the effects of her labour we can come at, an opportunity has been given to the ingenuity of conjecture, and more has been ſaid than can well be proved. She is allowed to be bred in the common way, only that there is a peculiar cell for her in her firſt ſtage; and Reaumur ſays, "her food is different when "in the maggot ſtate;" but as there is probably but one queen, that the whole might not depend on one life, it is aſſerted that the labourers have a power of forming a common maggot into a queen. If authors had given us this as an opinion only, we might have paſſed it over as improbable; but they have endeavoured to prove it by experiments, which require to be examined: and for that purpoſe, I ſhall give what they ſay on that head, with my remarks upon it.

Abſtracts from Mr. Schirach.

The following experiments were made to aſcertain the origin of the queen bee:—"In twelve wooden "boxes were placed twelve pieces "of comb, four inches ſquare, each "containing both eggs and maggots, ſo ſuſpended, that the bees "could come round every part of "the comb: in each box was ſhut "up a handful of working bees. "Knowing that when bees are "forming a queen, they ſhould be "confined *, the boxes were kept "ſhut for two days. When examined at the end of that period "(ſix boxes only were opened), in "all of them royal cells were begun, one, two, or three, in each; "all of theſe containing a maggot "four days old. In four days, the "other ſix boxes were opened, and "royal cells found in each, containing maggots five days old, "ſurrounded by a large proviſion "of jelly; and one of theſe maggots, examined in the microſcope

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* How he came to know this, I cannot conceive, for nothing *à priori* could give ſuch information.

"ſcope, in every reſpect reſembled a working bee.

"This experiment was repeated, and the maggots ſelected to be made queens were three days old; and in ſeventeen days there were found in the twelve boxes fifteen lively, handſome queens[*]. Theſe experiments were made in May, and the bees were allowed to work great part of the ſummer: the bees were examined one by one, but no drone could be diſcovered, and yet the queens were impregnated, and laid their eggs[†].

"The above experiment was repeated with pieces of comb, containing eggs only, in ſix boxes, but no preparations were made towards producing a queen[‡].

"The experiment of producing a queen bee from a maggot was repeated every month of the year, even in November[§].

"A maggot three days old was procured from a friend, incloſed in an ordinary cell, and ſhut up with a piece of comb, containing eggs and maggots. That three days old was formed into a queen, and all the other maggots and eggs were deſtroyed[‖].

"In above a hundred experiments a queen has been formed from maggots three days old[**]."

Wilhelmi obſerves, that a queen cell, which is made while the bees are ſhut up, is formed by breaking down three common cells into one, when the maggot is placed in the centre, after which the ſides are repaired.

A young queen lately hatched was put into a hive, which had been previouſly aſcertained to contain no drones, and whoſe queen was removed; and yet the young queen laid eggs[††]. In repeating Mr. Schirach's experiment, he ſhut up four pieces of comb, with one maggot in each; after two days the maggots were all dead, and the bees had deſiſted from labour *.

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[*] Now this account is not only improbable, but it does not tally with itſelf. Firſt, it is not probable that a handful of bees ſhould, or would, ſet about making two, three, or four queens, when we do not find that number in a large hive: and ſecondly, it ſeems inconſiſtent that only fifteen ſhould be formed out of twelve parcels, when ſome of the former parcels had four young queens.

[†] Here is a wonder of another kind: queens laying eggs, which (we muſt ſuppoſe Mr. Schirach meant we ſhould believe) they hatched, without the influence of the male.

[‡] Why eggs, which we muſt conceive hatched, and produced maggots, did not form queens, one cannot imagine.

[§] In which month, as bees never ſwarm, there could be no occaſion for mothers, or ſupernumerary queens, and ſtill each experiment produced a handſome queen. This is as ſingular an obſervation as any. In this country, and in all ſimilar ones, bees hardly breed after July, and by the beginning of September there is hardly a chryſalis to be ſeen; yet theſe bred till November, and even laid eggs.

[‖] Why did the bees deſtroy them in this experiment, and not in others?

[**] The working bees, from the above experiments, are conſidered as all females, although the ovaria are too ſmall for examination.

It would appear that a maggot three days old was of the beſt age for this experiment, yet one ſhould have conceived that a maggot two days old would ſoon be fit.

[††] There is no myſtery in this; but did they hatch?

A piece of comb, from which all the eggs and maggots had been removed, was ſhut up with ſome honey, and a certain number of workers; in a ſhort time they became very buſy, and upon the evening of the ſecond day 300 eggs were found in the cells †. He repeated this experiment with the ſame reſult, and the bees were left to themſelves: they placed queen maggots in the queen cells, newly conſtructed, and others in male cells: the reſt were left undiſturbed. He again took two pieces of comb, which contained neither eggs nor maggots, and ſhut them up with a certain number of workers, and carried the box into a ſtove: next evening, one of the pieces of comb contained ſeveral eggs, and the beginning of a royal cell, that was empty.

Beſides the ſhort obſervations contained in the notes, I beg leave to obſerve, that I have my doubts reſpecting the whole of theſe experiments, from ſeveral circumſtances which occurred in mine. The three following facts appear much againſt their probability: firſt, a ſummer's evening in this country is commonly too cold for ſo ſmall a parcel of bees to be lively, ſo as to ſet about new operations; they get ſo benumbed, that they hardly recover in the day, and I ſhould ſuſpect that where theſe experiments were made (and indeed ſome are ſaid to have been tried in this country), it is alſo too cold: ſecondly, if the weather ſhould happen to be ſo warm as to prevent this effect, then they are ſo reſtleſs, that they commonly deſtroy themſelves, or wear themſelves out; at leaſt, after a few days confinement we find them moſtly dead: and thirdly, the account given of the formation of a royal cell, without mentioning the above inconvenience, which is natural to the experiment, makes me ſuſpect the whole to be fabricated. To obviate the firſt objection, which I found from experiment to prevent any ſucceſs that otherwiſe might ariſe, I put my parcel of bees, with their comb, in which were eggs, as alſo maggots, and in ſome of the trials there were chryſaliſes ‡, into a warmer place, ſuch as a glaſs frame, over tan, the ſurface of which was covered with mould, to prevent the riſing of unwholeſome air: but from knowing that the maggot was fed with bee-bread, or farina, I took care to introduce a cell or two with this ſubſtance, as alſo the flowers of plants that produce a great deal of it, likewiſe ſome honey for the old ones. In this ſtate my bees were preſerved from the cold, as alſo provided with neceſſaries;

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* This is the moſt probable event in the whole experiments.

† This would ſhow that labourers can be changed into queens at will, and that neither they nor their eggs require to be impregnated; if this was the caſe, there would be no occaſion for all the puſh in making a queen or a male.

‡ I choſe to have ſome chryſaliſes, for I ſuppoſed that if my bees died, or flew away, the chryſaliſes when they came out, which would happen in a few days, not knowing where to go, might ſtay and take care of the maggots that might be hatched from the eggs; but, to my ſurpriſe, I found that neither the eggs hatched, nor did the chryſaliſes come forth; all died: from which I began to ſuſpect that the preſence of the bees was neceſſary for both.

neceſſaries; but after being confined ſeveral days, upon opening the door of the hive, what were alive came to the door, walked and flew about, but gradually left it, and on examining the combs, &c. I found the maggots dead, and nothing like any operation going on.

The queen, the mother of all, in whatever way produced, is a true female, and different from both the labourers and the male. She is not ſo large in the trunk as the male, and appears to be rather larger in every part than the labourers. The ſcales on the under ſurface of the belly of the labourers are not uniformly of the ſame colour, over the whole ſcale; that part being lighter which is overlapped by the terminating ſcale above, and the uncovered part being darker: this light part does not terminate in a ſtraight line, but in two curves, making a peak; all which gives the belly a lighter colour in the labouring bees: more eſpecially when it is pulled out or elongated.

The tongue of the female is conſiderably ſhorter than that of the labouring bee, more like that of the male: however, the tongues of the labourers are not in all of an equal length, but none have it ſo ſhort as the queen.

The ſize of the belly of the female of ſuch animals varies a little, according to the condition they are in; but the belly of the male and the labourer has but little occaſion to change its ſize, as they are at all times nearly in the ſame condition with regard to fat, having always plenty of proviſion: but the true female varies very conſiderably; ſhe is of a different ſize and ſhape in the ſummer to what ſhe is in the winter; and in the winter ſhe has what may be called her natural ſize and ſhape: ſhe is, upon the whole, rather thicker than the labourer; and this thickneſs is alſo in the belly, which probably ariſes from the circumſtance of the oviduct being in the winter pretty large, and the reſervoir for ſemen full. The termination of the belly is rather more peaked than in the labourers, the laſt ſcale being rather narrower from ſide to ſide, and coming more to a point at the anus. The ſcales at this ſeaſon are more overlapped, which can only be known by drawing them out. In the ſpring and ſummer ſhe is more eaſily diſtinguiſhed: the belly is not only thicker, but conſiderably longer than formerly, which ariſes from the increaſe of the eggs. We diſtinguiſh a queen from the working bee, ſimply by ſize, and in ſome degree by colour; but this laſt is not ſo eaſily aſcertained, becauſe the difference in the colour is not ſo remarkable in the back, and the only view we can commonly get of her is on this part; but when a hive is killed, the beſt way is to collect all the bees, and ſpread them on white paper, or put them into water, in a broad, flat-bottomed, ſhallow, white diſh, in which they ſwim; and by looking at them ſingly, ſhe may be diſcovered. As the queen breeds the firſt year ſhe is produced, and the oviducts never entirely ſubſide, an old queen is probably thicker than a new bred one, unleſs indeed the oviducts, and the eggs, form in the chryſalis ſtate, as in the ſilk-worm, which I ſhould ſuppoſe they did. The queen is perhaps at the ſmalleſt ſize juſt as ſhe has done breeding, for as ſhe is to lay eggs by the month of March, ſhe muſt begin early to fill again; but I believe her oviducts are never emptied, having at all times eggs in them, although but ſmall. She has fat in her belly, ſimilar to the other bees.

It is moſt probable that the queen which goes off with the ſwarm is a young one, for the males go off with the ſwarm to impregnate her, as ſhe muſt be impregnated the ſame year, becauſe ſhe breeds the ſame year.

The queen has a ſting ſimilar to the working bee.

Of the Number of Queens in a Hive.

I believe a hive, or ſwarm, has but one queen, at leaſt I have never found more than one in a ſwarm, or in an old hive in the winter; and probably this is what conſtitutes a hive; for when there are two queens, it is likely that a diviſion may begin to take place. Supernumerary queens are mentioned by Riem, who aſſerts he has ſeen them killed by the labourers, as well as the males.

November 18th, 1788, I killed a hive that had not ſwarmed the ſummer before, and which was to appearance ready to ſwarm every day; but when I ſuppoſed the ſeaſon for ſwarming was over, and it had not ſwarmed, I began to ſuſpect that the reaſon why it did not was owing to there being no young queen or queens; and I found only one. This is a kind of preſumptive proof that I was right in my conjecture; unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that when they were determined not to ſwarm, they deſtroyed every queen except one. In a hive that died, I found no males, and only one queen. This circumſtance, that ſo few queens are bred, muſt ariſe from the natural ſecurity the queen is in from the mode of their ſociety; for, although there is but one queen in a waſp's, hornet's, and humble bee's neſt or hive, yet theſe breed a great number of queens; the waſp and hornet ſome hundreds; but not living in ſociety during the winter, they are ſubject to great deſtruction, ſo that probably not one in a hundred lives to breed in the ſummer. I have ſaid that the queen leaves off laying in the month of July; and now ſhe is to be impregnated by the males before they die. Mr. Riem aſſerts, he has ſeen the copulation between the male and the female, but does not ſay at what ſeaſon. I ſhould doubt this; but Mr. Schirach ſuppoſes the queen impregnated without copulation. I know not whether he means by this that ſhe is not impregnated at all; and ſuppoſes, like Mr. Debraw, that the eggs are impregnated after they are laid, by a ſet of ſmall drones, who paſs over the cells, and thruſt their tails down into the cell, ſo as to beſmear the egg [*]. Mr. Bonnet does not conſider it neceſſary that the drones ſhould be ſmall for this purpoſe, for he ſaw a large drone paſſing over the cells of a piece of comb, ſtopping at every one which contained an egg, but at no other, and giving a knock with his tail on the mouth of the cell three times; this he ſuppoſed was the mode of impregnating the eggs. The number three has always been a famous number; but it will not do where there are no males, which is the caſe of a hive in the ſpring, the time when the queen is moſt employed in laying eggs; which made him ſuppoſe the uſe of the males was to feed the maggots with their ſemen. It is probable that the copulation is like that of moſt other inſects. The copulation of the humble bee I have ſeen: it is ſimilar to the common fly. The ſting is extended at the time, and turned up on the back, between the two animals: they are ſome time in this act. In the hornet it is the ſame. The circumſtances relative to the impregnating the queen not being known, great room has been given for conjecture, which, if authors had preſented as conjectures only, it would have ſhewn their candour; but they have given, what in them were probably conceits, as facts.

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[*] Mr. Debraw, knowing the drones died in the latter end of ſummer, or the autumn, was obliged to ſuppoſe a ſmall ſet of males, that lived through the winter for that purpoſe.

Of the Male Bee.

The male bee is conſiderably larger than the labourers: he is even larger than the queen, although not ſo long when ſhe is in her full ſtate with eggs: he is conſiderably thicker than either, but not longer in the ſame proportion: he does not terminate at the anus in ſo ſharp a point; and the opening between the two laſt ſcales of the back and belly is larger, and more under the belly, than in the female. His proboſcis is much ſhorter than that of the labouring bee, which makes me ſuſpect he does not collect his own honey, but takes that which is brought home by the others; eſpecially as we never find the males abroad on flowers, &c. only flying about the hives in hot weather, as if taking an airing; and when we find that the male of the humble bee, which collects its own food, has as long a proboſcis, or tongue, as the female, I think it is from all theſe facts reaſonable to ſuppoſe, the male of the common bee feeds at home. He has no ſting.

The males, I believe, are later in being bred than the labouring bee. As they are only produced to go off with a hive, they are not ſo early brought forth; for in the month of April I killed a hive, in which I found maggots and chryſaliſes, but did not find any males among the latter: the maggots are too young for ſuch inveſtigation; but about the 20th of May we obſerved males: they are all very much of the ſame ſize. In the month of Auguſt, probably about the latter end, we may ſuppoſe they impregnate the queen for the next year, and about the latter end of the ſame month, and beginning of September, they are dying, but ſeem to be haſtened to their end by the labourers. In 1791, as early as the 19th of June, I ſaw the labourers killing the males of a hive, or rather of a ſwarm, that had not yet ſwarmed, but was hanging out; this, however, was out of the common courſe. They appear to be ſenſible of their fate, for they hurry in and out of the hive as quick as poſſible, ſeemingly with a view to avoid the labourers: and we find them attacked by the labourers, who pinch them with their forceps, and when they are ſo hurt, and fatigued with attempts to make their eſcape, as not to be able to fly, they are thrown over on the ground, and left to die. That this is the fate of every male bee is eaſily aſcertained, by examining every bee in the hive when killed for the honey, which is after this ſeaſon; no male being then found in it. Bonnet ſuppoſes them ſtarved to death, as he never ſaw wounds on them. In the courſe of a winter I have killed ſeveral hives, ſome as late as April, and in ſuch a way as to preſerve every bee, and after examining every one entirely, I never perceived one male of any kind; although it has been aſſerted there are two ſizes of males, and that the ſmall are preſerved through the winter to impregnate the queen.

Of the Labouring Bee.

This claſs, for we cannot call it either ſex, or ſpecies, is the largeſt in number of the whole community: there are thouſands of them to one queen, and probably ſome hundreds to each male, as we ſhall ſee by and by. It is to be ſuppoſed they are the only bees which conſtruct the whole hive, and that the queen has no other buſineſs but to lay the eggs; they are the only bees that bring in materials; the only ones we obſerve buſy abroad; and, indeed, the idea of any other is ridiculous, when we conſider the diſproportion in numbers, as well as the employment of the others, while the working bee has nothing to take off its attention to the buſineſs of the family. They are ſmaller than either the queen or the males: not all of equal ſize, although the difference is not very great.

The queen and the working bees are ſo much alike, that the latter would ſeem to be females on a different ſcale: however, this difference is not ſo obſervable in the beginning of winter as in the ſpring, when the queen is full of eggs. They are all females in conſtruction, having the female parts, which are extremely ſmall, and would be eaſily overlooked by a perſon not very well acquainted with the parts in the queen: this has been obſerved by Mr. Riem; indeed, one might ſuppoſe that they were only young queens, and that they became queens after a certain age; but this is not the caſe. They all have ſtings, which is another thing that makes them ſimilar to the queen. From their being furniſhed with an inſtrument of defence and offence, they are endowed with ſuch powers of mind as to uſe it, their minds being extremely irritable; ſo much ſo, that they make an attack when not meddled with, ſimply upon ſuſpicion, and when they do attack, they always ſting; and yet, from the circumſtance of their not being able to diſengage the ſting, one ſhould ſuppoſe they would be more cautious in ſtriking with it. When they attack one another, they ſeldom uſe it, only their pincers: yet I ſaw two bees engaged, and one ſtung the other in the mouth, or thereabouts, and the ſting was drawn from the body to which it belonged, and the one who was ſtung ran very quickly about with it; but I could not catch that bee, to obſerve how the ſting was ſituated.

As they are the collectors of honey, much more than what is for their own uſe, either immediately, or in future, their tongue is proportionably fitted for that purpoſe: it is conſiderably longer than that of either the queen or the male, which fits them to take up the honey from the hollow parts of flowers, of conſiderable depth.

The number of labourers in a hive varies very conſiderably.

In one hive that I killed, there were 3338

In another - - - 4472

In one that died, there were 2432

That I might gueſs at the number of bees from a given bulk, I counted what number an alehouſe pint held when wet, and found it contained 2160

Therefore, as ſome ſwarms will fill two quarts, ſuch muſt conſiſt of near - - - - 9000

On the Converſion of the Subſtance of a Bird into a hard fatty Matter, in a Letter from Thomas Sneyd, *Eſq. to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. P. R. S. From the ſecond Part of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

SIR,

I Take the liberty of ſending you two or three pieces of a bird whoſe ſubſtance has been converted into a hard fatty matter, which I found at the head of a fiſh-pool, where a ſmall brook runs into it, lying under water upon the mud. When firſt taken out, it was almoſt entire, and had ſeveral feathers ſticking in different parts of the ſkin, which have ſince fallen out; a little down, however, ſtill adheres to the ſmaller ſpecimen. From the ſize, and general appearance of the bird, I conjectured it to be a duck, or young gooſe; but before I had time to give it a particular examination, it was unfortunately broken in pieces, and the greateſt part deſtroyed. The ſkin in the piece which was ſaved is of different thickneſſes, in ſome parts a full quarter of an inch; it has retained its original ſtructure exactly, but is in great part ſeparated from the fleſh, though both of them are now compoſed of the ſame fat matter. This ſubſtance reſembles ſpermaceti in its conſiſtence between the teeth, but has neither taſte nor ſmell; it melts in a ſmall heat, and when congealed again, becomes more ſolid, and looks like wax; in a greater heat it burns, and emits a ſtrong animal ſmell. As I never heard or perceived that the water in which this bird lay has any particular property, I am inclined to think that it has undergone this ſingular change while buried in the mud, and that the brook had afterwards waſhed it up, and carried it into this pool.

I am ſorry that the ſpecimen and my account of this ſingular metamorphoſis are ſo imperfect. The analogy which the caſe bears to the change of human bodies, obſerved by M. Fourcroy * in the Cemetery *des Innocents*, is my chief reaſon for offering them to you; and if they ſhould be deemed worthy of the notice of the illuſtrious ſociety over which you preſide, you are at liberty to preſent them.

I am very reſpectfully, &c.

THOS. SNEYD.

Belmont, near Leek, Staffordſhire,
March 16th, 1792.

Experiments with Phoſphorus applied to Quick-lime, extracted from Experiments made with the View of decompounding fixed Air, or carbonic Acid; by George Pearſon, *M. D. F. R. S. From the ſame.*

I Expoſed 240 grains of quick-lime, with 60 grains of phoſphorus, to heat in a coated glaſs tube. On breaking the tube, when cold, I found at the bottom about 30 grains of blackiſh and white powder; and above that, to the extent of four or five inches, was a roſe-coloured powder, which by its contact with air ſoon became of a reddiſh brown colour; above this was the quick-lime, ſcarcely altered in its colour, but it had, like the reſt of the powder in the tube, an alliaceous ſmell. On taſting a little of this reddiſh powder, I was ſurpriſed by its exploding upon my tongue. I threw a few grains of it into ſeveral ounces of cold water; it did not ſeemingly diſſolve, or turn black, but in a few minutes emitted air-bubbles, which roſe to the ſurface of the water, and then burſt and exploded, producing a white circular cloud, which in aſcending expanded gradually, till it burſt in the air. It continued to emit theſe bubbles from time to time, during an hour, and then left a grey ſediment, which was phoſphoric ſelenite and lime, and the water taſted ſtrongly of lime. The ſame powder, in hot water, exploded more rapidly and loudly than in cold, but not ſo violently as the phoſphoric air obtained by boiling phoſphorus in a lixivium of cauſtic fixed alkali. By putting this powder into an inverted jar of water, I collected a quantity of the air which it produced; it had the properties of the phoſphoric air already mentioned, and, amongſt others, by ſtanding over water a day or two, it became no longer ſpontaneouſly inflammable, but appeared to have depoſited phoſphorus upon the water and ſides of the veſſel, and exploded upon applying to it a lighted wax taper. This powder, therefore, I apprehend, conſiſts of phoſphorus and lime united by heat; it readily decompoſes cold water, and then the inflammable air diſengaged unites with, or rather ſuſpends, a portion of phoſphorus, and forms phoſphoric air. The phoſphorus thus ſuſpended by ſtanding is depoſited, and inflammable air alone remains; the other conſtituent of water, reſpirable air, unites to another portion of phoſphorus, and compoſes phoſphoric acid, which combines with lime, and forms phoſphoric ſelenite. This compound of lime and phoſphorus, which ſome of my chemical friends have called *fulminating hepar of phoſphorus* *, may be uſed to obtain phoſphoric air with much more eaſe than by the uſual method †.

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* See p. 92, of this vol.

Obſervations on the remarkable failure of Haddocks on the Coaſts of North-umberland, Durham, *and* York-ſhire; *in two Letters from the Reverend* Cooper Abbs *to Dr.* Blagden, *Sec. R. S. From the ſame.*

Sunderland, May 9th, 1792.

SIR,

THE great loſs ſuſtained by the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkſhire, by the almoſt total failure of haddocks, during the three laſt ſeaſons, is a circumſtance of ſerious conſequence to theſe maritime counties, and perhaps not unworthy the notice and attention of the gentleman and philoſopher.

As far back as the memory of the oldeſt man reaches, for about three months in the year (beginning about Martinmas), prodigious quantities of haddocks, in fine weather, were daily caught on the above coaſts, which gave employment to great numbers of men, and afforded a cheap and very acceptable article of food to all ranks of people, high and low. Beſides the conſumption on and near the coaſts, great quantities were conſtantly carried at leaſt a hundred miles into and over the country.

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* In the new ſyſtem of chemiſtry it will be called *phoſphur of lime*.

† Dr. Ingenhouſz has deviſed ſome ſurprizing and beautiful experiments with this ſubſtance.

In the winter, 1789, I am very credibly informed, and ſincerely believe, that not a ten-thouſandth part (I ſpeak much within bounds) of the uſual quantity was taken; and, I can venture to ſay, the quantity has been not greater, if not much leſs, for the two laſt ſeaſons, to the great aſtoniſhment of the poor fiſhermen.

I have frequently converſed with the moſt experienced men in this line of buſineſs, to diſcover, if poſſible, the cauſe of this extraordinary failure. One man, with more religious ſubmiſſion than philoſophic judgment, aſcribes it to the will and pleaſure of the Almighty; a ſecond to the great quantities of ballaſt caſt by the colliers into the ſea, at or near the mouths of the rivers Tyne and Wear. But this ſeems a very inadequate reaſon; for granting this act might in ſome ſmall degree affect theſe places for a few miles, yet it could not affect the coaſts at any conſiderable diſtance, either to the north or ſouth. This laſt circumſtance has in ſome degree affected the lobſters within a few miles of the two rivers, by filling up the holes and cavities in or under the rocks, where the lobſters uſed formerly to lie, and retreat to in ſtormy weather; ſo that being now in a great meaſure deprived of their old abodes of ſecurity, they are frequently, in ſtorms and tempeſts, thrown on the ſhore, ſhattered and broken in pieces. A third aſcribes the failure to the great number of dogfiſh on the coaſts; but I ſuppoſe the number of them to be nearly the ſame, year by year. The dogfiſh is very voracious, and a great enemy to the fiſherman and his tackle, and therefore never ſpared when caught: beſides, it is well known that dogfiſh chiefly purſue the ſhoals of herrings, which have left theſe coaſts before the haddocks come on. A fourth ſays, the ſhoal of haddocks has met with beds of copperas at the bottom of the ſea, and thereby is poiſoned; but why ſhould ſuch beds (ſuppoſing the caſe true) have worſe effects in 1789, than at any time before?

It is an indiſputable fact, that many ſhips, on the return from Archangel, in the latter end of 1789, ſaw immenſe quantities of haddocks (no other fiſh were particularized), for fifty or ſixty leagues, I believe, lying dead on the ſurface of the ſea, but could not at that time aſcribe any cauſe for the event. I believe about that time an eruption broke out in Hecla, and perhaps it may with ſome degree of probability be conjectured, that volcanic matter, of noxious quality, may have burſt in the ſea, and occaſioned the above deſtruction, and failure ever ſince.

The few haddocks caught in 1789 and 1790 were remarkably large; theſe keep neareſt the ſhore: the ſmall ones lie more out to ſea; ſo that, when fiſhermen were wont to catch ſmall haddocks, they deſiſted, and came nearer the ſhore to procure the large ones. The ſhoal generally lay about one league from the ſhore, was about three miles in breadth, and in length extended near the whole coaſts of the three counties, in conſtant ſucceſſion, for about three months. The breed of haddocks ſeems nearly deſtroyed on theſe coaſts, which is a loſs of many thouſands of pounds *per annum* to fiſhermen and others, beſides the loſs of a very plentiful and acceptable article of food to perſons of all ranks, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, when the price of proviſions bears hard upon the poor.

May I hazard one queſtion: Is it probable that, in the enſuing winter, or a few ſucceeding ones, the fiſhery may recover by the return of a ſhoal of haddocks? For the two laſt winters I have waited with anxiety, but in vain, for ſuch an event to take place.

I am, &c.

COOPER ABBS.

Sunderland, May 27, 1792.

SIR,

Encouraged by the unexpected and favourable attention paid to my letter by Sir Joſeph Banks and yourſelf, I have, ſince the receipt of your favour of the 19th, daily mounted my horſe, to endeavour to gain further information on the myſterious ſubject. Three days ago, I was fortunate enough to hear of two perſons in Northumberland who were at Archangel in 1789, and waited upon them yeſterday. As they lived about two miles aſunder from each other, the one at North Shields, and the other at a village in the country, I had an opportunity of hearing, and aſking them queſtions ſeparately. Their names are, Mr. John Stoker, of the Ranger, and Mr. John Armſtrong, of the Integrity, of North Shields, maſters of ſhips of conſiderable ſize and value, men of ſober, decent character, intelligent and reſpected in their line of profeſſion, from whom I received the following account, which I have every reaſon to believe true. That in the latter end of July 1789, on the light paſſage to Archangel, after doubling the North Cape (where they joined eight or ten ſail of large ſhips from various ports and nations), and reducing their latitude from 69 to 68, between Fiſher's Iſland and Sweetnoſe, for about thirty leagues eaſt and ſouth, they, to their great ſurpriſe, for the ſpace of three days, in which they had variable winds, or light airs, fell in with immenſe quantities of haddocks and coal-fiſh, and no others whatever (the laſt is an ordinary fiſh, and perhaps its name may be local here, and unknown to you, but I confeſs I do not know any other name it has), lying on the ſurface of the ocean, and ſufficient, from the view they had of them for the three days, to have loaded all the ſhips then in company. That they found them for the ſpace of between twenty and thirty leagues in length, and in breadth, to the eaſt, from three to five leagues, as the ſhips ſtood off and on; but how much farther to the eaſt, and a few other points, they might extend, theſe perſons cannot pretend to ſay, ſuch points being out of their courſe for the ports they were deſtined to. That moſt of the fiſh were dead, though ſome were alive, as appeared by a ſlight motion of the tail, but in a very weak, feeble ſtate, and unable to ſink in the water.

In the above particulars Meſſrs. Stoker and Armſtrong perfectly agree, as to the truth of the fact. The latter, through cautious timidity, prevented his crew from taking up any of the fiſh; but the former took on board many, both dead and in a dying ſtate, of which he firſt ate, and then ſuffered his men to do the ſame: and at Archangel gave the remainder to the cuſtomhouſe officers, without any perſon receiving the leaſt injury. Mr. Stoker having, previous to eating the fiſh, tried the uſual experiment at ſea, of putting ſilver into the freſh water wherein the fiſh were boiled, the ſilver was not at all diſcoloured.

Talking with Mr. Stoker, in his parlour, I aſked him how many fiſh he could take up in that or any other given ſpace. He anſwered, that in various places the fiſh lay ſo thick, that in the compaſs of twelve or fifteen yards a boat load, from three to five tons, might have been taken up: that he meaſured ſeveral of the haddocks, from two to two feet eight inches in length, and ſix or ſeven inches deep; about twice the ſize of haddocks on our coaſts. That he opened all the haddocks he took on board, and in every one of them, both dead and expiring, he ſaw the *ſound* much inflated or blown up, to which he aſcribes the great deſtruction, but without being able to give any further ſatisfactory reaſon.

Mr. Stoker went from Archangel to Onega; and when Mr. Armſtrong, at the former place, related the ſtory to the merchants and inhabitants at the exchange, they replied, that they had known and heard of ſimilar accidents; and that the great quantity of thunder and lightning, uſual near the Cape, was the reaſon.

To the above relation, which I verily believe to be juſt and true, I ſhall not preſume to add a word of my own, but ſubmit the whole to your conſideration.

In my excurſion along the coaſt of Northumberland, I found a fiſherman careening his boat, who told me that, prior to the late failure, he had frequently, with the aſſiſtance of two men, taken and ſent to Newcaſtle, in one day, two boat loads of haddocks, containing in each from eighty to a hundred ſcore; but in the laſt ſeaſon he had not, in the whole, taken more than forty or fifty haddocks. He could give no reaſon for the failure, but another man attributed the ſcarcity to the want of hard gales of wind, for ſome years, to blow the fiſh off the Dogger Bank to theſe coaſts.

The accounts received from Meſſrs. Stoker and Armſtrong being more authentic than what I had heard before, will be a ſufficient apology, I truſt, for the few ſlight variations in my two letters.

I verily believe I cannot trace this ſubject further, without able inſtructions from gentlemen well verſed in a branch of knowledge wherein I am a novice.

I am, &c.
COOPER ABBS.

Deſcription of the Sea Wolf. From the third Vol. of Pagès' *Travels round the World.*

AS the waves break with conſiderable violence on the confines of Magdaleine iſle, I was careful to make choice of a calm day; and on my way thither I killed ſome *moutons de Cape* and *manches de velours*, or velvet ſleeves. On our approaching the land, I happened to take ſhot at a *manche de velour*, which alarmed a herd of ſea-wolves as they lay baſking in the ſun, who inſtantly got up to their ſeat, and raiſed ſuch cries as in number and variety I could only compare to the bleating of a flock of ſheep, when the old and young make mutual reſponſes to each other. The age and ſize of the animal might be diſtinguiſhed by the degree of tone and energy of his voice. Our landing was ſomewhat abrupt, the noiſe ceaſed, and numbers of them plunged into the ſea; but as they hovered near to the rocks a conſiderable time, I had an opportunity to hear diſtinctly the hoarſe cries of ſome of the largeſt, which have a great reſemblance to that of a young calf; but in this ſituation the young ones were entirely mute. After liſtening with much attention, I conceived that their cries were deſcriptive of anxiety of ſtate of mind, or of a gentle tranſition from one ſpecies of emotion to another, but which did not indicate a ſentiment of fear. We were provided with ſmall bludgeons, with which we ſtunned them by ſtriking them on the mouth. We killed fourteen, and took four young ones alive. This timorous animal, impelled by the impulſe of nature, made conſtantly towards the water by the ſhorteſt way, even ſhould it lie between our legs, but never attempted to bite, except when irritated by an interception of his flight. Had they been capable of maintaining their ground with the obſtinacy of ſome animals, we might have found it difficult to make good a retreat; for they are remarkably ſtrong, and were in ſuch numbers as almoſt to cover the ſoil. This herd could not conſiſt of fewer than three thouſand. The largeſt were about four feet long by two and a half round; but the average ſize was two and a half or three feet in length, and one and a half round the breaſt. The ſea-wolf appears to be extremely dull in the ſenſe of hearing; for as they ſwam along the ſhore at the ſhort diſtance of three paces, I called to one of the party to obſerve their movements, but the ſound of my voice did not moleſt them in the leaſt. If, however, I made the ſlighteſt motion or geſture, they inſtantly dived and fled out to ſea. Hence it ſhould ſeem, that the eye in this animal is a much more delicate organ of ſenſation than the ear. The eye is not deſtitute of beauty, though it is frequently heavy and clouded.

With reſpect to the object of that inſtinct in their nature which ſeems conſtantly to urge them to land, I confeſs myſelf at a loſs; but I obſerved, that as ſoon as we had withdrawn to the ſmalleſt diſtance from the ſhore, they began as before to climb the rocks, and to ſcramble towards a dry ſituation; an impulſe which they obeyed with ſo little diſcretion, that we took ſome of them by cutting off their retreat to the water. On a dry and level ſpot of ground their motion is too ſlow to enable them to elude a purſuit; but if they happen to reach a ſmooth rock inclining towards the ſea, they eſcape with great facility.

Some we took alive by blindfolding them with a coarſe ſack, which ſerved to defend us againſt their teeth; others we ſeized by the hinder legs, dragging them backwards on their bellies; for as they are very large and corpulent, it is with the utmoſt difficulty they can turn round to avenge themſelves on an enemy. The ſame propenſity, whatever it may mean, which carries them with eagerneſs to the ſhore, determines them to keep hovering near the rocks after they have got into the water. In this ſituation they amuſed us with many curious evolutions; ſometimes they vault high above the ſurface, or hold themſelves upright, with mouth, head, and neck raiſed above the water; ſometimes they take a rotatory motion like a wheel;

and ſometimes they ſpring about a foot high and dive immediately, extending the fore feet along the belly, and ſtretching out the hinder ones in the manner of a fan or fiſh's tail.

I imagined at firſt that they were impelled to land, as well as to theſe movements, from the neceſſity of reſpiring; but, having obſerved them, on ſome occaſions, remain a long time under water, I abandoned this hypotheſis. I am perſuaded, however, that water is an element leſs agreeable to the ſea-wolf than land; an idea which was ſuggeſted by an extreme deſire they diſcover of indulging in a ſort of ſenſual ſleep or ſtupor. I was afterwards much confirmed in this opinion by an attentive obſervation of ſome which I kept alive, as I ſhall mention ſoon. Upon this ſuppoſition, however, what an apparent contradiction in the œconomy of nature, as it relates to this animal! a being, which, with a ſtrong predilection for land, is forced by hunger to proceed far out to ſea, and find his food at the bottom of the ocean!

When in the ſun, the ſea-wolf either ſits upright or lies on his belly, ſtretching out his ſnout between his legs like a dog; if he would get into motion, he preſſes himſelf forward by protruding his fore and hinder parts alternately in the manner of a caterpillar. He then raiſes his head and noſe like a pointer when he ſmells his game; and as he proceeds, has ſome reſemblance to a terrier which riſes and walks on his hinder legs. This effort, I ſhould ſuppoſe, is painful to the animal; it ſeems, however, neceſſarily to reſult, partly from the ſhortneſs of his legs, which are ſcarcely viſible above the feet, and partly from the extreme corpulency and repletion of his body. The hair of the cub is of a duſky black, the ſnout is not ſo conical as it is uſually repreſented, nor is the higher part of the noſe equally depreſſed; the teeth are ſmall, the muſtachoes of a conſiderable length, and the expreſſion of the face mild and inoffenſive. The ears are narrow, cloſe, and ſhort, being only one inch and a half in length, a circumſtance which gives him much the appearance of a cropped dog. His neck is thick, full, and ſo even with his head, that the hand glides ſmoothly over it; and hence it is very difficult to faſten the fingers on this part of the animal. His breaſt is large, but gradually diminiſhes towards the oppoſite extremity, which terminates in a very ſmall tail of only two inches in length, and one eighth of an inch in diameter.

He has a ſort of web foot, formed of a coarſe cartilaginous ſubſtance, reſembling the fins of the ſea-calf. The exterior part of this membrane contains five toes, which are never completely extended; the innermoſt is the moſt diſtinctly marked, the next two are leſs ſo, and the two exterior ones are ſcarcely perceptible. The nails appear like ſcales above the membrane which contains the toes, but do not extend to its extremity; they lie under the hair, and are ſo very little obſerved that they hardly deſerve to be mentioned.

The hinder feet have alſo five toes; the three middle ones have their points and nails like thoſe of a dog, very diſtinguiſhable; the remaining two are neither ſo large, nor are the joints equally prominent. On theſe the nail is extremely ſmall, with the appearance of having been worn thin: the five nails are placed in the middle of the foot, which under the three interior toes conſiſts of a ſlender bony cartilage; the other two, being of nearly the ſame thickneſs in their whole length, are larger in their extremities than the three middle ones. The toes of the hinder feet are all connected by a membrane like that of a gooſe. There ſeems to be ſomething whimſical in the poſition of the nails, as they can be of no manner of uſe to the animal but to ſcratch, nor can they even render him this ſervice without bending the foot in a painful poſture.

I kept two of theſe animals alive for the ſpace of eight days; at firſt I immerſed them in a tub of ſea-water, ſix inches deep, and five feet long; but as they ſeemed extremely reſtleſs, and made frequent attempts to eſcape from their confinement, I drew off the water. After repeating the experiment twice, and finding them ſtill unhappy and impatient, I at laſt allowed them to remain dry. When they found themſelves diſincumbered of the water, they began to ſhake their ears, and ſcratch and clean themſelves like a dog. They kept cloſe to one another, and ſometimes ſneezed like the above animal.

In fine weather I permitted them to amuſe themſelves in their own way. They never diſcovered an inclination to eſcape, but in view of the ſea; on all other occaſions they either ſtretched out their limbs and baſked in the ſun, or kept tumbling about, rubbing their ſnout againſt the ground, or ſhaking and ſcratching themſelves with their teeth and nails. They ſeemed to receive pleaſure from being ſcratched by the ſeamen, with whom they contracted a degree of familiarity, in ſo much, that they uſed to crawl round them, ſmelling the lower part of their trowſers. They diſcovered a preference for clothes of a blue colour, which I am therefore inclined to believe is the colour of their natural food. They ſhowed a conſtant propenſity to aſcend, and got eaſily on the quarter deck, probably in order to have the benefit of the ſun in a high ſituation. Their mutual ſcratchings and careſſes indicate a fondneſs for each other: they were no ſooner ſeparated than they joined company again with all poſſible diſpatch; and we had only to carry off one to be inſtantly followed by the other, an experiment which afforded daily diverſion to the ſailors.

After living ſome time in this ſtate of unnatural confinement, their eyes began to gliſten, probably from a heat of blood, as they refuſed all manner of food: I offered them fiſh, and bread moiſtened with water, which they ſmelled to, but would not eat. I endeavoured to make them ſwallow flour mixed with water a little brackiſh, with no better ſucceſs, for it did not remain a moment on their ſtomach. On the ſeventh day one of them was ſeized with a violent palpitation and ſobbing, like the hiccups; he foamed at the mouth, diſcharging a greeniſh ſubſtance, and gnawed the ſides of his tub; ſymptoms which ſeemed to indicate approaching madneſs, and he was immediately thrown overboard. Next day I let his companion looſe in a piece of meadow ground, obſerving from my concealment whether he fed upon graſs; but after watching a long time, finding he would not eat, I drove him likewiſe into the ſea. He kept ſwimming, however, cloſe to the boat, probably miſtaking it for a rock, and I had ſome difficulty to drive him out to ſea. At firſt he was weak, and ſwam with little ſpirit, but in a little time he dived, and after remaining about a minute under water, returned to the ſurface much more alert and vigorous. He had probably refreſhed himſelf at the bottom with his natural food. He now took a final leave, and ſwam towards ſome rocks at a conſiderable diſtance.

On elementary Heat. From the firſt Part of Dr. Darwin's *Botanic Garden.*

A Certain quantity of heat ſeems to be combined with all bodies, beſides the ſenſible quantity which gravitates like the electric fluid amongſt them. This combined heat or latent heat of Dr. Black, when ſet at liberty by fermentation, inflammation, cryſtallization, freezing, or other chemical attractions producing new *combinations*, paſſes as a fluid element into the ſurrounding bodies. And by thawing, diffuſion of neutral ſalts in water, melting, and other chemical *ſolutions*, a portion of heat is attracted from the bodies in vicinity, and enters into or becomes combined with the new ſolutions.

Hence a *combination* of metals with acids, of eſſential oils and acids, of alcohol and water; of acids and water, give out heat; whilſt a *ſolution* of ſnow in water or in acids, and of neutral ſalts in water, attract heat from the ſurrounding bodies. So the acid of nitre mixed with oil of cloves unites with it and produces a moſt violent flame; the ſame acid of nitre poured on ſnow inſtantly diſſolves it, and produces the greateſt degree of cold yet known, by which at Peterſburgh quickſilver was firſt frozen in 1760.

Water may be cooled below 32° without being frozen, if it be placed on a ſolid floor, and ſecured from agitation, but when thus cooled below the freezing point the leaſt agitation turns part of it ſuddenly into ice, and when this ſudden freezing takes place, a thermometer placed in it inſtantly riſes as ſome heat is given out in the act of congelation, and the ice is thus left with the ſame *ſenſible* degree of cold as the water had poſſeſſed before it was agitated, but is nevertheleſs now combined with leſs *latent* heat.

A cubic inch of water thus cooled down to 32°, mixed with an equal quantity of boiling water at 212°, will cool it to the middle number between theſe two, or to 122. But a cubic inch of ice whoſe ſenſible cold alſo is but 32, mixed with an equal quantity of boiling water, will cool it ſix times as much as the cubic inch of cold water above-mentioned, as the ice not only gains its ſhare of the ſenſible or gravitating heat of the boiling water, but attracts to itſelf alſo and combines with the quantity of latent heat which it had loſt at the time of its congelation.

So boiling water will acquire but 212° of heat under the common preſſure of the atmoſphere, but the ſteam raiſed from it by its expanſion, or by its ſolution in the atmoſphere, combines with and carries away a prodigious quantity of heat, which it again parts with on its condenſation; as is ſeen in common diſtillation, where the large quantity of water in the worm-tub is ſo ſoon heated. Hence the evaporation of ether on a thermometer ſoon ſinks the mercury below freezing, and hence a warmth of the air in winter frequently ſucceeds a ſhower.

When the matter of heat or calorique is ſet at liberty from its combinations, as by inflammation, it paſſes into the ſurrounding bodies, which poſſeſs different capacities of acquiring their ſhare of the looſe or ſenſible heat; thus a pint meaſure of cold water at 48° mixed with a pint of boiling water at 212° will cool it to the degree between theſe two numbers, or to 154°, but it requires two pint meaſures of quickſilver at 48° of heat to cool one pint of water as above. Theſe and other curious experiments are adduced by Dr. Black to evince the exiſtence of combined or latent heat in bodies, as has been explained by ſome of his pupils, and well illuſtrated by Dr. Crawford. The world has long been in expectation of an account of his diſcoveries on this ſubject by the celebrated author himſelf.

As this doctrine of elementary heat in its fluid and combined ſtate is not yet univerſally received, I ſhall here add two arguments in ſupport of it, drawn from different ſources, viz. from the heat given out or abſorbed by the mechanical condenſation or expanſion of the air, and perhaps of other bodies, and from the analogy of the various phenomena of heat with thoſe of electricity.

I. If a thermometer be placed in the receiver of an air-pump, and the air haſtily exhauſted, the thermometer will ſink ſome degrees, and the glaſs become ſteamy; the ſame occurs in haſtily admitting a part of the air again. This I ſuppoſe to be produced by the expanſion of part of the air, both during the exhauſtion and re-admiſſion of it; and that the air ſo expanded becomes capable of attracting from the bodies in its vicinity a part of their heat, hence the vapours contained in it and the glaſs receiver are for a time colder, and the ſteam is precipitated. That the air thus parts with its moiſture from the cold occaſioned by its rarefaction and not ſimply by the rarefaction itſelf, is evident, becauſe in a minute or two the ſame rarefied air will again take up the dew depoſited on the receiver; and becauſe water will evaporate ſooner in rare than in denſe air.

There is a curious phenomenon ſimilar to this obſerved in the fountain of Hiero, conſtructed on a large ſcale at the Chemnicenſian mines in Hungary. In this machine the air in a large veſſel is compreſſed by a column of water 260 feet high; a ſtop-cock is then opened, and as the air iſſues out with great vehemence, and thus becomes immediately greatly expanded, ſo much cold is produced that the moiſture from this ſtream of air is precipitated in the form of ſnow, and ice is formed adhering to the noſel of the cock. This remarkable circumſtance is deſcribed at large with a plate of the machine, in Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. LII. for 1761.

The following experiment is related by Dr. Darwin in the Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. LXXVIII. Having charged an air-gun as forcibly as he well could, the air-cell and ſyringe became exceedingly hot, much more ſo than could be aſcribed to the friction in working it; it was then left about half an hour to cool down to the temperature of the air, and a thermometer having been previouſly fixed againſt a wall, the air was diſcharged in a continual ſtream on its bulb, and it ſunk many degrees. From theſe three experiments of the ſteam in the exhauſted receiver being depoſited and re-abſorbed, when a part of the air is exhauſted or re-admitted, and the ſnow produced by the fountain of Hiero, and the extraordinary heat given out in charging, and the cold produced in diſcharging an air-gun, there is reaſon to conclude that when air is mechanically compreſſed the elementary fluid heat is preſſed out of it, and that when it is mechanically expanded the ſame fluid heat is re-abſorbed from the common maſs.

It is probable all other bodies as well as air attract heat from their neighbours when they are mechanically expanded, and give it out when they are mechanically condenſed. Thus when a vibration of the particles of hard bodies is excited by friction or by percuſſion, theſe particles mutually recede from and approach each other reciprocally: at the times of their receſſion from each other, the body becomes enlarged in bulk, and is then in a condition to attract heat from thoſe in its vicinity with great and ſudden power; at the times of their approach to each other this heat is again given out, but the bodies in contact having in the mean while received the heat they had thus loſt, from other bodies behind them, do not ſo ſuddenly or ſo forcibly re-abſorb the heat again from the body in vibration; hence it remains on its ſurface like the electric fluid on a rubbed glaſs globe, and for the ſame reaſon, becauſe there is no good conductor to take it up again. Hence at every vibration more and more heat is acquired and ſtands looſe upon the ſurface; as in filing metals or rubbing glaſs tubes; and thus a ſmith with a few ſtrokes on a nail on his anvil can make it hot enough to light a brimſtone match; and hence in ſtriking flint and ſteel together heat enough is produced to vitrify the parts thus ſtrucken off, the quantity of which heat is again probably increaſed by the new chemical combination.

II. The analogy between the phenomena of the electric fluid and of heat furniſhes another argument in ſupport of the exiſtence of heat as a gravitating fluid. 1. They are both accumulated by friction on the excited body. 2. They are propagated eaſily or with difficulty along the ſame claſſes of bodies; with eaſe by metals; with leſs eaſe by water; and with difficulty by reſins, bees-wax, ſilk, air, and glaſs. Thus glaſs canes or canes of ſealing-wax may be melted by a blow-pipe or a candle within a quarter of an inch of the fingers which hold them, without any inconvenient heat, while a pin or other metallic ſubſtance applied to the flame of a candle ſo readily conducts the heat as immediately to burn the fingers. Hence clothes of ſilk keep the body warmer than clothes of linen of equal thickneſs, by confining the heat upon the body. And hence plains are ſo much warmer than the ſummits of mountains by the greater denſity of the air confining the acquired heat upon them. 3. They both give out light in their paſſage through air, perhaps not in their paſſage through a vacuum. 4. They both of them fuſe or vitrify metals. 5. Bodies after being electrized if they are mechanically extended will receive a greater quantity of electricity, as in Dr. Franklin's experiment of the chain in the tankard; the ſame ſeems true in reſpect to heat as explained above. 6. Both heat and electricity contribute

bute to ſuſpend ſteam in the atmoſphere by producing or increaſing the repulſion of its particles. 7. They both gravitate, when they have been accumulated, till they find their equilibrium.

If we add to the above the many chemical experiments which receive an eaſy and elegant explanation from the ſuppoſed matter of heat, as employed in the works of Bergman and Lavoiſier, I think we may reaſonably allow of its exiſtence as an element, occaſionally combined with other bodies, and occaſionally exiſting as a fluid, like the electric fluid gravitating amongſt them. And that hence it may be propagated from the central fires of the earth to the whole maſs, and contribute to preſerve the mean heat of the earth, which in this country is about 48 degrees, but variable from the greater or leſs effect of the ſun's heat in different climates, ſo well explained in Mr. Kirwan's Treatiſe on the Temperature of different Latitudes, 1787, Elmſly, London.

On Fairy Rings. From the ſame.

THERE is a phenomenon ſuppoſed to be electric which is yet unaccounted for, I mean the fairy-rings, as they are called, ſo often ſeen on the graſs. The numerous flaſhes of lightning which occur every ſummer are, I believe, generally diſcharged on the earth, and but ſeldom (if ever) from one cloud to another. Moiſt trees are the moſt frequent conductors of theſe flaſhes of lightning, and I am informed by purchaſers of wood that innumerable trees are thus cracked and injured. At other times larger parts or prominences of clouds gradually ſinking as they move along, are diſcharged on the moiſter parts of graſſy plains. Now this knob or corner of a cloud in being attracted by the earth will become nearly cylindrical, as looſe wool would do when drawn out into a thread, and will ſtrike the earth with a ſtream of electricity perhaps two or ten yards in diameter. Now as a ſtream of electricity diſplaces the air it paſſes through, it is plain no part of the graſs can be burnt by it, but juſt the external ring of this cylinder where the graſs can have acceſs to the air, ſince without air nothing can be calcined. This earth after having been ſo calcined becomes a richer ſoil, and either funguſes or a bluer graſs for many years mark the place. That lightning diſplaces the air in its paſſage, is evinced by the loud crack that ſucceeds it, which is owing to the ſides of the aerial vacuum clapping together when the lightning is withdrawn. That nothing will calcine without air is now well underſtood from the acids produced in the burning of phlogiſtic ſubſtances, and may be agreeably ſeen by ſuſpending a paper on an iron prong, and putting it into the center of the blaze of an iron-furnace; it may be held there ſome ſeconds, and may be again withdrawn without its being burnt, if it be paſſed quickly into the flame and out again through the external part of it which is in contact with the air. I know ſome circles of many yards diameter of this kind near Foremark in Derbyſhire, which annually produce large white funguſes and ſtronger graſs, and have done ſo, I am informed, above thirty years. This increaſed fertility of the ground by calcination or charring, and its continuing to operate ſo many years, is well worth the attention

tion of the farmer, and ſhews the uſe of paring and burning new turf in agriculture, which produces its effect not ſo much by the aſhes of the vegetable fibres, as by charring the ſoil which adheres to them.

Theſe ſituations, whether from eminence or from moiſture, which were proper once to attract and diſcharge a thunder-cloud, are more liable again to experience the ſame. Hence many fairy-rings are often ſeen near each other either without interſecting each other, as I ſaw this ſummer in a garden in Nottinghamſhire, or interſecting each other, as deſcribed on Arthur's ſeat near Edinburgh, in the Edinb. Tranſ. Vol. II. p. 3.

On Vegetable Reſpiration. From the ſame.

I. THERE have been various opinions concerning the uſe of the leaves of plants in the vegetable œconomy. Some have contended that they are perſpiratory organs; this does not ſeem probable from an experiment of Dr. Hales, Veg. Stat. p. 30. He found by cutting off branches of trees with apples on them, and taking off the leaves, that an apple exhaled about as much as two leaves, the ſurfaces of which were nearly equal to the apple; whence it would appear that apples have as good a claim to be termed perſpiratory organs as leaves. Others have believed them excretory organs of excrementitious juices; but as the vapour exhaled from vegetables has no taſte, this idea is no more probable than the other; add to this that in moiſt weather they do not appear to perſpire or exhale at all.

The internal ſurface of the lungs or air-veſſels in men, are ſaid to be equal to the external ſurface of the whole body, or about fifteen ſquare feet; on this ſurface the blood is expoſed to the influence of the reſpired air, through the medium however of a thin pellicle; by this expoſure to the air it has its colour changed from deep red to bright ſcarlet, and acquires ſomething ſo neceſſary to the exiſtence of life, that we can live ſcarcely a minute without this wonderful proceſs.

The analogy between the leaves of plants and the lungs or gills of animals ſeems to embrace ſo many circumſtances, that we can ſcarcely withhold our aſſent to their performing ſimilar offices.

1. The great ſurface of the leaves, compared to that of the trunk and branches of trees, is ſuch, that it would ſeem to be an organ well adapted for the purpoſe of expoſing the vegetable juices to the influence of the air; this however we ſhall ſee afterwards is probably performed only by their upper ſurfaces, yet even in this caſe the ſurfaces of the leaves in general bear a greater proportion to the ſurface of the tree, than the lungs of animals to their external ſurfaces.

2. In the lungs of animals, the blood after having been expoſed to the air in the extremities of the pulmonary artery, is changed in colour from deep red to bright ſcarlet, and certainly in ſome of its eſſential properties; it is then collected by the pulmonary vein and returned to the heart. To ſhew a ſimilarity of circumſtance in the leaves of plants the following experiment was made, June 24, 1781: A ſtalk with leaves and ſeed-veſſels of large ſpurge (Euphorbia helioſcopia) had been ſeveral days placed in a decoction of madder

(Rubia tinctorum) ſo that the lower part of the ſtem, and two of the undermoſt leaves, were immerſed in it. After having waſhed the immerſed leaves in clear water, I could readily diſcern the colour of the madder paſſing along the middle rib of each leaf. This red artery was beautifully viſible both on the under and upper ſurface of the leaf; but on the upper ſide many red branches were ſeen going from it to the extremities of the leaf, which on the other ſide were not viſible except by looking through it againſt the light. On this under ſide a ſyſtem of branching veſſels carrying a pale milky fluid were ſeen coming from the extremities of the leaf, and covering the whole underſide of it, and joining into two large veins, one on each ſide of the red artery in the middle rib of the leaf, and along with it deſcending to the footſtalk or petiole. On ſlitting one of theſe leaves with ſciſſars, and having a common magnifying lens ready, the milky blood was ſeen oozing out of the returning veins on each ſide of the red artery in the middle rib, but none of the red fluid from the artery.

All theſe appearances were more eaſily ſeen in a leaf of Picris treated in the ſame manner; for in this milky plant the ſtems and middle rib of the leaves are ſometimes naturally coloured reddiſh, and hence the colour of the madder ſeemed to paſs further into the ramifications of their leaf-arteries, and was there beautifully viſible with the returning branches of milky veins on each ſide.

3. From theſe experiments the upper ſurface of the leaf appeared to be the immediate organ of reſpiration, becauſe the coloured fluid was carried to the extremities of the leaf by veſſels moſt conſpicuous on the upper ſurface, and there changed into a milky fluid, which is the blood of the plant, and then returned by concomitant veins on the under ſurface, which were ſeen to ooze when divided with ſciſſars, and which in Picris particularly render the under ſurface of the leaves greatly whiter than the upper one.

4. As the upper ſurface of leaves conſtitutes the organ of reſpiration, on which the ſap is expoſed in the terminations of arteries beneath a thin pellicle to the action of the atmoſphere, theſe ſurfaces in many plants ſtrongly repel moiſture, as cabbage-leaves, whence the particles of rain lying over their ſurfaces without touching them, as obſerved by Mr Melville (Eſſays Literary and Philoſoph. Edinburgh) have the appearance of globules of quickſilver. And hence leaves laid with the upper ſurfaces on water wither as ſoon as in the dry air, but continue green many days, if placed with the under ſurfaces on water, as appears in the experiments of Monſ. Bonnet (Uſage des Feuvilles.) Hence ſome aquatic plants, as the water-lily (Nymphœa) have the lower ſides of their leaves floating on the water, while the upper ſurfaces remain dry in the air.

5. As thoſe inſects, which have many ſpiracula, or breathing apertures, as waſps and flies, are immediately ſuffocated by pouring oil upon them, I carefully covered with oil the ſurfaces of ſeveral leaves of Phlomis, of Portugal Laurel, and Balſams, and though it would not regularly adhere, I found them all die in a day or two.

Of aquatic leaves, it may be added, that many are furniſhed with muſcles about their footſtalks, to turn their upper ſurfaces to the air or light, as Mimoſa and Hedyſarum gyrans. From all theſe analogies I think there can be no doubt but that leaves of trees are their lungs, giving out a phlogiſtic material to the atmoſphere, and abſorbing oxygene or vital air.

6. The great uſe of light to vegetation would appear from this theory to be by diſengaging vital air from the water which they perſpire, and thence to facilitate its union with their blood expoſed beneath the thin ſurface of their leaves; ſince when pure air is thus applied, it is probable, that it can be more readily abſorbed. Hence in the curious experiments of Dr. Prieſtley and Mr. Ingenhouſz, ſome plants purified air leſs than others, that is, they perſpired leſs in the ſunſhine; and Mr. Scheele found, that by putting peas into water, which about half-covered them, they converted the vital air into fixed air, or carbonic acid gas, in the ſame manner as in animal reſpiration.

7. The circulation in the lungs or leaves of plants is very ſimilar to that of fiſh. In fiſh the blood after having paſſed through their gills does not return to the heart as from the lungs of air-breathing animals, but the pulmonary vein taking the ſtructure of an artery after having received the blood from the gills, which there gains a more florid colour, diſtributes it to the other parts of their bodies. The ſame ſtructure occurs in the livers of fiſh, whence we ſee in thoſe animals two circulations independent of the power of the heart, viz. that beginning at the termination of the veins of the gills, and branching through the muſcles; and that which paſſes through the liver; both which are carried on by the action of thoſe reſpective arteries and veins. Monro's Phyſiology of Fiſh, p. 19.

The courſe of the fluids in the roots, leaves, and buds of vegetables ſeems to be performed in a manner ſimilar to both theſe. Firſt the abſorbent veſſels of the roots and ſurfaces unite at the footſtalk of the leaf; and then, like the Vena Portarum, an artery commences without the intervention of a heart, and ſpreads the ſap in its numerous ramifications on the upper ſurface of the leaf; here it changes its colour and properties, and becomes vegetable blood; and is again collected by a pulmonary vein on the under ſurface of the leaf. This vein, like that which receives the blood from the gills of fiſh, aſſumes the office and name of an artery, and branching again diſperſes the blood upward to the bud from the footſtalk of the leaf, and downward to the roots; where it is all expended in the various ſecretions, the nouriſhment and growth of the plant, as faſt as it is prepared.

II. The organ of reſpiration already ſpoken of belongs particularly to the ſhoots or buds; but there is another pulmonary ſyſtem, perhaps totally independent of the green foliage, which belongs to the fructification only, I mean the corol or petals. In this there is an artery belonging to each petal, which conveys the vegetable blood to its extremities, expoſing it to the light and air under a delicate membrane, covering the internal ſurface of the petal, where it often changes its colour, as is beautifully ſeen in ſome party-coloured poppies; though it is probable ſome of the irideſcent colours of flowers may be owing to the different degrees of tenuity of the exterior membrane of the leaf refracting the light like ſoap-bubbles, the vegetable blood is then returned by correſpondent vegetable veins, exactly as in the green foliage; for the purpoſes of the important ſecretions of honey, wax, the finer eſſential oil, and the prolific duſt of the anthers.

1. The vaſcular ſtructure of the corol as above deſcribed, and which is viſible to the naked eye, and its expoſing the vegetable juices to the air and light during the day, evinces that it is a pulmonary organ.

2. As the glands which produce the prolific duſt of the anthers, the honey, wax, and frequently ſome odoriferous eſſential oil, are generally attached to the corol, and always fall off and periſh with it, it is evident that the blood is elaborated or oxygenated in this pulmonary ſyſtem for the purpoſe of theſe important ſecretions.

3. Many flowers, as the Colchicum and Hamamelis, ariſe naked in autumn, no green leaves appearing till the enſuing ſpring; and many others put forth their flowers and complete their impregnation early in the ſpring before the green foliage appears, as Mezereon, cherries, pears; which ſhews that theſe corols are the lungs belonging to the fructification.

4. This organ does not ſeem to have been neceſſary for the defence of the ſtamens and piſtils, ſince the calyx of many flowers, as Tragopogon, performs this office; and in many flowers theſe petals themſelves are ſo tender as to require being ſhut up in the calyx during the night, for what other uſe then can ſuch an apparatus of veſſels be deſigned?

5. In the Helleborus-niger, Chriſtmas-roſe, after the ſeeds are grown to a certain ſize, the nectaries and ſtamens drop off, and the beautiful large white petals change their colour to a deep green, and gradually thus become a calyx incloſing and defending the ripening ſeeds; hence it would ſeem that the white veſſels of the corol ſerved the office of expoſing the blood to the action of the air, for the purpoſes of ſeparating or producing the honey, wax, and prolific duſt; and when theſe were no longer wanted, that theſe veſſels coaleſced like the placental veſſels of animals after their birth, and thus ceaſed to perform that office, and loſt at the ſame time their white colour. Why ſhould they loſe their white colour, unleſs they at the ſame time loſt ſome other property beſides that of defending the ſeed-veſſel, which they ſtill continue to defend?

6. From theſe obſervations I am led to doubt whether green leaves be abſolutely neceſſary to the progreſs of the fruit-bud after the laſt year's leaves are fallen off. The green leaves ſerve as lungs to the ſhoots, and foſter the new buds in their boſoms, whether theſe buds be leaf-buds or fruit-buds; but in the early ſpring the fruit-buds expand their corols, which are their lungs, and ſeem no longer to require green leaves; hence the vine bears fruit at one joint without leaves, and puts out a leaf-bud at another joint without fruit. And I ſuppoſe the green leaves which riſe out of the earth in the ſpring from the Colchicum are for the purpoſe of producing the

new bulb, and its placenta, and not for the giving maturity to the ſeed. When currant or gooſberry-trees loſe their leaves by the depredation of inſects, the fruit continues to be formed, though leſs ſweet, and leſs in ſize.

7. From theſe facts it appears that the flower-bud after the corol falls off, (which is its lungs,) and the ſtamens and nectary along with it, becomes ſimply an uterus for the purpoſe of ſupplying the growing embryon with nouriſhment, together with a ſyſtem of abſorbent veſſels which bring the juices of the earth to the footſtalk of the fruit, and which there changes into an artery for the purpoſe of diſtributing the ſap for the ſecretion of the ſaccharine or farinaceous or aceſcent materials for the uſe of the embryon. At the ſame time as all the veſſels of the different buds of trees inoſculate or communicate with each other, the fruit becomes ſweeter and larger when the green leaves continue on the tree, but the mature flowers themſelves, (the ſucceeding fruit not conſidered) perhaps ſuffer little injury from the green leaves being taken off, as ſome floriſts have obſerved.

8. That the veſſels of different vegetable buds inoſculate in various parts of their circulation is rendered probable by the increaſed growth of one bud, when others in its vicinity are cut away; as it thus ſeems to receive the nouriſhment which was before divided amongſt many.

Account of a remarkable Change which was found to have taken place in the Subſtance of Bodies buried in the Cemetery of the Holy Innocents *at* Paris. *From the Gentleman's Magazine for January* 1792, *under the Article of "Foreign Literary Intelligence."*

SINCE the year 1186, when the church-yard of the Holy Innocents, then very ancient, was incloſed with walls, it has been the conſtant burial-place of ſeveral pariſhes. The number of dead brought thither was always conſiderable; and, in leſs than 30 years, the laſt ſexton interred there upwards of 900,000 corpſes. In a ſpace of little more than 1700 ſquare fathoms were accumulated thouſands of dead bodies, of which, for the moſt part, 12 or 15 hundred were laid together in one common grave of 25 or 30 feet deep. The effluvia of this vaſt maſs of corruption, exiſting in the midſt of a populous city, penetrated the cellars of the neighbouring houſes; and ſome dangerous diſeaſes having broken out in its vicinity, apparently in conſequence of them, it was determined to attempt in part its removal. In about ſix months a ſtratum of the tainted earth eight or ten feet thick was carried away, to render the ſurface level with that of the ſtreet. The graves that were opened were covered with ſolid maſonry; and a thick layer of cement, to intercept any exhalations, was laid over all. An undertaking ſingular in its kind could not but afford new objects to the obſerver. The moſt remarkable appearance was the converſion of moſt of the ſoft parts of the body into an uniform, white, flabby ſubſtance, called by the grave-diggers *fat (gras)*. This was extremely common. In well-preſerved coffins, the earth ſurrounding which was tinged with a very deep black colour, were found the grave-clothes in a ſtate of freſhneſs, incloſing bodies not at all changed in bulk; and on uncovering theſe the fleſh appeared well preſerved, except that it was changed into the above-mentioned ſubſtance. The eyes, eye-brows, and hair, were perfect, and the fatty ſubſtance was found in all the *viſcera*, and even within the bones. M. de Fourcroy, who has analyſed this ſubſtance, conſiders it as an ammoniacal ſoap, mixed with a ſmall portion of extractive matter, and three phoſphoric ſalts. It bears conſiderable analogy to ſpermaceti. The converſion of bodies into this matter is ſpeedy: for, a few excepted, all the bodies contained in the laſt large graves, that had been ſhut only five years, were completely changed into it.

Obſervations on Colours. From Nicholſon's *Tranſlation of* Chaptal's *Elements of Chemiſtry.*

COLOURS are all formed in the ſolar light. The property which bodies poſſeſs of abſorbing ſome rays, and reflecting others, forms the various tinges of colours with which they are decorated, as is proved from the experiments of Newton.——But in what manner do the coloured bodies of the three kingdoms of nature acquire the property of conſtantly reflecting one determined kind of rays? This is a very delicate queſtion: for the elucidation of which I ſhall bring together a few facts.

It appears that the three colours which are the moſt eminently primitive,—the only colours to which we need pay attention,—that is to ſay, the blue, the yellow, and the red,—are developed in the bodies of the three kingdoms by a greater or leſs abſorption of oxigene, which combines with the various principles of thoſe bodies.

In the mineral kingdom, the firſt impreſſion of fire, or the firſt degree of calcination, developes a blue colour, ſometimes interſperſed with yellow, as is obſervable when lead, tin, copper, iron, or other metals, are expoſed in a ſtate of fuſion to the action of the air, to haſten their cooling. This may be eſpecially obſerved in ſteel plates which are coloured blue by heating.

Metals acquire the property of reflecting the yellow colour by combining with a greater quantity of oxigene; and accordingly we perceive this colour in moſt of them, in proportion as the calcination advances. Maſſicot, litharge, ochre, orpiment, and yellow precipitate, are inſtances of this.

A ſtronger combination of oxigene appears to produce the red; whence we obtain minium, colcothar, red precipitate, &c.

This proceſs is not uniform through all the bodies of the mineral kingdom; for it is natural to infer that the effects muſt be modified by the nature of the baſe with which the oxigene combines. Thus it is that in ſome of them we perceive the blue colour almoſt immediately followed by a black; which may eaſily be accounted for, on the conſideration that there is a very ſlight difference between the property of reflecting the weakeſt rays, and that of reflecting none at all.

To give additional force to the obſervations here made, we may alſo take notice that the metals themſelves are moſt of them colourleſs, and become coloured by calcination; that is to ſay, by the fixation and combination of oxigene.

The effects of the combination of oxigene are equally evident in the mineral as in the vegetable [in the vegetable as in the mineral] kingdom; and in order to convince ourſelves of this, we need only follow the operations in the method of preparing and developing the principal colours, ſuch as indigo, paſtel [woad,] turnſole, &c.—We likewiſe obſerve that the firſt degree of combination of oxigene with oil (in combuſtion) developes the blue colour for the inſtant.

The blue colour is formed in dead vegetables only by fermentation. Now in theſe caſes there is a fixation of oxigene. This oxigene combines with the fecula in indigo, with an extractive principle in turnſole, &c.; and moſt colours are likewiſe ſuſceptible of being converted into red by a greater quantity of oxigene. Thus it is that turnſole reddens by expoſure to air, or to the action of acids: becauſe the acid is decompoſed upon the *mucilage*, which is the receptacle of the colour; as may be ſeen in ſyrup of violets, upon which the acids are decompoſed when concentrated. The ſame thing does not happen when a *fecula* is ſaturated with oxigene, and does not admit of the decompoſition of the acid. Hence it is that indigo does not become red by acids, but is on the contrary ſoluble in them. It is likewiſe for the ſame reaſon that we obſerve a red colour developed in vegetables in which an acid continually acts, as in the leaves of the oxalis, of the virgin vine, the common ſorrel, and the ordinary vine. Hence alſo it happens that acids brighten moſt of the red colours; and that a very highly-charged metallic oxide is uſed as the mordant for ſcarlet.

We find the ſame colours developed in the animal kingdom, by the combination of the ſame principle. When fleſh meat putrefies, the firſt impreſſion of the oxigene conſiſts in producing a blue colour; whence the blue appearance of mortifications, of fleſh becoming putrid, of game too long kept.——This blue colour is ſucceeded by red, as is obſerved in the preparation of cheeſes, which become covered with a mouldineſs, at firſt of a blue colour, but afterwards becoming red.

All the phenomena of the combination of air with the ſeveral principles in different proportions may be obſerved in the flame of bodies actually on fire. This flame is blue when the combuſtion is ſlow; red, when ſtronger and more complete; and white, when ſtill more perfect.

From the foregoing facts, we may conclude that the blue ray is the weakeſt, and is conſequently reflected by the firſt combination of oxigene.

On the Loſs of Weight in Grain; by Mr. John Holt, *of* Walton, *near* Liverpool. *From the 6th vol. of the Tranſactions of the* Bath Agricultural Society.

Dear Sir,

FROM a variety of experiments made upon evaporation, I have ſelected and ſent the following, as falling more properly under the plan of your ſociety. The facts may afford ſome uſeful hints to the farmer, and ſerve to inſtruct him, that beſides the rats, mice, and other vermin, he has a ſecret and ſilent, but never-ceaſing enemy, continually making depredations upon his property;

perty; as the following experiments, to aſcertain the loſs that grain, eſpecially wheat, ſuſtains, will verify.

EXPERIMENT I.

Auguſt 31*ſt*, 1789.

Gathered and rubbed a few ears of wheat during a glowing ſun, which being immediately put into the ſcales weighed 2 ounces 11 drams. October the 18th, being put into the ſcales again, then weighed 2 ounces 7 drams. The loſs of weight per buſhel of 70 pounds (the cuſtomary meaſure of this neighbourhood) is 6 pounds 8 ounces and 3 drams, nearly, or almoſt one-tenth of the whole in 49 days. But this is the greateſt loſs that grain can poſſibly ſuſtain, which, although perfectly ripe, had neither the advantage of being dried in the ſun after being reaped, nor had it undergone the proceſs of fermentation after being got together.—*N. B.* Thirty-two grains weighed one pennyweight.

BARLEY.

EXP. II. *Sept.* 2. Under the ſame circumſtances put into the ſcales 2 ounces and 2 drams of barley; which being tried again October the 18th, weighed 1 ounce and 12 drams, or, at 60 pounds to the buſhel, had loſt 8 pounds 4 ounces and 22 drams, or about one-ſeventh of the whole in forty-ſeven days.

N. B. Twenty-four grains of this barley weighed one pennyweight two grains, ſo that this corn muſt have been ſofter, or in a leſs matured ſtate, than the grains of wheat in the firſt experiment. Since 24 grains of plump wheat are reckoned to weigh one pennyweight, and hence the ſtandard of that weight; whereas we ſee the pennyweight took 32 grains.

WHEAT.

EXP. III. *Oct.* 22*d.* Put into the ſcales ſix ounces three drams, which in 24 days loſt three drams, or after the rate of two pounds one ounce fifteen drams per buſhel.

WHEAT.

EXP. IV. *Jan.* 8*th*, 1790. Took two ounces two drams of wheat, which in thirty-two days loſt after the rate of 2 pounds 15 drams per buſhel.

From theſe experiments it appears that the decreaſe in weight was pretty regular from the time of harveſt, and the time taken in aſcertaining the loſs of each quantity: in other words, that the ſum of the matter evaporated becomes gradually leſs, according to the length of time kept on hand, but proves that the ſooner the crop is brought to market, *ceteris paribus*, the greater is the advantage to the farmer.

N. B. The number of grains to a pennyweight in the two laſt experiments was omitted, or forgotten to be regiſtered. After the loſs ſuſtained in the experiment, No. 4, had been aſcertained, the grain was expoſed a few minutes before the fire, and when weighed again had loſt three pennyweights.

If ſuch be the loſs in weight of grain, we may conclude the potatoe, which evidently contains a conſiderable quantity of water, muſt alſo ſuffer by evaporation, although its quality may by this loſs be improved.

Aug. 27*th*, 1789. Took a pint-eye potatoe, freſh from the earth and well cleaned, which weighed two ounces nine dwts. and twenty grains; the day following it had loſt twenty grains; two days after twenty-ſix grains; in four days more thirty-one grains; in ten days more, or at the end of ſeventeen days, it had loſt forty grains. But we obſerve it loſt as much the firſt day as the laſt ſixteen; in three days, ſix grains; whereas in thirteen days more, it only loſt fourteen grains.

If ſuch be the progreſs of nature, we may naturally conclude this effect is increaſed by the culinary proceſs. A potatoe that weighed 2 ounces 7 dwts. and 5 grains, in its natural ſtate, after being roaſted only weighed 1 ounce 5 dwts; another before being put into water weighed 2 ounces 5 dwts. and 6 grains, but immediately after being boiled had loſt 54 grains.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Abſtract of Obſervations on draining Land; by Mr. John Wedge *of* Bickenhill, *near* Coventry. *From the Tenth Volume of the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

I HAVE little time to read; but in the few treatiſes on huſbandry which I have ſeen, draining land, though mentioned as one of its moſt eſſential improvements, ſeems not to be well explained. It is not my intention to obtrude much theoretic ſpeculation on the ſubject of draining: the learned ſociety to whom the following practical facts are humbly ſubmitted, do not, I am certain, want any information in matters of theory; yet thoſe practical facts will, I hope, juſtify my preſumption in making ſome ſhort obſervations, to point out what have been leading principles to me, in my late undertakings of this ſort. In every country there are large portions of land that, in wet ſeaſons, have always what may be called a dry ſurface, and other portions of land that have always a moiſt or wet ſurface: the former of thoſe admitting all the water which falls upon them to ſink freely through their pores, to various depths, till falling on clay or ſome other unctuous earth, whoſe pores will not permit it to paſs through, it is there held up, to a height proportioned to the quantity of water which comes upon it, and the facility with which that water is diſcharged: thus held up to various heights, it ſerves as a fountain to diſtribute its water (either by veins of ſand, pebbles, or rocks), according to the formation of the different under-ſtrata on the neighbouring lands, and there forms bogs and other varieties of wet ſurface, on a baſis that will, I believe, be always found to conſiſt of marl, clay, or ſome mixture thereof. The effect of water thus diſtributed, may be divided into two claſſes.—The firſt claſs, where the water is thrown out by a body of marl or clay, &c. upon the ſurface of deſcending ground, and in the valley (there held up by clay alſo), forms bogs or ſwamps: the ſecond claſs, where the water is held up by clay or marl, as before, having, above that marl or clay, a ſtratum of ſand or pebbles, through which the water paſſes; and, above thoſe ſands or pebbles, another ſtratum of marl or clay, through the weakeſt parts of which, the water, by a continual preſſure from its fountain, forces a paſſage upwards; and thus, through the weakeſt parts of the marl or clay, furniſhes a continual ſupply of water, on the ſurface, for the formation or growth of bogs, &c. in proportion as this water is more or leſs abundantly ſupplied by its fountain or head, namely, the higher lands, into which rain-water freely paſſes, as before deſcribed. There are alſo different ſoils, under different circumſtances, which may form a third claſs of land for draining; ſuch as ſtrong deep ſoils, or open light ſoils, having near the ſurface a body of marl or clay: in either of theſe caſes, the water which falls on the ſurface muſt, for reaſons which are ſelf-evident, keep ſuch lands, in rainy ſeaſons, conſtantly wet and cold; and it ſhould be obſerved, that a mixture of all the three before-deſcribed claſſes of wet land, ſometimes occur in one field, by ſudden alterations of the under-ſtrata, and thereby perplex the operator, by requiring all the different modes of draining in the ſame field.

If it be admitted that bogs are thus formed and fed, their cure may be effected with certainty.—The firſt claſs, by cutting through the ſtratum (be it ſand, pebbles, or rock) that conveys the water to the bog, and carrying off that water by a cloſe drain, to ſome proper place, where the level admits of its diſcharge: the ſecond claſs, by ſinking a drain to any convenient depth in the upper clay; then, at a ſmall diſtance, on one ſide of this drain, dig, or with a large auger, bore through the remaining part, be it (the upper clay) ever ſo deep, into the under-ſtratum of ſand, pebbles, or rock, through which the water paſſes; and it will then ruſh up into the drain ſo made, with a velocity proportioned to the height of the land, or fountain, from whence it is ſupplied. As this drain advances through the land, holes muſt be dug or bored, as before, every ſeven yards, or at ſuch diſtance as the ſtrength of the ſprings may require; and the whole of the water thus brought up by tapping the ſprings, is carried off by the drain, made in the upper clay, which muſt be a cloſe one, to its proper level, and there diſcharged.

By both theſe methods of draining, large tracts of land, under favourable circumſtances, may be cured with one drain. The beſt place for fixing theſe drains, is where the ſtratum that conveys the water comes neareſt to the ſurface; and the beſt method of aſcertaining that, is to bore, or dig, in different parts, through the different under-ſtrata.

The third claſs may be eaſily cured by cloſe drains, at ſuch diſtances and depths as will beſt carry off the ſurface water. It may not be improper to obſerve, that where the different ſtrata or meaſures *crop out*, that is, become gradually more and more ſhallow in ſome certain direction, as is often the caſe, till, one after the other, they all preſent themſelves in ſucceſſion, on the ſurface of the earth; in ſuch caſes draining may often be much more eaſily and better effected by croſſing, with the drain, the different ſtrata or meaſures, where the levels and other circumſtances will admit.

Some of the land drained was part of a common, in the pariſh of Church Bickenhill, in the county of Warwick; a part of it was covered with moſs and ling, has a peaty ſurface, about ſix inches deep, and produced little or no graſs. In all wet ſeaſons, it was filled quite to the ſurface, and often overflowing with water. Some of the land was much more unſound, deeper of peat, and covered with moſs in moſt parts, nine inches long; another part was an abſolute bog in all ſeaſons.

Having dug or bored, with a large auger, into ſeveral parts of the land, I found peat, gravel, and ſand, mixed, and a quick ſand almoſt uniformly. The quick ſand, in every part, after getting an inch or two into it, ſeemed almoſt as fluid as water: judging from thence that no materials for a drain could be laid in the quick ſand, but what it would immediately bury, I dug a trench almoſt to the quick ſand, leaving gravel, &c. of ſufficient ſtrength to bear up the materials for a hollow drain: theſe materials were two ſides and a coverer of ſtone, with a peat turf on the top, to keep out the ſoil. At every ſeven yards forward, by the ſide of this drain, I dug a hole into the quick ſand, as deep as it would permit: from theſe holes the water roſe freely into the hollow drain, and was by it diſcharged at a proper level. It may be proper to remark, that the ſtone made uſe of for this drain, and all others here mentioned, is a red ſand and rag ſtone, from Meriden quarry, about four miles from this place, which eaſily ſplits into proper ſizes for the purpoſe, and is very durable: it coſts about ſixpence per ton getting, excluſive of carriage. The drain thus formed, ran on the whole rather freely, and made the land dry for a few yards on each ſide thereof, but was far from having the effect I improperly expected; for it evidently appears, the drain could only take a very ſmall portion of the water from ſo large a quick ſand, which it did not penetrate more than two inches; and that it could drain only to its own depth, or, at moſt, to that depth in the fountain which ſupplied the quick ſand. My purpoſe was then defeated; and my motive for mentioning this error, cannot, I hope, be miſtaken.

I now did what I ought to have done before, that is, examined the different ſtrata to a greater depth, particularly on the bog, and at the upper edges thereof, and found the bog to be what has been deſcribed under the firſt claſs. I therefore determined to attempt the cure in the manner before preſcribed for that claſs, namely, to cut through the whole of the ſtratum, in this inſtance of quick ſand, through which I found the water paſs: this I effected as follows.—The ſummer being dry, and favourable for the purpoſe, and having previouſly made my main open drain, I began my main cloſe drain, the firſt week in June, 1791, three feet wide on the declivity near the edge of the great bog: in the firſt operation, we dug through the peat, the hard ſand, and gravel, and one ſpade's graft (about nine inches deep, and ſeven inches wide) into the quick ſand, the whole length of this drain, which is ſeventy-three perches, of eight yards to the perch, in length. The drain thus dug, ran copiouſly, not leſs than ſixty gallons per minute: in this ſtate I left it about nine days; the effect of it was rapid, both above the drain, and on the bog below. Upon examination, I now found about three inches on the top of the ſpade's graft, which had been made into the quick ſand, perfectly dry: we then dug out this three inches of dry ſand, to nearly the whole width of the drain, three feet; and at the ſame time dug out, as before, another ſpade's graft from the top of the quick ſand, as near the middle of the drain as poſſible: this was left to run a few days as before, and had the ſame effect, namely, three or four inches more of the top of the quick ſand became dry and hard: the ſame operation was repeated again and again, with the ſame effect, till the purpoſe of getting through this quick ſand was completed; ſo far at leaſt as the level of the main open drain would permit. The ſtream of water continued increaſing during the whole operation: the bog below the drain was quite dry, and the land above perfectly ſo: the drain which was firſt made, and continued running for ſome time, during the progreſs of the main cloſe drain, became gradually dry; and has not, ſince that drain was finiſhed, diſcharged one ſingle drop of water. Great care was neceſſary in making the main cloſe drain to keep the ſtream of water in the *middle* of it, otherwiſe the current would have undermined the ſides, as it ſometimes had done, and cauſed them to fall in: for this reaſon, it was neceſſary, when the dry ſand was taken from the top of the quick ſand, *immediately* to take out a ſpade's graft from the *middle* thereof, in order to divert the current from the ſides.

The main cloſe drain thus made, was three feet wide at top, about nine feet deep on the average; and bevelling a little from the top, it was about one foot ten inches wide at bottom. The ſtone and other materials were put into this drain in the following manner.

Where the drain went through the quick ſand into the ſtratum of clay below it, as in moſt places it did, the bottom, and in ſome inſtances the ſides, wanted no particular ſecurity; but where it did not go quite through the quick ſand, which the level of my main open drain in ſome places would not admit, the bottom of the drain was covered half an inch thick with ling; then peat-turfs, one foot wide, and three or four inches thick, were cut in convenient lengths, and placed on their edges, on each ſide the bottom of the drain, forming two ſides of a trough of peat: then ſide ſtones, about eight inches high, and a ſtone coverer, were put in upon the ling, between the peat turfs: a large peat turf, near two feet wide and four inches thick, was then cut, and firmly placed over the whole: this left, in the bottom of the drain, an open ſpace of more than ſix inches ſquare, for the water to paſs. The whole was then completed by filling in the upper part of the drain.

Fifteen acres are now ploughed for a fallow: the bog (nine acres) will now bear a horſe; but as it was, before draining, quite a pulp, I ſhall let it harden during the next ſummer, before it is ploughed.

Another part of the bog is laid dry in the ſame manner as that before deſcribed, by drains; with this difference, that the quick ſand lay nearer the ſurface of the land, and was much thinner; therefore the drain went through it ſo far into the clay, as to render ſide-turfs in moſt places unneceſſary, its depth on the average not being more than five feet: the laſt-deſcribed land, about eight acres, I intend to plough in March for oats. I have this day, the 20th of January, 1792, meaſured the quantity of water diſcharged through theſe drains, by ſinking a hole near the ſide of the main open drain, and placing a caſk of known dimenſions therein, and find the diſcharge to be $50\frac{4}{10}$ gallons in one minute, or 72,576 gallons in twenty-four hours. The land, thus drained, will, with proper cultivation, be worth at leaſt fourteen ſhillings per acre. The draining of theſe thirty acres of land coſt me about eighty pounds, excluſive of the ſuperfluous drain. The whole length of theſe cloſe drains, is ſixteen hundred and fifty-five yards.

I have alſo hollow-drained nine acres of my farm, in the bottoms of three pieces of incloſed land, called Small Leafield, Old Land, and Holywell, by the method preſcribed for the third claſs of wet land. Theſe drains were made a few yards below that part of each field where the dry and wet land ſeparate, about twenty-two inches deep, with ſides, and a coverer of ſtone, and ling on the top of it, to keep the earth from running in. The length of theſe drains is eight hundred and eighty yards, and the expence of labour and materials, three halfpence per yard: the drains, in wet weather, diſcharge a large quantity of water, and will, I have no doubt, anſwer the intended purpoſe.—Thus far relates to land in my own occcupation.

Nine acres of the land, in the earl of Aylesford's own occupation, was almoſt an entire pulp. This bog was of the ſecond claſs, namely, water paſſing through a quick ſand, and confined by a ſtratum of clay below, and another ſtratum of clay above it. The water, thus confined, by being preſſed by its fountain, and forced up through the weakeſt parts of the clay, had formed a bog of irregular thickneſs, on the ſurface, in ſome places ſix feet deep, and in others not more than two. As there is a conſiderable fall in this land, from eaſt to weſt, I thought it expedient to put two drains into it; and this appears to me to have been neceſſary, from a conſideration that both theſe drains continue to run in the ſame proportions as when firſt opened. The manner in which theſe drains were executed, was, by digging through the different upper ſtrata, and as deep into the clay as the main open drain would admit; then digging or boring through the remaining part of that clay into the quick ſand, at the diſtance of about ſix yards, in a progreſſive manner.

The water riſing rapidly, through theſe holes, into the cloſe drains, has effected a complete cure of this land, every part of which will now bear a horſe to gallop upon it. Theſe drains diſcharge three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty gallons an hour, which is much leſs than they did at firſt, as muſt be the caſe in all bogs. This land will be worth twenty ſhillings per acre. The draining coſt twenty-five pounds: and the length of the under-ground drains is eight hundred and fourteen yards.

I have juſt now finiſhed draining another piece of land, about forty-three acres; and as this was intended to anſwer two purpoſes, one to drain the land, and the other to give an additional ſupply of water to a mill-pool; and, as a circumſtance aroſe in the execution of this work, which frequently happens in draining land, namely, a ſudden alteration in the poſition of the under ſtrata, a deſcription thereof will not, I hope, be thought tedious. This draining was begun at the level of a mill-pool, and continued without any great difficulty to the diſtance of about thirty-two chains, in the manner before deſcribed as a cure for the ſecond claſs of boggy land: but, at or near that place, the under ſtrata altered their poſition; the quick ſand which conveyed the water, now became of twice its former thickneſs; and the clay which had hitherto been above that quick ſand for ſome diſtance, diſappeared. From the quick ſand thus becoming ſo much deeper, we could not, with the level of the mill-pool, cut through it; nor, indeed, from the wetneſs of the ſeaſon (November 1791), would ſuch an operation have been proper. I therefore continued a ſhallow drain to ſome diſtance, making ſide holes into the quick ſand, which ran freely; but as this could not cure the whole of the bog below, we branched out another drain, which was made by the method deſcribed for curing the ſecond claſs of wet or boggy land, by ſinking a cloſe drain, through the upper ſtrata, into the upper clay, and then, at a ſmall diſtance, on one ſide of this cloſe drain, boring a hole, with an auger, through the remaining part of that clay, into the quick ſand, and, at every eight yards, as this cloſe drain advanced, ſtill boring other holes, in the ſame manner as before deſcribed; through many of theſe holes the water ruſhed with great rapidity. The water diſcharged by theſe drains into the mill-pool, is one hundred and ſixty-eight gallons per minute, or three thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty hogſheads in a day, which is after the rate of one million three hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand ſeven hundred hogſheads in a year.

About ſix acres of this land were always ſound; about twelve acres on the north ſide were an abſolute pulp, and the remaining twenty-ſix acres very unſound.—The whole is now ſound, and will, when cultivated, be worth ſixteen ſhillings per acre. This land would have been drained at a much leſs expence, into the main open drain; but then the water, which was much wanted for the mill, would have been loſt. Theſe cloſe drains are in length one thouſand four hundred and fifty-two yards, and coſt one hundred pounds, of which about thirty pounds ought to be charged to the mill.

On the Uſe of Oak Leaves in tanning, by the Rev. Mr. Swayne *of* Puckle Church, *near* Briſtol; *in a Letter to the Secretary of the Society. From the ſame.*

SIR,

KNOWING that the bark of the oak was a chief material in the art of tanning leather, and conceiving that every other part of that tree was fraught with the ſame aſtringent principle, through which the bark becomes ſo efficient in that art; the thought had often occurred, that the leaves might be advantageouſly applied for the ſame purpoſe. Having in my poſſeſſion a quantity of thoſe leaves, which had been collected on account of the galls attached to them, I was deſirous of aſcertaining the proportion of aſtringent matter contained in them, and of comparing it with that contained in the bark. It was ſome time before I could think of a method of doing this; and whether the method I at length uſed was fully adequate to the intention, muſt be left to the determination of thoſe who have more knowledge in chemiſtry than I can pretend to.

The well-known property which this aſtringent matter poſſeſſes, of uniting or ſtriking a black colour, with the calx of iron, ſuggeſted to me that its quantity might probably be aſcertained, by extracting this matter, through the medium of hot water, in which it is known to be ſoluble, ſaturating the extract with a known weight of the calx of iron, and afterwards filtering, drying, and weighing it. Suppoſing martial vitriol to contain iron in a very proper ſtate for this experiment, the firſt thing I had to do, was to aſcertain the weight of iron in a given weight of vitriol; and this I attempted by the following proceſs: I weighed five pennyweights of vitriol; diſſolved it in water: and added a like weight of vegetable fixed alkali; which immediately precipitated the iron: the mixture was then thrown on a paper filtre, the weight of which was noted down; and, after being plentifully elutriated with hot water, the reſidue was dried and weighed. Its weight, excluſive of the filtre, was two pennyweights thirteen grains. This proportion of iron in martial vitriol differs from that given by profeſſor Neumann, from his analyſis (See Lewis's tranſlation of Neumann's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 278); but it is neceſſary to mention, that the vitriol which I made uſe of had been kept in a dry place, uninclosed in a glaſs veſſel, by which it had loſt much of its water of cryſtallization; and this accounts for the difference. At the ſame time, and from the ſame parcel of vitriol, I weighed ſeveral other portions, for after-experiments.

The weight of iron, in a given weight of vitriol, being known, I then attempted to follow the proceſs above ſuggeſted; but, upon trial, found that the coloured particles were ſo minute or ſo intimately mixed, that they paſſed with the fluid through the filtre: this I attributed to the preſence of the vitriolic acid, and its cloſe attachment to the coloured particles. With a view, therefore, to deſtroy this ſuſpected combination, by preſenting to the acid a ſubſtance with which it has a nearer affinity, I added ſome mild ſalt of tartar, which inſtantly produced the deſired effect, and brought on an entire ſeparation of the coloured maſs. I then went on with my intended experiments, in the following manner.

I took a half-peck meaſure full of dried oak-leaves, well preſſed down, from which I had before ſeparated ſeveral ounces of muſhroom galls, and having put them in a braſs kettle, with a ſufficient quantity of water, boiled them therein for two hours. The decoction was then poured from the leaves, and freſh water added to them; this was likewiſe boiled for a conſiderable time, till it was judged that the water had extracted all the aſtringent matter: both decoctions were then boiled down, in the ſame kettle, to one gallon. In a certain meaſure of this concentrated extract, I diſſolved five pennyweights of green vitriol, and afterwards added the like weight of ſalt of tartar: this mixture was then thrown on a filtre of ſinking paper, (the weight of which was three pennyweights); and, after being perfectly elixated with hot water, the reſidum was dried and weighed.

	Dwts.	Grs.
The filtre, with its contents, weighed — —	6	14
Subſtract the weight of the filtre — —	3	0
	3	14
Subſtract the calx of iron	2	13
There remains of aſtringent matter — —	1	1

Two pints of this reduced extract were ſtill farther evaporated to one pint; and a like meaſure of this was treated as the former.

	Dwts.	Grs.
The filtre, with its contents, weighed — —	7	1
Subſtract the filtre, which weighed — —	2	15
	4	10
Subſtract the calx of iron	2	13
Remainder of aſtringent matter — — —	1	21

I then obtained from a tanner two pounds of oak bark, which was perfectly dry, and, after cutting it into thin ſhavings with a plane, boiled it in three portions of water for ſeveral hours, till, from the colour as well as the taſte of the laſt decoction, the aſtringency ſeemed to be perfectly extracted. Theſe ſeveral decoctions were added together, and evaporated to the ſame quantity as thoſe of the leaves, namely, one gallon. An equal meaſure of this, as above, produced by the like treatment, a reſiduum which, with its filtre, weighed—

	Dwts.	Grs.
	7	10
Subſtract the filtre, which weighed — —	2	19
	4	15
Subſtract the calx of iron	2	13
Remainder of aſtringent matter — — —	2	2

A quart of this reduced extract was further concentrated to a pint, and an equal meaſure of this was treated as before.

	Dwts.	Grs.
The filtre, with its contents, weighed — —	9	12
Subſtract the filtre, which weighed — —	2	15
	6	21
Subſtract the calx of iron	2	13
Remainder of aſtringent matter — — —	4	8

Theſe experiments do not exactly tally; ſince, in thoſe with the leaves, the amount of aſtringent matter, in the ſecond experiment, ought to have been double that of the firſt; and in thoſe with the bark, the aſtringent matter of the firſt experiment ought to have been half as much as that of the ſecond. The ſuppoſition of a ſmall inaccuracy in the weighing, or a ſmall loſs in the proceſs of theſe experiments, will tend to reconcile them: where the error lay, in the firſt inſtance, I cannot pretend to gueſs. In the firſt experiment with the bark, the filtre caught fire while it was drying; and although it was extinguiſhed almoſt immediately, yet there muſt have been a loſs of ſome grains from it. Notwithſtanding the experiments do not perfectly accord, yet I think we may fairly deduce from them, provided the method of trial be not objected to, that half a peck of leaves contain nearly as much aſtringent matter, as one pound of bark. Oak bark was ſold in this neighbourhood, laſt ſeaſon, for five guineas a ton. In its marketable ſtate, it is by no means ſufficiently dry for preſervation; and the tanners are obliged to dry it more perfectly; and, at a conſiderable trouble and expence, they likewiſe get it cleaned from much extraneous matter. The loſs of weight, from theſe operations, cannot, I ſhould ſuppoſe, be eſtimated at leſs than twenty ſhillings per ton. What I mean is, that, if a ton of bark coſt the tanner, in the firſt purchaſe, five guineas, the ſame weight of bark, when properly dried and cleaned, will ſtand him in ſix pounds five ſhillings: for the ſake of eaſier calculation, we will ſay ſix pounds. I have heretofore had oak-leaves collected for the purpoſe of making hot-beds for melons (for which they are excellent), at three-pence and four-pence per ſack of four buſhels, or thirty-two half pecks, which, according to the concluſion above, are equal to thirty-two pounds of bark. Thirty-two pounds of bark, at ſix pounds per ton, come to one ſhilling and eight-pence halfpenny and a fraction. If then my premiſes ſtand unimpeached, it will follow that the tanner might obtain as much aſtringent matter in leaves for four-pence, as coſts him in bark five times that ſum: whether it would equally anſwer his purpoſe, remains to be proved. There would be undoubtedly much trouble, and ſome expence, in drying the leaves, which would be neceſſary, in order to preſerve them; and they would occupy much room. Perhaps for theſe reaſons, the moſt œconomical plan would be, to obtain a concentrated extract from them, on or near the place where they ſhould be collected, which might be conveyed and afterwards ſtored in caſks. This likewiſe remains as the ſubject of experiment; but, before leaves can in any way be legally uſed by the tanner, it is neceſſary that the act of parliament be repealed, which confines him to the uſe of aſh and oak bark: this reſtriction was probably laid, not ſolely from the belief that thoſe ſubſtances were the moſt proper for the purpoſe of tanning leather, but likewiſe to encourage the planting and nurturing of thoſe valuable timber-trees. Be this as it may, at preſent it rather operates to their deſtruction, than preſervation or increaſe; ſince the high price which oak bark now bears, proves an irreſiſtible temptation, with needy proprietors, to cut down their oaks before they arrive at a proper age for timber. Should oak-leaves ever come in much requeſt for tanning, this doubtleſs would prove an antidote to the rage of felling, and an effectual preſervative of timber; ſince no one ſurely would ever think of felling his oaks prematurely, whilſt they yielded him an annual profit by ſtanding. I am,

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

George Swayne.

N. B. The

N. B. The vitriol was in every caſe ſufficient to ſaturate the aſtringent matter, and the quantity of ſalt of tartar ſufficient for the acid.

Suggeſtion of a Plan for preſerving the Lives of Perſons in Veſſels ſtranded on a Lee Shore. From the ſame.

IN conſequence of the following letter, received by the ſociety, from Mr. John Bell, ſerjeant of the royal regiment of artillery, application was made to his grace the duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance, requeſting his grace would give directions that proper experiments might be made, before a committee of the ſociety, to aſcertain the merit of Mr. Bell's invention; and his grace having given directions accordingly, proper trials were made, by throwing a loaded ſhell * on ſhore, from a ſmall mortar, fixed in a boat, moored in the river, about two hundred yards from the ſhore. To the ſhell was attached a rope, one end of which remained on board the boat; and the ſhell falling about one hundred yards within land, buried itſelf about eighteen inches in the gravel: when Mr. Bell and another perſon, on a raft, floated by caſks, properly ballaſted, hauled themſelves on ſhore, in a few minutes, by the before-mentioned rope. Theſe trials having been three times repeated with the deſired ſucceſs; and it appearing that the method propoſed by Mr. Bell, of throwing a line on ſhore, from a ſhip in diſtreſs, either ſtranded, or in danger of being ſo, promiſes to be of infinite advantage in the maritime world, as by means thereof ſuch veſſel may obtain relief; any perſon, when landed, being enabled to ſecure ropes from the ſhip; or additional hands may be conveyed thereby from the ſhore, to aſſiſt thoſe on board; and, in caſes of imminent danger, where all hopes of ſaving the ſhip may be loſt, Mr. Bell's method offers the moſt probable means of ſaving the lives of the crew.

The ſociety therefore voted a bounty of fifty guineas to Mr. Bell, he leaving a complete model of his contrivance with the ſociety; which model is preſerved in the repoſitory, for the inſpection and uſe of the public.

SIR,

HAVING conceived, from ſome ſucceſsful experiments which I have made, upon a principle deſigned for troops eſcalading garriſon walls, precipices, &c. that, ſhould a veſſel have the misfortune to be ſtranded near either flat or high grounds; in ſuch caſe a ſhell, or grapnel, with a line, might be immediately thrown on ſhore, and, by the contrivance of a floating machine, there is great reaſon to think that the people on board the wreck might, with ſafety, ſucceſſively haul themſelves to land.

The number of melancholy accounts of lives being loſt by ſuch accidents, but particularly that of the Litchfield man of war, on the coaſt of Barbary, ſuggeſted to me the want of this ſort of contrivance, and induces me to ſend a model of the machine for the inſpection of the ſociety, and to beg the favour you will be pleaſed to lay the ſame before them.

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* By a loaded ſhell, is meant a ſhell filled with lead, by which means a ſtaple, or ring, may be fixed, to which the rope is to be made faſt: the ſhell, thus loaded, weighed about ſeventy pounds, and was eight inches in diameter.

Should the principle and deſign meet with their approbation, I will, if required, attend their pleaſure, to give any further explanation.

I am, Sir,
Your obliged humble ſervant,
JOHN BELL,
Serjeant of the royal
reg. of artillery.

Woolwich,
April 4, 1791.

New Method of reſtoring the Maſts of Ships when wounded, or otherwiſe injured; by Captain Edward Pakenham. *From the ſame.*

SIR,

AMONG the various accidents which ſhips are liable to at ſea, none call more for the attention and exertion of the officer, than the ſpeedy refitting of the maſts; and having obſerved, in the courſe of laſt war, the very great deſtruction made among the lower maſts of our ſhips, from the enemy's mode of fighting, as well as the very great expence and delay in refitting a fleet, after an action, particularly acroſs the Atlantic;—a very ſimple expedient has ſuggeſted itſelf to me, as a reſource in part, which appears ſo very ſpeedy and ſecure, that the capacity of the meaneſt ſailor will at once conceive it. I therefore think it my duty to ſtate my ideas of the advantages likely to reſult from it; and I ſhall feel myſelf exceedingly happy, ſhould they in any wiſe contribute to remedy the evil.

My plan therefore is, to have the heels of all lower maſts ſo formed, as to become the heads: but it is not the intention of the above plan to have the ſmalleſt alteration made in the heels of the preſent lower maſts; for, as all line-of-battle ſhips maſts are nine inches in diameter larger at the heel than at the head, it will follow, that, by letting in the treſſel-trees to their proper depth, the maſt will form its own cheeks or hounds; and, I flatter myſelf, the following advantages will reſult from the above alteration.

Firſt, I muſt beg to obſerve, that all line-of-battle ſhips bury one third of their lower maſts, particularly three-deckers: it therefore follows, that if the wounds are in the upper third, by turning the maſt, ſo as to make the heel the head, it will be as good as new; for, in eight actions I was preſent in laſt war, I made the following obſervations:

That, in the ſaid actions, fifty-eight lower maſts were wounded, and obliged to be ſhifted, thirty-two of which had their wounds in the upper third, and of courſe the ſhips detained until new maſts were made. And when it is conſidered that a lower maſt for a ninety, or ſeventy-four, ſtands government in a ſum not leſs, I am informed, than two thouſand to two thouſand three hundred pounds,—acroſs the Atlantic, the advantages reſulting from the aforeſaid plan, will be particularly obvious; not to mention the probability of there being no fit ſpars in the country, which was the caſe in the inſtances of the Iſis and Princeſs Royal; and, as I was one of the lieutenants of the Iſis at the time, I am more particular in the circumſtance of that ſhip. The Iſis had both her lower maſts wounded above the cathar-pins, in her action with the Cæſar, a French ſeventy-four; and, as there were no ſpars at New-York, the Iſis was detained five weeks at that place. Now, if her maſts had been fitted on the plan I have propoſed, I am confident ſhe would have been ready for ſea in forty-eight hours; and, as a further proof, I beg leave to add, that the whole fleet, on the glorious 12th of April, had not the leaſt accident of any conſequence, except what befel their lower maſts, which detained them between eight and ten weeks at Jamaica.

The delay of a ſhip, while a new maſt is making, and probably the fleet being detained for want of that ſhip, which frequently occurred in the courſe of laſt war; the taking of ſhipwrights from other work, with a variety of inconveniences not neceſſary to mention here; muſt be obvious to every officer that has made the ſmalleſt obſervations on ſea actions.

You will further obſerve, Sir, that this ſubſtitute is formed on the moſt ſimple principle, fitted to the meaneſt capacity, and calculated to benefit all ſhips, from a firſt-rate down to the ſmalleſt merchant-man, in caſes of an accident by ſhot, a ſpring, a rottenneſs, particularly as thoſe accidents generally happen in the upper third of the maſt, and about the cheeks.

It might probably be objected, that a difficulty, and ſome danger, might ariſe from the wounded part of the maſt being below; but this will at once be obviated, when it is remembered that, as the wounded part is below the wedges, it may with eaſe be both fiſhed, caſed, and ſecured to any ſize or degree you pleaſe, with the addition of its being wedged on each deck.

On White Lead; by Mr. Scheele. *From the third volume of* Crell's Chemical Journal, *tranſlated from the* German.

IF pure lead be dipped in a ſolution of ſugar of lead, and hung up in the air, it will be found covered over with ceruſſe next day.

If a plate of lead is kept in a ſolution of ſugar of lead for the ſpace of a day, the liquor is converted into vinegar of lead; that is, the ſolution of ſugar of lead attracts pure ſuperfluous calx of lead.

The acetous acid, which has no effect upon lead in its reguline ſtate, readily attacks this metal when previouſly dephlogiſticated by the air. The ſugar of lead thus produced attracts ſuperfluous calx of lead, as the lead becomes more and more dephlogiſticated. The ſuperfluous calx of lead is again precipitated by the aerial acid, and covers the plate of lead. In this way a ſmall quantity of ſugar of lead is capable of converting a large quantity of reguline lead into a calciform ſtate.

A new Proceſs for obtaining Phoſphorus from Urine; by Mr. Giobert. *From the ſame.*

A Solution of lead in nitrous acid is poured little by little into urine, till there ceaſes to be any conſiderable precipitation. A large quantity of water is then added for the attenuation or dilution of the extractive matter of the urine. The mixture is afterwards filtered through a linen ſtrainer, and the phoſphorated lead, which is left upon the filter, is made into a paſte with charcoal powder. This paſte is dried, put into a retort, and ſubjected to diſtillation. There comes over firſt an oily volatile alkali in a fluid form; afterwards a little empyreumatic oil, both which proceeded from the urine, from which it is difficult wholly to free the phoſphorated lead. As ſoon as the oil ceaſes to come over, the receiver is changed, the heat is conſiderably increaſed, and a receiver with water (in the uſual manner) is fitted to the retort. The phoſphorus makes its appearance ſometimes in the courſe of half an hour; and an operation capable of yielding twelve or fourteen ounces of phoſphorus may be eaſily finiſhed in eight hours. Mr. Giobert thinks that the violent degree of heat, which is applied in the diſtillation of phoſphorus prepared from bones, according to the ordinary method, is not here abſolutely neceſſary.

On the Power which Charcoal poſſeſſes of rendering coloured Liquors colourleſs, and of correcting and deſtroying the Fetor produced by Putrefaction; by Mr. Kels. *From the ſame.*

PART I.

§. I.—II.

FOR depriving two ounces of common ſyrup, diluted with 16 ounces of water, of its brown colour, 12 ounces of charcoal powder were found neceſſary. The charcoal was thrown in at three different times (four ounces each time) and the boiling was continued at each addition of the powder, for a quarter of an hour. Mr. K. attributes Mr. Gottling's *, and Dr. Hahneman's † failures in their attempts to purify common ſyrup, to the employment of too ſmall a quantity of charcoal.

§. III.

By diſtilling eight ounces of common ardent ſpirits (corn or malt ſpirits) over one ounce of charcoal powder, the ſmell and taſte were conſiderably improved.

§. IV.

By ſhaking eight ounces of the ſame ſort of ſpirits for ſome minutes, with one ounce of charcoal powder, and afterwards ſeparating the charcoal by filtration, the ſmell and taſte of the ſpirits were ſomewhat improved. Mr. K. however acknowledges that he has found, that not only by agitation (as Dr. Hahneman ‡ firſt remarked) but alſo by diſtillation with charcoal powder, the ſpirit contracts pungent or biting taſte.

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* Pocket-book or Almanack for Chemiſts for 1790, p. 38.

† Crell's Annals for 1789, Vol. I. p. 202.

‡ Ibid. p. 204.

§. V.

§. V.

Spirit of wine that had been diſtilled with carraway-ſeeds was, as Mr. Lowitz had before aſſerted, deprived of the carraway-ſeed ſmell, by repeated diſtillation with charcoal powder. The ſame effect was alſo produced by agitation with a large proportion of charcoal. It was moreover found that ardent ſpirits impregnated with various other aromatic ſubſtances might be in a great meaſure deprived of their acquired odour, by the ſame means.

§. VI.

In order to determine further the power which charcoal poſſeſſes of deſtroying odours, half a dram of oil of lavender, of an exquiſite fragrance, was mixed with two drams of charcoal powder, and diſtilled in a retort, provided with a receiver containing a little water. A gentle heat was at firſt applied, and the fire was kept up till there ceaſed to appear any more vapours in the neck of the retort. On examining the receiver, the diſtilled oil was ſtill found to poſſeſs its peculiar odour, but not (as Mr. K. thought) in ſo high a degree as before the diſtillation.

§. VII.

One grain of muſk was triturated into a thin paſte with an ounce of charcoal powder and water; but neither at firſt nor afterwards did the muſk-ſmell ſeem to be weakened. With a mixture of two grains of aſafœtida and one ounce of charcoal powder, the reſult was the ſame.

§. VIII.

Water impregnated with hepatic air is not deprived of its fetor by charcoal powder. Mr. K. thinks it probable that charcoal in a humid ſtate is not capable of abſorbing air, as it is, according to Fontana's and Sennebier's experiments*, in a red hot, or even in a dry ſtate.

§. IX.

One ounce of charcoal powder was mixed with ſix ounces of water, to which was added one ounce of expreſſed oil of rape-ſeed (muſtard-ſeed?) of a dark colour and bad ſmell; the mixture was ſhaken for ſome minutes, and ſet by in a warm place for a couple of days; after which it was attempted to ſeparate the oil from the charcoal powder, an operation which was attended with great difficulty, the greater part of the oil being united with the charcoal. That which could be expreſſed from it, was of a black colour in conſequence of the charcoal that was ſtill mixed with it. It was therefore filtered through paper, by which means a ſeparation was effected; but in this way it was not poſſible to collect more than two drams of oil, which was perfectly colourleſs, like white olive oil, had entirely loſt its bad ſmell, and was well taſted; though Mr. K. thought that this rectified oil was diſpoſed to become rancid more quickly than the ordinary oil.

On account of the great abſorption of oil by the charcoal powder, and the difficulty and loſs attending the ſubſequent ſeparation, it is not much to be expected (as Mr.

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* Annales de Chimie, tom, iv. p. 261.

Gottling has already remarked *) that charcoal will be applied to the purification of expreſſed oils, in the great.

§. X.

The aſtringent principle in vegetables is deſtroyed by charcoal. To produce this effect, an enormous quantity of charcoal powder is requiſite. Infuſion of galls was boiled repeatedly and gently with charcoal powder, and afterwards, without being made warm, was ſhaken for ſome time with the ſame, and then left at reſt. On account of the great quantity of charcoal powder that was employed, it was neceſſary to dilute the infuſion largely, but it was afterwards reduced to its former quantity by evaporation. Freſh infuſion of galls acquired from the charcoal at firſt a dark blackiſh-green colour, which, however, was entirely taken away by ſubſequent agitation with more charcoal, and by filtration through the ſame. Infuſion of galls that had ſtood by for ſome time, did not exhibit this blackneſs. Both became at length colourleſs, betrayed no aſtringency to the taſte, produced not the leaſt blackneſs in a ſolution of vitriol of iron, precipitated nitrated quickſilver white, did not redden paper ſtained with litmus, but rather made it of a deeper blue colour. May not the deſtruction of the aſtringent principle be owing to the particles of iron, which, as appears from Mr. Weſtrumb's experiments, charcoal contains ?

§. XI.

It had been before obſerved by Mr. Lowitz, that water coloured by litmus was deprived of its colour by charcoal. This induced Mr. K. to try its effects upon other pigments. Accordingly, he took four ounces of water coloured of a deep blue by a ſolution of indigo in vitriolic acid, and added thereto half an ounce of charcoal powder: The mixture, after agitation for a few moments, paſſed through the filtre as colourleſs as water. In like manner watery tinctures, or infuſions of cochineal, fernambuck, and madder, were rendered colourleſs by charcoal powder.

§. XII.

For the purification of crude tartar, both red and white, charcoal powder was found very uſeful. Two drachms of red tartar were boiled for a quarter of an hour with half an ounce of charcoal powder and eight ounces of water; the ſolution was colourleſs, and yielded by evaporation a very good white tartar. Mr. K. is therefore of opinion, that charcoal powder may be advantageouſly employed for this purpoſe, in the great. By the ſame means he has frequently prepared from crude tartar, cryſtals of tartar as white as thoſe which are obtainable from purified tartar (cream of tartar.)

§. XIII.

In repeated experiments he has experienced the efficacy of charcoal in the preparation of a white terra foliata tartari, or acetated vegetable alkali. The failures of other chemiſts in this reſpect he ſuppoſes to have been owing to the employment of too ſcanty a proportion of charcoal powder.

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* Almanack for Chemiſts for 1791, p. 81.

§. XIV.—XV.

By gentle boiling for a ſhort time with charcoal powder, ſoluble tartar (alkali vegetabile tartariſatum) obtained from crude tartar, may be freed from its brown colour, and be brought to a degree of purity equal to that which is prepared from cream of tartar. In the ſame manner the ſoluble tartar which is collected in the preparation of the eſſential acid of tartar, and which for the moſt part is coloured, may be brought to perfect whiteneſs.

PART II.

One of the moſt remarkable properties of charcoal, which was firſt made known by Mr. Lowitz, is its deſtroying the ſtench which ariſes from putrid fleſh; for on kneading the ſame with charcoal powder, the fetor is entirely taken off, and nothing but a pure ſmell of volatile alkali remains. This fact has been ſince confirmed by Mr. Brugnatelli, and alſo by Mr. Kels *.

But charcoal by no means checks the putrefactive proceſs which the fleſh is undergoing; for in ſpite of admixture therewith, the fleſh becomes at length completely reſolved or deſtroyed. It is not, therefore, an antiſeptic in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, ſince it only acts upon the fetid effluvia from the putrifying ſubſtances.

This property of charcoal ſuggeſted to Mr. K. the correction of foul and ſtinking water by the ſame means. His firſt experiments on this ſubject, which he made in January, 1789 (the reſults of which he communicated to Profeſſors Gmelin, Blumenbach, and Feder, of Gottingen) ſucceeded agreeably to his expectations and wiſhes. It was not (we are told) till after his experiments had been made known, that Mr. Lowitz publiſhed his method of purifying foul water by the ſame means, only with the addition of vitriolic acid.

The correction or reſtoration of putrid water by means of charcoal is ſo eaſy, ſo ſimple, and ſo cheap a proceſs, that Mr. K. ſtrongly recommends it to be adopted (in preference to all other methods hitherto propoſed †) in ſea-voyages. In all his experiments he has found charcoal powder, added in a greater

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* The culinary experience of our good mothers and grandmothers may be adduced as an additional corroboration of this uſeful property of charcoal. It has long been an eſtabliſhed practice in the chemiſtry of the kitchen to take off the offenſive ſmell of meat a little tainted by throwing into the pot, when boiling, a red hot *wood* coal; an expedient which is found always to ſucceed, unleſs the putrefaction of the fleſh be too far advanced.

† Namely, ventilation, recommended by Foſter;—ſhaking the water in the caſks after opening them, recommended by Aſkow and Lind; who further recommends boiling the putrid water briſkly but for a ſhort time, and alſo the addition of alum;—the addition of quick-lime, recommended by Foſter (Mr. Kels has found that this laſt, as is noticed in the text, may be uſefully employed in conjunction with charcoal);—nitrated ſilver. This, which has been recommended as a powerful antiſeptic by Dr. Hahneman, was tried by Mr. Kels without effect. It is, beſides, an unſafe article;—laſtly, argillaceous earth or clay, recommended by Mr. Beckman.

or leſs proportion, according to the degree of putrefaction, and the quantity of putrid particles, to render foul water ſweet by agitation therewith for a few minutes. The ſubſequent ſeparation of the charcoal powder from the water is effected with little difficulty, even in the great.

The employment of quicklime in conjunction with charcoal, was found to contribute conſiderably to the purification of the foul water, eſpecially if the water abound with extractive matter, which the quicklime precipitates, and thereby fines the water and renders it perfectly clear. But he never could take off the bad ſmell of the water by lime alone.

The purifying operation of quicklime, in conjunction with charcoal, is moſt ſtriking in the caſe of water in which flax has been ſuffered to putrefy; ſuch water has a peculiar, and highly offenſive ſmell. That which was uſed in theſe experiments was as black as ink; by addition of quicklime it was ſoon rendered quite clear and limpid, the lime carrying down with it black flakes to the bottom of the veſſel; but the bad ſmell was ſo far from being deſtroyed or removed, that it was on the contrary made worſe, and could only be gotten rid of by the addition of charcoal powder. Water in which cabbage had been ſteeped, and which was of a yellowiſh brown colour, was in like manner rendered fine and clear by quicklime, but did not part with its ſtinking ſmell, till charcoal was mixed with it.

For the ſeparation or precipitation of the portion of lime which in this mode of purification remains diſſolved in the water, Mr. K. propoſes (in preference to fixed air) the employment either of acid of tartar, or of vitriolic acid.

Water that has undergone putrefaction, is deprived of its freſh and briſk taſte, which charcoal is not capable of reſtoring; hence the water that has been thus purified, taſtes ſoft and vapid. For the reſtoration of its pleaſant refreſhing taſte, Mr. K. recommends the employment of fixed air.

The diſagreeable mouldy taſte, which ſome water has in its natural ſtate, may be corrected by ſimple filtration through charcoal powder; which has this further advantage, that it ſeparates at the ſame time the extraneous matter that is mechanically mixed with the water, and thereby renders it pure and clear.

Mr. K. is induced to think that charcoal is even capable of preſerving water from becoming putrid for a long ſpace of time; for he could not perceive the leaſt putrid ſmell in water that had been kept, mixed with charcoal, for a whole year. He accounts for this effect by ſuppoſing that the charcoal does not, like a true antiſeptic, keep off the putrefactive proceſs, but only abſorbs the putrid particles immediately as they are formed, and ſo prevents them from acting as a ferment to the reſt of the water. He therefore thinks it worth while that this experiment be tried on large quantities of water in ſea-voyages.

PART III.

As charcoal has been found to take off the fetor from putrid fleſh, Mr. K. thinks it may be advantageouſly employed on ſhip-board, for ſweetening ſtinking meat. For this purpoſe, the meat needs only to be rubbed in, and remain covered over with, charcoal powder, for ſome time, and afterwards waſhed clean.—He further thinks that it might be uſeful to add ſome charcoal powder at the time the meat is ſalted.

The bilge-water, which ſo much contaminates the whole air in ſhips, might alſo be corrected by means of charcoal powder.

Dr. Crell has propoſed to correct, by the ſame means, the offenſive exhalations in neceſſaries; and Mr. K. thinks that it might be turned to the ſame uſe in hoſpitals.

Charcoal powder is alſo recommended as a medicine. Mr. Monch has lately adminiſtered it with good effect in a caſe of putrid bilious fever (ſynochus bilioſo putrida) in the doſe of half a drachm ſix times in the day, employing at the ſame time, evacuating medicines. He alſo found that by ſprinkling it upon old ulcers, the fetid ſmell of the pus was taken off.

Mr. Kels has obſerved the ſame thing with regard to ulcers; and he thinks that charcoal powder may be given with advantage in all caſes in which the primæ viæ are loaded with putrid and offenſive matter.

He has ſeen charcoal powder mixed with water, employed with good effect, as a waſh for the mouth, to correct a ſtinking breath, which was probably owing to a rotten tooth: hence he infers that the intolerable fetor which ariſes from carious bones, and ulcerated cancers *, might in like manner be removed by charcoal powder.

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* And alſo from mortifications?

ANTIQUITIES.

Obſervations on the Hammermen of Edinburgh, *by* William Charles Little, *of* Libberton, *eſq. From the Tranſactions of the Society of Antiquaries of* Scotland.

AS the record of theſe corporations goes no farther back than the 1582, we cannot with any degree of preciſion aſcertain their original number, as, even at this period, ſeveral corporations were either extinct, or at leaſt had extended the objects of their trade conſiderably beyond their original bounds.

For example, the Armourers, who were no doubt originally confined to the making of armour, when that ſpecies of defence went into deſuetude, extended their trade to the making of ſword-blades, which was formerly a ſeparate trade; and, indeed, we will have occaſion to obſerve the gradual decreaſe of theſe corporations, owing to different trades aſſociating together, and forming different branches of one corporation.

1582.—"Hew Vans, Dalmaſcar, "ordained not to buy ſword-blades "to ſell again;" and for this obvious reaſon, that the buſineſs of a dalmaſcar was ſolely confined to the guilding of iron and ſteel.

The buſineſs of the Gairdmakers conſiſted in faſhioning ſword-handles; accordingly, in the year 1583, Robert Lyal being admitted a Gairdmaker, wrought for his eſſay, "a "pair of clain ſkellit gairds, and "ane pair ribbit gairds."

In the year 1584, the Cutlers eſſay was "a plain finiſhed quhan-"zear."

The Sadlers eſſay "a man's ſa-"dil of the French faſhion covered, "and a woman's ſadil ready for co-"vering, and ane man's ſadil of "the Scots faſhion covered."

Blackſmiths eſſay, "ane door "cruick, and door band, ane ſpaid "iron, ane ſcholie iron, and horſe "ſhoe and ſix nails thereto."

For theſe many years paſt eight nails have been uſed for fixing on a horſe-ſhoe; and it is probable, that the increaſed ſize of our horſes occaſioned that addition. Indeed, William Paton, who writes an account of the duke of Somerſet's expedition into Scotland, in the reign of Edward VI. does not beſtow the name of horſes on the Scottiſh cavalry, but calls them prickers; nay, he will not allow that the Scots rode, but only pricked along; but this obſervation I humbly ſubmit to the better judgment of the Society.

In the 1586, a Beltmaker's eſſay was "ane ſword belt, and ane belton belt." The firſt of theſe needs no explanation; but the laſt was uſed for two different purpoſes: In the firſt place, to keep the body firm; and, in the ſecond place, to hang the ſide piſtols upon.

A Lockſmith's eſſay, "with conſent of the blackſmiths, two kiſt locks." From this circumſtance, we may infer, that either there was not a quorum of the lockſmiths at this time, or more probably, that the lockſmiths were anciently a branch of the blackſmith trade.

At this period the Lorimers eſſay was "ane pair of ſmall ribbit ſword gairds, and ane bridle bit, ane pair ſtirrip irons, and ane pair of ſpurs; all of the French faſhion;" and at this time a ſadler's eſſay was a man's and a woman's ſaddle of the Scottiſh faſhion.

In the year 1588, there was an addition made to this eſſay, viz. a man's ſaddle, and a woman's ſaddle of the French faſhion; and a woman's ſaddle. At this period too, I find Pewtherers mentioned; but it appears their trade was then very limited, as their eſſay conſiſted only of "ane baſing and lawer."

In the 1590, the Armourers eſſay was "a great hit ſword."

Previous to the 1581, it appears that there was only one dalmaſcar, viz. Hew Vans already mentioned; but, upon the 5th Auguſt of this year, there was another admitted, who produced for his eſſay, "a pair gairdes dalmaſh'd and gilt with lief gold."

In July 1594, there is mention made of Dagmakers, they were joined with the lockſmiths, "their eſſay was a hackbut and a dag." A few definitions from Minſhew's Dictionary will throw ſome light on this eſſay, "Haquebut is that piece of artillery we otherwiſe do call an harquebuſe, being both French words.—Haque is a hand-gun of about three quarters of a yard long.—*Arquebuſe ab arcus et bugia cavus hollow quia trunco ſimilis eſt arcui*; becauſe one end of the ſtock next to the man's breaſt is bowed like a bow, and the piece is hollow.—Dagge or piſtol—*forſana Dacis quod Dacis Garmaniae populis primum innotuerit*; becauſe the Dacians were the firſt that uſed them."

In the 1595, The Sheirſmiths make their appearance. Their eſſay conſiſted of "ane pair of ſkinner's ſheirs, and ane pair of taylor's ſheirs."

In the 1600, the Armourers eſſay was changed into "an mounted braid ſword ſufficiently wrought;" and the Cutlers to "ane finiſhed quinzeir."

Upon the 2d September 1609, a conſiderable addition was made to the Lockſmiths eſſay, which then conſiſted "of a kiſt lock and a hing, an bois lock, with an double plate lock."

Upon the 26th September, Walter Duncan, a Hecklemaker, was admitted; and as there is no mention of this trade before his admiſſion, it is probable that he was the firſt who obtained a place among the corporations.

Upon the 7th September, 1613, Walter Duncan is admitted Linkter, and produced for his eſſay "a braſin heckle, and goblit of white iron."

1613.—Thomas Duncan, Tinkler, was admitted, his eſſay "an heckell with a pair of clatting wool cammis."

In the 1614, a very conſiderable addition was made to the Beltmakers eſſay, viz. "ane bridle, “ane headſtil, and ane pair of ſtirrip leathers.”

In the 1616, the Armourers eſſay conſiſted of “an mounted ſword and ſcabbard.”

In the 1620, “a quart flaggon became part of the Pewtherers eſſay.”

In the 1621, October 16th, a Dagmaker, with conſent of the lorimers, produced as his eſſay, “a brazen buckle and an arrow-head.”

1632, December 3d.—John Sharg, Engliſhman, produced two pieces of work, one of braſs, and the other of copper, as his eſſay, and was admitted a freeman of the brazier and copperſmith trades. He ſeems to have been the firſt. His eſſay maſters were a lorimer and a pewtherer.

Upon the 31ſt July 1634, Robert Duncan was admitted a freeman Bookclaſper, heckle and bowitmaker.

Upon the ſecond of October this year, James Younger, in conſideration of 100 merks (5 *l.* 11 *s.* 1⅓*d.*) paid by him, was allowed during his life, to make and ſell within the liberty, “all ſorts of ſword belts, all ſorts of claſpit belts, all ſorts of braſs buckles, all ſorts of braſs nails, braiſin heads for men and women's ſadles, braſſin ſtirrips for gentlewomen; and all other braſſin work of the like ſort.”

Upon the 16th June 1641, the Grayfriars kirk-ſeſſion applied to the corporations, in order to have the “Magdalane chapple bell” rung on their account, for which they agreed to pay 40 *l.* Scots, (3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*) ſterling yearly, which was agreed to during pleaſure.

In September this year, a Copperſmith produced for his eſſay “a ſtoving pan and a ſcovit.”

In the 1644, the Gairdmakers eſſay conſiſted “of ane double ſcheith and pair of ſcheiths, an ſingle ſchieth and an pair of hulſters.”

In December this year, a “key and ſprent band” were added to the Lockſmiths eſſay.

Upon the 6th December, 1647, a Lockſmith and Knockmaker were admitted, and his eſſay conſiſted of “a lock, with the key and ſprent band, and knock and minuter and dyell.” He was admitted with conſent of the lockſmiths and knockmakers, and is the firſt who was permitted to exerciſe theſe trades jointly.

Upon the 7th April this year, the corporations ordained ten or twelve of the ableſt men to be in readineſs to ride with the deacon for ſearching and finding out the laird of Kilſpindie.

In the 1648, the Braziers eſſay conſiſted of “an little bell, an hand-bell, an mortar with an piſtol.”

In the 1649, the Saddlers eſſay was changed to “an French ſadel and hunting ſadel;” and, in the 1653, the Braziers eſſay was changed to “three ſeveral ſorts of buckles, three ſeveral ſorts of nails, with an ſadel head;” at this time the Copperſmiths eſſay conſiſted of “a ſtewen pan and ſkeilit;” and the Armourers of “an mounted ſword, with a new ſcabbard and an Highland gaurd.”

Upon the 21ſt March, 1657, Mr. Charles Smith, advocate, was admitted a Blackſmith; and was pleaſed to produce, by way of eſſay, “the portrait of an horſe's leg, ſhoed with a ſilver ſhoe fixed with three nails, with a ſilver ſtaple at "the other end thereof; which "was found to be a *qualified* and "well wrought eſſay."

I was much diſpoſed to trace this ingenious gentleman's family and connections *. I had the mortification, however, to diſcover, that the record of the Faculty of Advocates goes no farther back than the year 1660; but hope ſome other member of this ſociety may be more fortunate in his reſearches.

As to this curious eſſay, I ſhall only beg leave to obſerve, that it is no ſtretch of probability to ſuppoſe, that this mechanical genius would chooſe the foreleg for his exhibition, in which caſe the alluſion to his former buſineſs is too obvious to need any illuſtration; and would no doubt be conſidered as a very good joke in thoſe days.

In the 1659, and 1660, the Sadlers eſſay underwent a further alteration, and conſiſted of "a great "ſadle, an woman's ſadle, a ſmall "ſadle, a ſide ſadle, and a hunting "ſadle."

In the year 1664, mention is made of a White-ironman, who produced as his eſſay "a lantern, a ſugar box, an lamp, and candle-"ſtick;" and upon the 16th September this year, the harneſsmakers are mentioned for the firſt time. The eſſay "a coach horſe harneſs;" and much about the ſame period, two perſons are appointed to convey the deacon over the water, to the laird of Lundy's burial, under the pain of 10 *l.* each, (16 *s.* 8 *d.* ſterling.)

Upon the 10th September 1667, the Beltmakers eſſay was conſiderably improved, and conſiſted of "a "ſhoulder belt, a waſt belt with an "furniture;" by which is poſſibly meant lace or fringes.

In the 1668, the White-ironmen's eſſay was extended to "a ſtoven "pan, a lantern, a watering pot for "the gardening, and an chandler;" and upon the 26th September a Dagmaker was admitted with the uſual eſſay. We ſhall meet with no more mention of this trade, as in the 1676, the buckle and arrowhead were added to the Gunſmiths eſſay. And of the ſame date a Gunſmith makes his appearance for the firſt time; his eſſay was a pair of ſufficient piſtols.

In the 1673, James Innes, writer, was admitted a freeman, on his application. I am ſorry to ſay, I find no eſſay on this occaſion, neither can I trace the cauſe of his admiſſion.

In the 1675, the Copperſmiths eſſay conſiſted of "a ſkellit of braſs, "a ſtoving pan of copper, and an "ſtanding chandler of beaten braſs;" and upon the 7th of Auguſt, a watch was added to the Knockmakers eſſay; and, upon the 6th October James Aitchiſon, engraver, was admitted in the art of Engraving and Claſpmaker trade; his eſſay was "a "pair of lock braſs claſps, and a cut "ſeal bearing the Hammermen's "arms."

As I cannot trace the ſmalleſt connection betwixt theſe two trades, I am led to believe that this conjunction proceeded from the very imperfect knowledge we had then acquired of engraving, which, in my humble opinion, at this time, extended little farther than the cutting of letters and ſeals; and as this could afford but a very ſmall field for buſineſs, he was admitted among the Claſp-makers; which buſineſs, conſidering the very limited uſe of ſhoe-buckles, and the very extenſive uſe of bibles at this period, (moſt, if not all, of which were ornamented with claſps), could not fail to be very productive.

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* He was a ſon of Sir John Smith, of Grattle, knight, who was lord provoſt of Edinburgh in the years 1643, 1644, and 1645.

In the 1676, a braſs caſt candleſtick was added to the Founder's eſſay; and, in the ſame year the Gunſmiths extended their eſſay to "a mounted piſtol, a carriban, a "buckle, and an arrow head;" and, in 1677, the Clockmaker's eſſay was the movement of a watch.

Upon the 13th November this year, a ſervant of the duke of Lauderdale was admitted an Upholſterer, but diſcharged to take any apprentices but Scotſmen's ſons.

It gave me a great deal of pleaſure to obſerve ſo much ſpirit in the corporations, conſidering the uncommon influence which the duke had at this period. For my own part, I ſhould have been nowiſe ſurpriſed had I found him provided with a penſion out of the corporation funds. But it ſeems this is an abuſe which has been reſerved for more enlightened times.

The 11th of January 1679 was rendered remarkable by the ratification of the admiſſion of ſir George Mackenzie of Roſehaugh, as a freeman.

It ſeems he had been admitted in December preceding, by the deacon, boxmaſter, and other members, at a meeting held in preſence of the lord preſident of the ſeſſion, (ſir James Dalrymple, of Stair) the lord Arniſton, and ſeveral other perſons of quality.

It does not appear that this diſtinguiſhed character produced any eſſay; but it will be no hard taſk to prove that few members promoted more the intereſt of the hammermen than he did.

Mr. Cruikſhanks, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, (vol. 1ſt, p. 411.) obſerves, "upon the 4th Auguſt "1677, ſir George Mackenzie of "Roſehaugh was admitted a privy "counſellor; and about this time "ſir John Niſbet, who had been his "majeſty's advocate for ſeveral "years, was turned out and ſucceeded by ſir George, who was "greatly inſtrumental in the after-"ſufferings of the preſbyterians; ſo "that the prelates themſelves could "never charge him with any thing "like moderation." And whoever looks into Mr. Woodrow's hiſtory, will find that no period has occurred more diſtinguiſhed for the uſe of handcuffs, gallowſlocks, ſpikes, chains, axes, cleavers, thumbkins, boots, and other engines of torture, death, and demembration. Indeed this period was rendered remarkable by inventions of this ſort, as appears from the following act of council, 23d July 1684, "Whereas "the *boots* were the ordinary way to "expiſcate matters relating to the "government; and that there is "now a new invention and engine, "called the Thumbkins, which will "be very effectual to the purpoſe "and intent foreſaid; the lords "of his majeſty's privy council "do therefore ordain, that, when "any perſon ſhall, *by their order*, "be put to the torture, the ſaid "boots and thumbkins both be "applied to them, as it ſhall be "found fit and convenient."

I have already obſerved that the records are ſilent with regard to ſir George's eſſay; however, as the word *new* has no very determined ſignification, I think it not impoſſible that this new invented "engine called the thumbkins," may have been invented upon that occaſion, and lain dormant till an after period, when this worthy member acquired ſufficient influence in the privy council to eſtabliſh his invention. However, be this as it will, this engine was far excelled by an *eſſay* of the privy council, indiſputably new, with which I ſhall conclude this diſagreeable ſubject. (Cruikſhanks, vol. 2d, p. 282) 26th July 1684, "The lords of his majeſty's privy council order general "Dalzell, to receive Mr. William "Spence from the magiſtrates of "Edinburgh, and to appoint a ſufficient number of officers and ſoldiers to watch him by turns, and "not ſuffer him *ſleep*, night nor day, "but uſe every method neceſſary for "*keeping him awake*; and, in the "meantime, to take down in writing every thing he ſhall ſay in relation to the plot."

1682.—"A cruick and cruick-"band" was added to the Lockſmith's eſſay.

Upon the 13th May 1686, mention is firſt made of a Hookmaker. The eſſay "a dozen of hooks and a "dozen of claſps." This year, too, a conſiderable addition was made to the Lockſmith's eſſay; viz. "a paſs lock with two braſs drawers, the lock poliſhed."

In the year 1687, the chapel was ſet to the preſbyterians for the purpoſe of performing divine worſhip in, at 3*l.* ſterling quarterly. This indulgence, however, was diſcharged by his majeſty's letter, dated in November this year; but afterwards reſtored by another, bearing date 14th February 1688.

In the 1689, the Clockmaker's eſſay was "a houſe clock, with a "watch larum, and locks upon the "doors."

This year, too, the ſmall braſs Founder is mentioned for the firſt time. His eſſay, "a ſuit of oval "buckles with the pertinents, a bullion nail, a coachnail, and a chair-"nail." He paid 50*l.* (4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) more than an apprentice.

About this time, too, the Frameſmith makes his appearance. His eſſay "ſix ſinkers."

In March 1691, Paul Martin, a diſtreſſed French proteſtant, was admitted freeman, for making lancets, razors, and all manner of chirurgical inſtruments. His eſſay was "a "diſmembering ſaw for the leg, "a trepan, a razor, and lancet." I humbly think it a little extraordinary that ſome medical gentlemen, or at leaſt ſome lords of the ſeſſion, did not attend this admiſſion, as, the razor excepted, the hammermen were no judges of the ſufficiency or inſufficiency of this eſſay.

In Auguſt 1694, John Kello, Embroiderer, was admitted and joined to the ſaddlers. His eſſay, "an embroidered thiſtle, and the "motto *nemo me impune laceſſet*."

This year, too, "a piſtol with a "bridged lock," was added to the Gunſmith's eſſay; and "a buckle "of trophee work" to the founders.

In May 1698, two knives and a fork were added to the Cutler's eſſay; and, in 1700, the barrel forged, to the Gunſmiths'.

In February 1701, the Founder's eſſay was "a braſs cannon, a bell, "and a plain round caſten candle-"ſtick;" and the Knockmakers "a pendulum clock, with a large "and ſhort ſwing, and a lock to "the door, with the key;" and, in 1712, "the movement of a watch."

In the 1713, the Sadlers obtained the addition of “a charging ſaddle.”

In the 1720, a Pinmaker is mentioned. His eſſay, “three lots of different ſizes of pins.”

In June 1728, for the ſafety of the lieges, the Lockſmith's eſſay was appointed to be “a cruik and cruikband, a paſs lock with a round filled bridge not cut or broke in the backſide, with nobs and jamb bound.”

In March 1733, a very elegant eſſay was appointed for the white Ironſmiths, *viz.* “a box with three canniſters in it, of beaten work, a ſtruck globe lanthorn with ſixteen horns, and a ſyphon with a braſs bow or curtee;” and, in June following, the Pewtherers, in imitation of their brethren, extended their eſſay to “a baſon, a pint flaggon, a decanter with a lid and ſtroup to it.”

I find nothing further remarkable till the 25th March 1746, when William duke of Cumberland was admitted to the freedom of the corporation of Hammermen. He was likewiſe admitted to the freedom of all the corporations within the city; and the acts of admiſſion were tranſmitted to him by the lord juſtice clerk, (lord Miltoun) in a gold box, the expence of which amounted to 1212 *l.* Scots, or 101 *l.* ſterling.

As it is extremely probable that ſome weeks would elapſe before the duke was informed of this mark of attention, I humbly ſubmit it to the ſociety, if the victory at Culloden may not be conſidered as his royal highneſs's eſſay.

In May 1764, Thomas Laing was admitted the firſt Edge Tool maker. His eſſay “a ſet of boring bits, and a plain iron.”

In July, a Fiſhhook maker was admitted. His eſſay “a fiſhhook, and a claſp and eye.”

In January 1774, an antiburger was admitted, upon ſigning a declaration in place of taking the oath of admiſſion.

This liberality of ſentiment does the corporations much honour. The religious prejudices of mankind well deſerve our pity, but can never render their deluded votaries objects of puniſhment.

Having detained the ſociety ſo long, I ſhall now conclude with a very ſhort obſervation.

The ancient eſſays are few and ſimple, and entirely confined to the means of defence or the neceſſaries of life; but, as civilization advances, the neceſſaries of life increaſe, and of conſequence, the arts for manufacturing them; and it is curious to obſerve, as one trade goes into deſuetude, another gradually ſucceeds in place of it. Thus, though we have no more occaſion for the ancient armourer and dagmaker, the guilder, cutler, and gunſmith, have ample employment; and the founder, from the invention of cannon, finds a field for buſineſs, unknown in former times.

An Account of the Manner in which the Lammas Feſtival was formerly celebrated in Mid-Lothian; *by* James Anderſon, LL.D. *From the ſame.*

NO branch of the hiſtory of man is ſo much involved in obſcurity, as that which relates to manners and the progreſs of uſeful arts. In the progreſſion of civil ſociety, things are perpetually changing. Improvements are made, proportioned to the ſtate of our knowledge at the time. Peculiar cuſtoms originate from the preſent ſtate of arts, which prevail for a ſeaſon, and gradually diſappear as the circumſtances that gave riſe to them fall into oblivion. What deſerves moſt to be regretted is, that thoſe circumſtances, though of much importance in the hiſtory of civil ſociety at the time they prevail, are no ſooner paſſed than they are entirely forgotten. At the time they univerſally prevail no perſon thinks of deſcribing them with care, becauſe they are then deemed to be of ſuch public notoriety as to be known to all; and, when they begin to fall into diſrepute they are deſpiſed as unworthy of notice, and are ſuffered to ſlide imperceptibly into the gulf of forgetfulneſs, from which they are ſometimes attempted to be recovered by the laborious antiquary, who, from incidental alluſions of poets, or tranſient notices from other authors, is able, at beſt, to give but a faint and imperfect view, often an erroneous picture of thoſe objects, which a few lines from a contemporary author would have tranſmitted with indelible force and preciſion to the lateſt poſterity.

Conſidering theſe things, I imagine the members of this ſociety cannot in any inſtance more effectually accompliſh the object for which it was chiefly inſtituted (that of tranſmitting to poſterity a true account of this country as it now is, and has been in times paſt) than for each individual to recollect with care any peculiar cuſtoms of the people, in any part of the country, which he remembers to have prevailed, that are now fallen or are falling into diſuſe; and to give into this ſociety ſuch an account of them as he knows to be juſt, that the knowledge of them may be preſerved in the archives of this ſociety, at leaſt, if they ſhould be forgot in all other parts of the earth.

With this view, I beg leave to communicate the following account of an ancient cuſtom that long prevailed in the Lothians, and which, within a few miles of this city, was univerſally known about thirty years ago, though it is now fallen almoſt entirely into diſuſe.

In an unincloſed corn country, unleſs the ſoil is remarkably fertile, a part of the fields muſt be left in graſs for the paſturage of horſes, cattle, or ſheep; and as all theſe muſt be guarded by *herds* while at paſturage, it will neceſſarily happen, that in theſe circumſtances, a great number of boys and young lads will be employed during the ſummer months in tending the beaſts. At the period I mention this was generally the caſe with the greateſt part of the county of Mid-Lothian. And as it is natural for young perſons, who have much idle time on their hands, to ſearch for amuſement, theſe herds deviſed many kinds of paſtimes with which they occaſionally diverted themſelves; but as the celebration of the Lammas feſtival was by far the moſt remarkable of theſe entertainments, I ſhall here confine myſelf to ſuch a deſcription of that as I have often ſeen practiſed, and know to be true.

All the herds within a certain diſtrict, towards the beginning of ſummer, aſſociated themſelves into bands, ſometimes to the number of a hundred or more. Each of theſe communities agreed to build a tower in ſome conſpicuous place near the centre of their diſtrict, which was to ſerve as the place of their rendezvous on Lammas day. This tower was uſually built of ſods, for the moſt part ſquare, about four feet in diameter at the bottom, and tapering to a point at the top, which was ſeldom above ſeven or eight feet from the ground. In building it, a hole was left in the centre for admitting a flag-ſtaff, on which was diſplayed their colours, on the great day of the feſtival. This tower was uſually begun to be built about a month before Lammas, and was carried up ſlowly by ſucceſſive additions from time to time, being ſeldom entirely completed till a few days before Lammas; though it was always thought that thoſe who completed their's ſooneſt, and kept it ſtanding the longeſt time before Lammas, behaved in the moſt gallant manner, and acquired moſt honour by their conduct.

From the moment the foundation of the tower was laid, it became an object of care and attention to the whole community; for it was reckoned a diſgrace to ſuffer it to be defaced; ſo that they reſiſted, with all their power, any attempts that ſhould be made to demoliſh it, either by force or fraud; and, as the honour that was acquired by the demolition of a tower, if effected by thoſe belonging to another, was in proportion to the diſgrace of ſuffering it to be demoliſhed, each party endeavoured to circumvent the other as much as poſſible, and laid plans to ſteal upon the tower unperceived, in the night time, and level it with the ground. Great was the honour that ſuch a ſucceſsful exploit conveyed to the undertakers; and, though the tower was eaſily rebuilt, and was ſoon put into its former ſtate, yet the news was quickly ſpread by the ſucceſsful adventurers through the whole diſtrict, which filled it with ſhouts of joy and exultation, while their unfortunate neighbours were covered with ſhame. To ward off this diſgrace, a conſtant nightly guard was kept at each tower, which was made ſtronger and ſtronger as the tower advanced; ſo that frequent nightly ſkirmiſhes enſued at theſe attacks, but were ſeldom of much conſequence, as the aſſailants ſeldom came in force to make an attack in this way, but merely to ſucceed by ſurpriſe; as ſoon, therefore, as they ſaw they were diſcovered, they made off in the beſt manner they could.

To give the alarm on theſe and other occaſions, every perſon was armed with a tooting-horn; that is, a horn perforated in the ſmall end, through which wind can be forcibly blown from the mouth, ſo as to occaſion a loud ſound; and as every one wiſhed to acquire as great dexterity as poſſible in the uſe of this inſtrument, they practiſed upon it during the ſummer, while keeping their beaſts; and towards Lammas they were ſo inceſſantly employed at this buſineſs, anſwering to and vying with each other, that the whole country rang continually with the ſounds; and it muſt no doubt have appeared to be a very harſh and unaccountable noiſe to a ſtranger who was then paſſing through it.

As the great day of Lammas approached, each community choſe one from among themſelves for their captain, and they prepared a ſtand of colours to be ready to be then diſplayed. For this purpoſe they uſually borrowed a fine table napkin of the largeſt ſize, from ſome of the farmers wives within the diſtrict; and to ornament it, they alſo borrowed ribbons from thoſe who would lend them, which they tacked upon the napkin in ſuch faſhion as beſt ſuited their fancy. Things being thus prepared, they marched forth early in the morning on Lammas day, dreſſed in their beſt apparel, each armed with a ſtout cudgel, and, repairing to their tower, there diſplayed their colours in triumph; blowing horns, and making merry in the beſt manner they could. About nine o'clock they ſat down upon the green, and each taking from his pocket bread and cheeſe, or other proviſions, they made a hearty breakfaſt, drinking pure water from a well, which they always took care ſhould be near the ſcene of their banquet.

In the mean time ſcouts were ſent out towards every quarter, to bring them notice if any hoſtile party approached; for it frequently happened, that on that day the herds of one diſtrict went to attack thoſe of another diſtrict, and to bring them under ſubjection to them by main force. If news was brought that a hoſtile party approached, the horns ſounded to arms. They were immediately put into the beſt order they could deviſe; the ſtouteſt and boldeſt in the front, and thoſe of inferior proweſs behind. Seldom did they wait the approach of the enemy, but uſually went forth to meet them with a bold countenance, the captain of each company carrying the colours, and leading the van. When they met, they mutually deſired each other to lower their colours in ſign of ſubjection; and, if there appeared to be a great diſproportion in the ſtrength of the parties, the weakeſt uſually ſubmitted to this ceremony without much difficulty, thinking their honour was ſaved by the evident diſproportion of the match. But, if they were nearly equal in ſtrength, none of them would yield, and it ended in blows and ſometimes bloodſhed. I heard of a battle of this kind (but it was before my day) in which four were actually killed, and many wounded, ſo as to be unfit for work for weeks; but I never actually ſaw an engagement of this kind, though I once was witneſs to a meeting of this ſort, where there was I ſuppoſe better than a hundred on each ſide, who were ſo nearly equal that neither of them would yield, and who were upon the point of engaging, when a farmer, a ſtout active young man, who dreaded the conſequences, came galloping up to them, and going between the two parties, with great difficulty, by threats and entreaties, got them to deſiſt till he ſhould ſpeak coolly to them. He at laſt got the matter compromiſed one way or other, ſo as to end the ſtrife without blows. I was then ſo young as to be in no way made acquainted with the arguments that were employed.

When they had remained at their tower till about mid-day, if no opponent appeared, or if they themſelves had no intention of making an attack, they then took down their colours, and marched with horns ſounding, towards the moſt conſiderable village in their diſtrict, where the laſſes and all the people came out to meet them and partake of their diverſions. Boundaries were immediately appointed, and a proclamation made, that all who intended to compete in the race ſhould appear. A bonnet ornamented with ribbons was diſplayed upon a pole, as the prize of the victor; and ſometimes five or ſix ſtarted for it, and ran with as great eagerneſs as if they had been to gain a kingdom. The prize of the ſecond race was a pair of garters, and the third a knife; they then amuſed themſelves for ſome time with ſuch rural ſports as ſuited their taſte, and diſperſed quietly to their reſpective homes before ſun-ſet.

When two parties met, and one of them yielded to the other, they marched together for ſome time in two ſeparate bodies, the ſubjected body behind the other; and then they parted good friends, each performing their races at their own appointed place. Next day after the ceremony was over, the ribbons and napkin that formed the colours, were carefully returned to their reſpective owners. The tower was no longer a matter of conſequence, and the country returned to its uſual ſtate of tranquillity.

The above is a faithful account of a ſingular ceremony that was annually repeated in all the country, within the diſtance of ſix miles weſt from Edinburgh about thirty years ago. How long that cuſtom prevailed, or what had given riſe to it, or how far it had extended on each ſide, I am entirely ignorant; but will be glad to have ſuch further elucidations concerning it as any of the members of this ſociety can give. The name of Lammas-towers will remain (ſome of them having been built of ſtone) after the celebration of the feſtival has ceaſed. This paper will at leaſt preſerve the memory of what was meant by them.

I never could diſcover the ſmalleſt traces of this cuſtom in Aberdeenſhire, though I have there found ſeveral towers of ſtone very like the Lammas-towers of this country; but theſe ſeem to have been erected without any appropriated uſe, but merely to look at. I have known ſome of thoſe erected in my time, where I knew for certain that no other object was intended than merely to amuſe the perſon who erected them.

If this ſhall be acceptable to the ſociety, I ſhall at ſome future time give an account of ſeveral other remarkable cuſtoms that have diſappeared in my time.

Expences of the Robin Hood *and* May-Game; *extracted from ſome ancient Pariſh Accounts of* Kingſton-upon-Thames. *From the Firſt Vol. of* Lyſons's *Environs of* London.

		£.	s.	d.
23 Hen. 7.	TO the menſtorell upon May-day -	0	0	4
———	For paynting of the mores garments and for ſarten gret leveres * - -	0	2	4

23 Hen.

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* The word livery was formerly uſed to ſignify any thing delivered; ſee the Northumberland Houſehold Book, p. 60. If it ever bore ſuch an acceptation at that time, one might be induced to ſuppoſe, from the following entries, that it here meant a badge, or ſomething of that kind:

	£.	s.	d.
15 C. of leveres for Robin hode - -	0	5	0
For leveres, paper and ſateyn - -	0	0	20
For pynnes and leveryes - - -	0	6	5
For 13 C. of leverys - - -	0	4	4
For 24 great lyvereys - - -	0	0	4

We

		£.	s.	d.
23 Hen. 7.	For paynting of a banner for Robin hode	0	0	3
———	For 2 M. & ½ pynnys	0	0	10
———	For 4 plyts and ¼ of laun for the mores garments	0	2	11
———	For orſeden * for the ſame	0	0	10
———	For a goun for the lady	0	0	8
———	For bellys for the dawnſars	0	0	12
24 Hen. 7.	For little John's cote	0	8	0
1 Hen. 8.	For ſilver paper for the mores dawnſars	0	0	7
———	For Kendall for Robyn hode's cote	0	1	3
———	For 3 yerds of white for the frere's † cote	0	3	0
———	For 4 yerds of kendall for mayde Marian's ‡ huke §	0	3	4
———	For ſaten of ſypers for the ſame huke	0	0	6
———	For 2 payre of glovys for Robin hode and mayde Maryan	0	0	3
———	For 6 brode arovys	0	0	6
———	To mayde Marian for her labour for two years	0	2	0
———	To Fygge the taborer	0	6	0
———	Rec^{d} for Robyn hood's gaderyng 4 marks ‖			
5 Hen. 8.	Rec^{d} for Robin hood's gaderyng at Croydon	0	9	4
11 Hen. 8.	Paid for three brode yerds of roſett for makyng the frer's cote	0	3	6

We are told that formerly, in the celebration of May-games, the youth divided themſelves into two troops, the one in winter *livery*, the other in the habit of the ſpring. See Brand's Popular Antiquities, p. 261.

* Though it varies conſiderably from that word, this may be a corruption of orpiment, which was much in uſe for colouring the morris garments.

† The friar's coat was generally of ruſſet, as it appears by the following extracts. In an ancient drama, called The Play of Robin Hood, very proper to be played in May-games, a friar, whoſe name is Tuck, is one of the principal characters. He comes to the foreſt in ſearch of Robin Hood, with an intention to fight him, but conſents to become chaplain to his lady.

‡ Marian was the aſſumed name of the beloved miſtreſs of Robert earl of Huntingdon, whilſt he was in a ſtate of outlawry, as Robin Hood was his. See Mr. Steevens' note to a paſſage in Shakſpere's Henry IV. This character in the morris-dances was generally repreſented by a boy. See Strutt's View of Cuſtoms and Manners, vol. iii. p. 150. It appears by one of the extracts, given above, that at Kingſton it was performed by a woman, who was paid a ſhilling each year for her trouble.

§ Mr. Steevens ſuggeſts, with great probability, that this word may have the ſame meaning as howve or houve, uſed by Chaucer for a head-dreſs; maid Marian's head-dreſs was always very fine: indeed ſome perſons have derived her name from the Italian word morione, a head-dreſs.

‖ It appears that this, as well as other games, was made a pariſh concern.

11 Hen.

		£.	s.	d.
11 Hen. 8.	Shoes for the mores daunſar's, the frere and mayde Maryan at 7^d a peyre	0	5	4
13 Hen. 8.	Eight yerds of fuſtyan for the mores daunſar's coats	0	16	0
———	A doſyn of gold ſkynnes for the morres *	0	0	10
15 Hen. 8.	Hire of hats for Robynhode	0	0	16
———	Paid for the hat that was loſt	0	0	10
16 Hen. 8.	Rec^d at the church-ale and Robynhode all things deducted	3	10	6
———	Paid for 6 yerds $\frac{1}{4}$ of ſatyn for Robyn hode's cotys	0	12	6
———	For makyng the ſame	0	2	0
———	For 3 ells of locram †	0	1	6
21 Hen. 8.	For ſpunging and bruſhing Robynhode's cotys	0	0	2
28 Hen. 8.	Five hats and 4 porſes for the daunſars	0	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
———	4 yerds of cloth for the fole's cote	0	2	0
———	2 ells of worſtede for maide Maryan's kyrtle	0	6	8
———	For 6 payre of double ſollyd ſhowne	0	4	6
———	To the mynſtrele	0	10	8
———	To the fryer and the piper for to go to Croydon	0	0	8

29 Hen. 8. Mem. Lefte in the keping of the wardens nowe beinge a fryers cote of ruſſet and a kyrtele of worſtede weltyd with red cloth, a mowren's ‡ cote of buckram, and 4 morres daunſars cotes of whitte fuſtian ſpangelyd and two gryne ſaten cotes and a dyſardd's § cote of cotton, and 6 payre of garters with bells.

Account of the Office of Chief Maſter, Ruler, and Overſeer of all and ſingular his Majeſty's Games of Bear, and Bulls, and Maſtive Dogs and Maſtive Bitches. From the ſame.

WHENEVER it was the king's pleaſure to entertain himſelf, or any of his royal viſitors, with the game of bear-baiting, it was the buſineſs of the maſter of the game to provide bears and dogs, and to ſuperintend the baiting: and as this cruel ſport deſtroyed a great number of the poor animals, he was inveſted with the moſt unlimited authority to iſſue commiſſions and to ſend his officers into every county of

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* Probably gilt leather, the pliability of which was particularly accommodated to the motion of the dancers.

† A ſort of coarſe linen.

‡ Probably a Moor's coat; the word *morian* is ſometimes uſed to expreſs a Moor.—The morris-dance is by ſome ſuppoſed to have been originally derived from Mooriſh-dance. Black buckram appears to have been been much uſed for the dreſſes of the ancient mummers. One of the figures in Mr. Tollet's window is ſuppoſed to be a moriſco.

§ Diſard is an old word for a fool.

England, who were impowered to ſeize and take away any bears, bulls, or dogs, that they thought meet for his majeſty's ſervice. This arbitrary proceeding was little reliſhed by the ſubjects *; and the perſons ſent to take up dogs were frequently ill-treated and beaten, the juſtices of the peace often refuſing to grant them any redreſs. Some towns, and whole counties, to avoid theſe diſputes, made a compoſition with the maſter of the bears, to ſend up a certain number of maſtiff dogs yearly, upon condition that the commiſſion ſhould never come into their neighbourhood. Among Alleyn's † papers is an engagement ſigned by certain perſons of the town of Mancheſter, wherein they promiſe to ſend up yearly, "a maſty dogge or bytche "to the bear-garden, between Mydſomer and Michaelmaſſe." The maſter of the bear-garden in queen Elizabeth's time was allowed to have public baitings on Sundays in the afternoon ‡; which liberty was taken away by James I. Alleyn complains much of this in a petition which he preſented to the king, in which he alſo prays for an increaſe of ſalary. The whole petition is curious, and throws ſo much light upon the nature and prevalence of this diverſion, that I ſhall make no apology for inſerting it at length; and with it ſhall cloſe this digreſſion upon bear-baiting:

"To the king's moſt excellent
"majeſty, the humble peti-
"tion of Philip Henſlow, and
"Edward Alleyn, your ma-
"jeſties ſervants.

"Whereas it pleaſed your moſt "excellent majeſty, after the death "of Sir John Darrington, to grant "the office of maſter of your game "of bulls, bears, and dogs, with "the fee of ſixteen pence per diem "unto Sir William Steward, Knt.; "at which time the howſe and "beares, being your majeſties pe- "titioners; but we not licenſed to "bayte them, and Sir William "Steward refuſing to take them at

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* Whoever happens to look into the records of this period, will have reaſon to be very thankful that he did not live in an age when his property was every moment liable to be ſeized to furniſh entertainment for the court. A few references to the Patent Rolls will ſhow to what extent theſe arbitrary ſeizures were carried. "A commiſſion to take up well ſinging children, for furniſhing the queen's cha- "pel," Pat. 4 Eliz. pt. 6. Jan. 10. Pat. 9 Eliz. pt. 10. ap. 18. & Pat. 39 Eliz. pt. 9. July 15. dorſo. Tuſſer, who wrote the poem, entitled "Five Hundred "Points of good Huſbandry," was impreſſed upon this ſervice, as he himſelf informs us in his Life, at the end of that work:

"Thence for my voice, I muſt (no choiſe)
"Away of force, like poſting horſe,
"For ſundry men had placards then,
"Such childe to take."

"Commiſſion to George Buck to take up as many paynters, embroiderers, taylors, "&c. as he ſhall thinke neceſſary for the office of the revels," Pat. 1 Jac. pt. 24. June 23. "Commiſſion to Andrew Pitcairn, to take up hawks for his majeſty's "recreation, and pigeons and hens for the keeping of them." Pat. 5 Car. 1. p. 1. Oct. 30.

† Founder of Dulwich college.

‡ Plays were performed on Sundays, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Malone's Hiſtory of the Stage, p. 126.

“our hands upon any reaſonable terms, we were therefore enforced to buy of him the ſaid office, paſtime, and fee, at a very high rate; and whereas, in reſpect of the great charge that the keeping the ſaid game continually requires, and alſo the ſmalineſs of the fee; in the late queen's time, free liberty was permitted without reſtraint to bayt them, which now is taken away from us, eſpecially on the Sundays in the afternoon, after divine ſervice, which was the chiefeſt means and benefit to the place; and in the time of the ſickneſs, we have been reſtrained many times on the working days; theſe hindrances, in general with the loſs of divers of the beaſtes, as before the king of Denmark we loſt a goodly beare of the name of George Stone *; and at another bayting, being before your majeſtie, were killed four of our beſt bears, which in your kingdom are not the like to be had, and which were in value worth 30 *l.*; and alſo our ordinary charges amount yearly to 200 l. and better; theſe loſſes and charges are ſo heavy upon your petitioners, that whereas formerly we could have letten it forth for 100 l. a year, now none will take it gratis to bear the charges, which is your poor ſervants undoing, unleſs your majeſtie, of your gracious clemencie, have conſideracion of us. Theſe cauſes do enforce us humbly to become ſuitors unto your majeſtie, that in reſpect of the premiſes, and that we have, ever ſince your gracious entrance into this kingdom, done your majeſtie ſervice with all duty and obſervance; it would pleaſe your majeſtie in your moſt royalle bounty, now ſo to relieve us, as we may be able to continue our ſervice unto your majeſtie as heretofore we have done; and to that end, to grant unto us free liberty, as hath been granted in the late queen's time; and alſo, in reſpect of our great and dayly charge, to add unto our ſaid fee 2 *s.* and 8 *d.* being never as yet increaſed ſince the firſt foundacion of the office. And whereas, their are divers vagrants and perſons of looſe and idle life, that uſually wandereth through the country with bears and bulls without any licence, and for ought we know ſerving no man, ſpoyling and killing dogs for that game, ſo that your majeſtie cannot be ſerved but by great charges to us, fetching them very far; which is directly contrary to a ſtatute made in that behalf: for the reſtraining of ſuch, your majeſtie would be pleaſed, in your moſt gracious favour, to renew unto your petitioners our paſtime; and to grant us, and our deputies, power and authoritie to apprehend ſuch vagrants, and to convene them before the next juſtice of peace, there to be bound with ſureties to forfeit his ſaid bears and bulls to your majeſties uſe, if he ſhall be taken to go about with any ſuch game, contrary to the laws of this your majeſties realm; and your poor ſervants will dayly praye for your majeſties long and happy reigne.”

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* In a letter to Alleyn, amongſt his MSS. mention is made of the notable exploits of a bear, called “ Little Beſſe of Bromley,” who fought in one day, twenty-one double and ſingle courſes with the beſt dogs in the country.

Of the ancient Allowance to Members of Parliament; extracted from a Paper written in the Reign of Elizabeth; by Mr. Hooker, Member for Athenry in Ireland, and for Tiverton in Devonſhire, entitled, "An Account of the Method of Proceeding in the Parliament which was held by Sir Henry Sidney, in the Eleventh Year of Queen Elizabeth." From the Firſt Volume of Lord Mountmorres's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Parliament.

THE charges of every knight and citizen were wont to be alike; which was thirteen ſhillings and fourpence by the day: but now, by the ſtatute, it is but ten ſhillings to every citizen; and to every burgeſs the old uſage was to have five ſhillings; but now it is but three ſhillings and fourpence limited by the ſtatute; which allowance is to be given from the firſt day of their journey towards the parliament, until the laſt day of their return from thence. Provided, That every ſuch perſon ſhall be allowed for ſo many days as by journeying ſix and twenty miles every day in the winter, and thirty miles in the ſummer, he may come and return to and from the parliament.

Of the Dignity, Power, and Authority of the Parliament, and of the Orders obſerved therein. From the ſame Paper, in the ſame Volume.

THE parliament is the higheſt, chiefeſt, and greateſt court, that is or can be within the realm; for, it conſiſteth of the whole realm, which is divided into three eſtates; that is, to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons; every of which eſtates are ſubject to all ſuch orders as are concluded and eſtabliſhed in parliament.

Theſe three eſtates may jointly, and with one conſent or agreement, eſtabliſh and enact any laws, orders, and ſtatutes for the commonwealth; but being divided, and one ſwerving from the other, they can do nothing. For, the king, though he be the head, yet alone cannot make any law, nor yet the king and his lords only; nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king, do any thing of avail. And yet nevertheleſs, if the king in due order have ſummoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not appear, or if they come and appear yet will not do or yield to any thing, then the king, with the conſent of his commons, (who are repreſented by his knights, citizens, and burgeſſes,) may ordain and eſtabliſh any act or law, which are as good, ſufficient, and effectual, as if the lords had given their conſents.

But of the contrary, if the commons be ſummoned and will not come, or coming will not appear, or appearing will not conſent to do any thing, alledging ſome juſt, weighty, and great cauſe, the king (in theſe caſes) cannot with his lords deviſe, make, or eſtabliſh any law; the reaſons are theſe: When parliaments were firſt begun and ordained, there were no prelates or barons of the parliament, and the temporal lords were very few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parliament, which authority hitherto was never abridged. Again, every baron in parliament doth repreſent but his own perſon, and ſpeaketh in behalf of himſelf alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, are repreſented the commons of the whole realm; and every of theſe giveth, not conſent only for himſelf, but for all thoſe alſo for whom he is ſent. And the king, with the conſent of his commons, had ever a ſufficient and full authority to make, ordain, and eſtabliſh good and wholeſome laws for the commonwealth of this realm. Wherefore the lords, being lawfully ſummoned, and yet refuſing to come, ſit, or conſent in parliament, cannot by their folly abridge the king and the commons of their lawful proceedings in parliament.

The lords and commons, in time paſt, did ſit all in one houſe; but, for the avoiding of confuſion, they be now divided into two ſeveral houſes; and yet, nevertheleſs, they are of like and equal authority, every perſon of either of the ſaid houſes being named and counted a peer of the realm, (for the time of the parliament) that is to ſay, equal; for *par* is equal. And therefore the opinion, cenſure, and judgment of a mean burgeſs, is of as great avail, as is the beſt lord's, no regard being had to the party who ſpeaketh, but the matter that is ſpoken.

They be alſo called peers, as it were fathers; for *pere* is a father: by which is meant, that all ſuch as be of the parliament ſhould be ancient, grave, wiſe, learned, and expert men of the land; for ſuch were the ſenators of Rome, and called *Patres conſcripti*; for the wiſdom and care that was in them in governing the commonwealth. They are alſo called counſellors, becauſe they are aſſembled and called to the parliament for their advice and good counſel in making and deviſing all ſuch good orders and laws as may be for the commonwealth.

They, therefore, which make choice of knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, ought to be well adviſed, that they do elect and chooſe ſuch as, being to be of that aſſembly, and thereby equal with the great eſtates, ſhould be grave, ancient, wiſe, learned, expert and careful men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithful and truſty counſellors) ſhould do that which ſhould turn and be for the beſt commodity of the commonwealth; otherwiſe they do great injury to their prince and the commonwealth.

Alſo, every perſon of the parliament, during the times of the parliament, and at his coming and going from the ſame, is free from all troubles, arreſts, and moleſtations; no action or ſuit taking effect which, during that time, is begun, entered, or commenced againſt him, in what court ſoever the ſame be, except in cauſes of treaſon, murder, and felony, and except all executions in law awarded and granted before the beginning of parliament.

Alſo, every perſon, having voices in parliament, hath free liberty of ſpeech to ſpeak his mind, opinion, and judgment, to any matter propoſed; or of himſelf to propoſe any matter for the commodity of the prince and of the commonwealth: but, having once ſpoken to any bill, he may ſpeak no more for that time.

Alſo, every perſon once elected and choſen a knight, citizen, or burgeſs, and returned, cannot be diſmiſſed out of that houſe; but being admitted, ſhall have his place and voice there, if he be a layman. But if by error a man *of the clergy* is choſen, then he ought and ſhall be *diſmiſſed*; alſo, if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Alſo, every one of theſe members ought to be incorrupt; no briber nor taker of any rewards, gifts, or money, either for deviſing of any bill, or for ſpeaking of his mind, but to do all things uprightly, and in ſuch ſort as is beſt for the king and the commonwealth.

Alſo, every one ought to be of a quiet, honeſt, and gentle behaviour; none taunting, checking, or miſuſing another in any unſeemly words or deeds, but, all affections ſet apart, to do and endeavour, in wiſdom, ſobriety, and knowledge, that which that place requireth.

Alſo, if any one dooffend or miſbehave himſelf, he is to be corrected and puniſhed by the advice and order of the reſidue of the houſe.

Alſo, all the priſons, wards, jails, within the realm, and the keepers of the ſame, are at the commandment of the parliament for the cuſtody and ſafe keeping, or puniſhment, of all and every ſuch priſoners as ſhall be ſent to any of them by the ſaid parliament houſes, or any of them; howbeit, moſt commonly the Tower of London is the priſon which is moſt uſed.

Alſo, if any one of the parliament houſe be ſerved, ſued, arreſted, or attached by any writ, attachment, or miniſter of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, or what court ſoever within this realm, the party ſo troubled and making complaint thereof to the parliament houſe, then forthwith a ſerjeant at arms is to be ſent to the ſaid court, not only advertiſing that the party ſo moleſted is one of the parliament houſe, but alſo inhibiting and commanding the officers of the ſaid court to call in the ſaid proceſs, and not to deal any further againſt the ſaid party; for, the parliament being the higheſt court, all other courts are inferior, and yield and give place to the ſame.

Alſo, as every one of the parliament houſe is free for his own perſon for all manner of ſuits to be commenced againſt him, ſo are all his ſervants free, and not to be troubled or moleſted; but, being troubled, they have the like remedy as the maſter hath or may have.

Alſo, no manner of perſon, being not one of the parliament houſe, ought to enter or come within the houſe, as long as the ſitting is there, upon pain of impriſonment, or ſuch other puniſhment, as by the houſe ſhall be ordered and adjudged.

Alſo, every perſon of the parliament ought to keep ſecret, and not to diſcloſe, the ſecrets and things done and ſpoken in the parliament houſe, to any manner of perſon, unleſs he be one of the ſame houſe, upon pain to be ſequeſtered out of the houſe, or otherwiſe puniſhed, as by the order of the houſe ſhall be appointed.

Alſo, none of the parliament houſe ought to depart from the parliament without ſpecial leave obtained from the ſpeaker of the houſe, and the ſame his licence ſhould be alſo recorded.

Alſo, no perſon, being not of the parliament houſe, ought to come into the ſame during the ſitting of the ſame: ſo every one coming into the ſame oweth a duty and reverence to be given when he entereth and cometh in.

If a baron or lord come and enter into the higher houſe, he ought to do his obeiſance before the cloth of eſtate, and ſo take his place.

Alſo, when he ſpeaketh, he ought to ſtand bare-headed, and ſpeak his mind plainly, ſenſibly, and in decent order.

If any come in meſſage, or be ſent for to the higher houſe, they muſt ſtay at the inner door until they be called in; and then, being entered, muſt firſt make their obeiſance; which done, they go to the lower end of the houſe, and there ſtay until they be called; and being called, they muſt firſt make one low courteſy and obeiſance, and going forwards muſt, in the middle way, make one other low courteſy; and then, being come forth to the bar, muſt make the third courteſy: the like muſt be done at the departure.

Alſo, when any knight, citizen, or burgeſs, doth enter or come into the lower houſe, he muſt make his dutiful and humble obeiſance at his entry in, and then take his place. And you ſhall underſtand, that as every ſuch perſon ought to be grave, wiſe, and expert, ſo ought he to ſhew himſelf in his apparel; for, in times paſt, none of the counſellors of the parliament came otherwiſe than in his gown*, and not armed nor girded with a weapon. For the parliament houſe is a place for wiſe, grave, and good men, to conſult, debate, and adviſe, how to make laws and order for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men ready to fight, or to try matters by the ſword. And, albeit the writ for the election of the knights have expreſs words to chooſe ſuch for knights as be girded with the ſword, yet it is not meant thereby that they ſhould come and ſit armed, but be ſuch as be ſkilful in feats of arms, and, beſides their good advices, can well ſerve in martial affairs; and thus the Roman ſenators uſed; who, being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martial affairs as in politic cauſes, ſat always in the ſenate-houſe and places of council in their gowns and long robes. The like alſo was always, and hath been the order in the parliament of this realm, as long as the ancient laws, the old cuſtoms, and good order thereof, were kept and obſerved.

If any other perſon or perſons, either in meſſage or being ſent for, do come, he ought to be brought in by the ſerjeant; and at the firſt entering muſt (following the ſerjeant) make one low obeiſance, and being paſt in the middle way, muſt make one other; and when he is come before the ſpeaker, he muſt make the third, and then do his meſſage: the like order he muſt keep in his return. But if he do come alone, or with his learned counſel to plead any matter, or anſwer to any objections, he ſhall enter, and go no farther than to the bar within the door, and there do his three obeiſances.

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* From a motion that was made in the houſe of commons in the year 1613, it appears, that the members in the laſt parliaments of Elizabeth wore gowns.

When any bill is committed, the committees have not authority to conclude, but only to order, reform, examine, and amend the thing committed unto them; and of their doings they muſt give report to the houſe again, by whom the bill is to be conſidered.

Every bill, which is brought into the houſe, muſt be read three ſeveral times, and upon three ſeveral days. And a bill, which upon any reading is committed and returned again, ought to have its three readings, unleſs the committees have not altered the bill in any ſubſtance or form, but only in certain words. Alſo, when any bill upon any reading is altogether by one conſent rejected, or by voices after the third reading overthrown, it ought not to be brought any more to be read during that ſeſſion of parliament.

If any man do ſpeak unto a bill, and be out of his matter, he ought to be put in remembrance of the matter by the ſpeaker only, and by none other, and be willing to come to the matter.

Whenſoever any perſon doth ſpeak to any bill, he ought to ſtand up, and to be bare-headed, and then with all reverence, gravity, and ſeemly ſpeech, to declare his mind. But whenſoever any bill ſhall be tried, either for allowances or to be rejected, then every one ought to ſit, becauſe he is then as a judge.

Alſo, every knight, citizen, and burgeſs, before he do enter into the parliament, and take his place there, ought to be ſworn and to take his oath, acknowledging the king to be the ſupreme and only governor of all the eſtates within the realm, as alſo to renounce all foreign potentates.

Account of ſome Antiquities in the Pariſh of Glammiſs. *From the Third Vol. of Sir* John Sinclair's *Statiſtical Account of* Scotland.

WITHIN a few yards of the manſe of Glammiſs, there is an obeliſk, of rude deſign, erected, as is generally ſuppoſed, in memory of the murder of Malcolm II. king of Scotland. On one ſide of the monument, there are figures of two men, who, by their attitudes, ſeem to be forming the bloody conſpiracy. A lion and a centaur, on the upper part, repreſent the ſhocking barbarity of the crime. On the reverſe, ſeveral ſorts of fiſhes are engraven, as a ſymbolical repreſentation of the lake, in which, by miſſing their way, the aſſaſſins were drowned. In a neighbouring field there is a ſtone, on which are delineated a variety of ſymbolical characters, ſimilar to thoſe already mentioned, and intended, as is ſuppoſed, to expreſs the ſame facts. At the diſtance of one mile from Glammiſs, near a place called Coſſans, there is an obeliſk not leſs curious than either of the two preceding monuments. It is vulgarly called *St. Orland's Stone.* No probable conjecture has been formed relating to the facts deſigned to have been perpetuated by it. On one ſide is a croſs rudely flowered and chequered; on the other, four men on horſeback appear to be making the utmoſt diſpatch. One of the horſes is trampling under foot a wild boar; and, on the lower part of the ſtone, there is the figure of an animal ſomewhat like a dragon. It has been thought that theſe ſymbols repreſent officers of juſtice in purſuit of Malcolm's murderers.

Directions for the Entertainment of the Scottiſh *King, at* Pittenweem, *in* Fifeſhire. *From the Fourth Vol. of the ſame Work.*

Pittenweem, decimo-quarto Feb. 1651.

THE bailies and council being convened, and having received information that his Majeſty is to be in progreſs with his court along the coaſt to-morrow, and to ſtay at Anſtruther houſe that night, have thought it expedient, according to their bounden duty, with all reverence and due reſpect, and with all the ſolemnity they can, to wait upon his Majeſty, as he comes through this his Majeſty's burgh, and invite his Majeſty to eat and drink as he paſſes; and for that effect, hath ordained, that the morn afternoon, the town's colours be put upon the bertiſene of the ſteeple, and that at three o'clock the bells begin to ring, and ring on ſtill till his Majeſty comes hither, and paſſes to Anſtruther: And ſicklike, that the miniſter be ſpoken to, to be with the bailies and council, who are to be in their beſt apparel, and with them a guard of twenty-four of the ableſt men, with partizans, and other twenty-four with muſquets, all in their beſt apparel, William Sutherland commanding as captain of the guard; and to wait upon his Majeſty, and to receive his Highneſs at the Weſt Port, bringing his majeſty and court through the town, until they come to Robert Smith's yeet, where an table is to be covered with my Lord's beſt carpet; and that George Hetherwick have in readineſs of fine flour, ſome great bunns, and other wheat-bread of the beſt order, baken with ſugar, cannell and other ſpices fitting; and that James Richardſon and Walter Airth have care to have ready eight or ten gallons of good ſtrong ale, with Canary, ſack, Rheniſh wine, tent, white and claret wines, that his Majeſty and his court may eat and drink; and that in the mean time, when his Majeſty is preſent, the guard do diligently attend about the court, and ſo ſoon as his Majeſty is to go away, that a ſign be made to Andrew Tod, who is appointed to attend the colours on the ſteeple head, to the effect he may give ſign to thoſe who attend the cannon of his Majeſty's departure, and then the haill thirty-ſix cannons to be all ſhot at once. It is alſo thought fitting, that the miniſter, and James Richardſon the oldeſt bailie, when his Majeſty comes to the table, ſhew the great joy and ſenſe this burgh has of his Majeſty's condeſcendence to viſit the ſame, with ſome other expreſſions of loyalty.—All which was acted.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Obſervations on the Character of the Athenians. *From the ſixth Vol. of Lord* Monboddo's *Origin and Progreſs of Language.*

THE character of the Athenians, conſidered as a people, is, I think, the nobleſt to be found in hiſtory; for they were not only from the beginning brave and magnanimous, but they were of a nature ſo generous and beneficent, that Athens was the refuge and aſſylum of all the diſtreſſed in Greece. The Heraclidæ, when they were expelled Peloponneſus, they received and protected, and defended againſt Euryſtheus, whom they killed in battle; and at laſt, by force of arms, reſtored them to their country *. Athens, too, was a ſanctuary for Œdipus, and thoſe with him, when they were expelled Thebes †; and in the firſt Theban war, which followed ſoon after, they ſo far ſuccoured the unfortunate Argives, that they obliged the Thebans to give up the bodies of the Argive leaders, whom they had ſlain: and, to come down to later times, they were not only the firſt of the Greeks who durſt face the Perſians in the field; but in the battle of Marathon, they defeated a prodigious army of them with a handful of men; and at Platæa, when the Lacedemonians declined to be drawn up againſt the Perſians, they chearfully undertook it ‡. In that war they, for the ſervice of the common cauſe, forſook their city and their country, though they were offered by Xerxes, if they would abandon the common cauſe, not only to have the poſſeſſion of their own country ſecured to them, but to have any other country added to it that they themſelves ſhould chooſe, and to be governed by their own laws. He promiſed alſo to repair all the miſchief he had done in their country, by demoliſhing their temples *. And thus, without city or country, they betook themſelves to the ſea, and furniſhed twice as many ſhips as all Greece beſides; ſo that it was by their means that the Greeks became maſters at ſea; without which it was impoſſible that the liberties of Greece could have been preſerved. For, if the Perſians had not been defeated at Salamis, they would have ſo infeſted the coaſts of Greece, going round Peloponneſe, and landing wherever they pleaſed, that the country would not have been habitable, and the people muſt have ſubmitted. And in general, throughout the whole of that moſt important and hazardous war, they behaved not only with the greateſt bravery and diſintereſtedneſs, but alſo with ſo much temper and moderation, yielding in every thing to the Spartans, who, if they had not been allowed to take the lead, would otherwiſe have abandoned the common cauſe, that Herodotus very juſtly gives them the praiſe of having ſaved Greece. And in this reſpect they differed very much from their rivals, the Spartans, who were very far from being a generous and diſintereſted people; but, on the contrary, very ſelfiſh and narrow-minded.

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* That they ſo far aſſiſted the Heraclidæ, as to bring them back to Peloponneſus, is a fact, as far as I remember, only mentioned by Demoſthenes; but it is in a decree drawn up by him, in which he certainly would not have mentioned a fact which had no foundation in hiſtory. It was the decree upon which the alliance between the Athenians and Thebans was formed againſt Phillip. In this decree he recounts ſeveral of the favours which the Athenians had beſtowed upon the Thebans: and among others he mentions this; Τους Ηρακλεους παιδας, αποστερουμενους ὑπο των Πελοποννησιων της πατρωας αρχης, κατηγαγον, τοις οπλοις κρατησαντες τους αντιβαινειν πειρωμενους τοις Ηρακλεους 'εκγονοις.—(Περι Στεφανου, p. 171.) As to the fact of their receiving and protecting them, and killing Euryſtheus their perſecutor, it is related by Thucydides, in the beginning of his hiſtory.

† Demoſt. ubi ſupra.

‡ This is related by Herodotus, in his account of that battle.

But the people of any country, as well as their kings and great men, may be corrupted by wealth and power; and this was the fate of the Athenians: for when, by their conqueſts and their trade, they had become rich and powerful, they became indolent and luxurious, and were as liable to be flattered by orators and demagogues, as any abſolute monarch by his courtiers and favourites; and in this reſpect I think Ariſtotle very properly compares a democracy to a tyranny †. The firſt remarkable corruption of their manners began under Pericles, one of the beſt too of their demagogues; but who, in order to make his court to the more indigent of the citizens, introduced a thing which had very great conſequences, and may be ſaid to have been one of the principal cauſes of the ruin of Athens, and of the loſs of the liberty of Greece.

For underſtanding of this, we are to know that the Athenians, when they were in their glory, had a very great revenue, ſuch as Demoſthenes ſays might be compared with the revenue of all the other ſtates of Greece put together ‡. And he ſays, that during the forty-five years that they were the leaders of Greece, they collected a treaſure of more than ten thouſand talents §. This treaſure was appropriated for war, and was what they called their χρηματα στρατιωτικα, out of which were paid the citizens, when they went upon any expedition, and likewiſe ſuch mercenaries as they

had

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* See Herodotus, lib. 8. cap. 140. and following, and lib. 9. *in initio*; where we have a moſt noble and ſpirited anſwer made by the Athenians to their offers. One of the council, he tells us, was of opinion, that they ſhould accept of them; but the Athenians, he ſays, ſtoned him, and their wives ſtoned his wife. See alſo Demoſthenes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 174. *Morelli.*—and Iſocrates's *Panegyric*, p. 60. *Stephani.*

† *De Republica*, lib. 4. cap. 4.

‡ Περι συμμοριων, p. 107. in fine. 1ſt Olynth. p. 7.

§ Olynth. 3d, p. 25.

had occaſion to hire. Some time before the Perſian invaſion, it was propoſed to divide among the citizens a great ſum which they had then in the treaſury; but this was prevented by the wiſdom of Themiſtocles, who, then foreſeeing the ſtorm that was coming, perſuaded them to employ it in building ſhips. Nor was this treaſure ever employed, as far as we know, for any other purpoſe than the ſervice of the people, till it was diverted to private uſes by Pericles, upon the following occaſion. In his time theatrical repreſentations, as well as every other art, were brought to great perfection in Athens, and as the theatre was then only of wood, and put up occaſionally, it did not contain all the ſpectators, ſo that there was a great crouding to get into it, and great contention about places, which often ended in blows. This produced a regulation, by which every one was to pay for his ſeat ſo much, otherwiſe to have no place; and as the more indigent of the people could but ill afford this, Pericles took the opportunity of making his court to the people, by propoſing that there ſhould be paid out of the military treaſure two *oboli* to every one of the citizens, one of which was to be paid for a ſeat in the theatre, and the other for his maintenance. The bad effects of this appropriation of public money to private uſes were ſoon felt; for one Apollodorus wanted to bring back again the money to the treaſury; to prevent which Eubulus, a great demagogue in thoſe days, in order to make his court to the people in the ſame way that Pericles had done, propoſed that it ſhould be a capital crime for any man ſo much as to move that the money ſhould be again applied to the uſe of the public*. And thus the *χρηματα στρατιωτικα*, at leaſt a great part of them, became what they called *χρηματα θεωρικα*. Nor did the thing ſtop here; for the people, having once taſted of the ſweets of living in pleaſure and eaſe at the public expence, by degrees laid hold of the whole revenue of the ſtate under various pretences, ſuch as being paid for their attendance in the public aſſemblies, which they called *χρηματα εκκλησιαστικα*, and for their trouble in judging cauſes, which they called *χρηματα δικαστικα*; ſo that, in the days of Demoſthenes, there was nothing left for defraying any public ſervice, except firſt, the contributions of the richer citizens called *εισφοραι*, a very unequal and arbitrary aſſeſſment, as it appears, and which gave occaſion to great complaints, till Demoſthenes got ſome regulations made which put the thing upon a better foot†; and, ſecondly, what they called the *λειτȣργιαι*, or public ſervices, which was alſo a burden upon the richer ſort, ſuch as the fitting out of ſhips of war, called *τριηραρχια*, and the defraying the expence of the choruſes for their tragedy and comedy, called *χορηγια*. For it appears from what the ſcholiaſt ſays‡, that the *obolus*, which each man paid for his ticket, was given to the architect who put up the theatre and furniſhed the machinery.

Another conſequence of this was, that the people became indolent and effeminate, preferring an eaſy and pleaſureable life, at the public expence, to thoſe toils and dangers for which only they were paid before. They did not therefore chooſe to go upon any expedition themſelves, but employed mercenary troops, which being very ill paid, by reaſon of the miſapplication of the public money, thoſe whom they ſent out as commanders were obliged to employ them in any way in which they could find ſubſiſtence for them, if the ſervice upon which they went was not ſufficient for that purpoſe; and ſometimes, for want of pay, they deſerted to the enemy. This produced trials and accuſations of the commanders, upon whom the people were always willing to lay the blame, rather than upon themſelves; and though they were not willing to fight, they were very willing to judge, and were diſpoſed to be remarkably ſevere in their judgments; and the general opinion that prevailed among them was, that the ſafety of the ſtate conſiſted, firſt, in proper votes or reſolutions (ψηφισματα); ſecondly, in the ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice. All this appears from the orations of Demoſthenes; and, if we can believe Iſocrates, they were come to ſuch a degree of degeneracy, that, even when they went abroad upon any expedition, they ſerved as rowers aboard their own veſſels, while they employed their barbarous mercenaries to fight for them. But, though they were thus declined in ſpirit and courage, they continued ſtill to excel in the arts*, and were beſides, in the common affairs of life, people of the quickeſt apprehenſion, and what we would call the clevereſt people in Greece.

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* See Ulpian's Comment. upon the beginning of the 1ſt Olynthiac.

† Περι Στεφανȣ, p. 154.

‡ Ulpian, ubi ſupra.

Remarks on the Eloquence of Julius Cæſar. *From the ſame.*

ALTHOUGH Cicero be the greateſt orator of Rome, whoſe ſpeeches have come down to us, yet I think, I ſhould not do juſtice to the Roman eloquence, if I did not mention an orator of theirs, who, in my judgment, muſt have excelled Cicero very much, though no orations of his have been preſerved, nor any thing of that kind, except ſome ſpeeches, which he tells us he made to his ſoldiers, but which we cannot compare with the orations of Cicero. The orator I mean is Julius Cæſar, of whoſe excellence, as an hiſtorian, I have ſpoken in the preceding volume; and I think he excelled all his countrymen as much or more in oratory, than he did in writing hiſtory. I ſhall give an account of his eloquence from Cicero, who, I think, cannot be ſuppoſed to be partial to him; for he was of an oppoſite party in the ſtate, and, if he was not acceſſory to his murder, he at leaſt approved of it. It is in his *Brutus*, or book *De Claris Oratoribus*, that he ſpeaks of Cæſar as an orator; and introduces both Brutus and Pomponius Atticus praiſing him highly.

Cæſar had more advantages from nature to qualify him for excelling in that art than any other Roman we read of. In the firſt place, he was of high birth, being of an heroic race; for he was deſcended of one of thoſe Trojan families, which, the Halicarnaſſian tells us, were ſtill preſerved in Rome, at the time he wrote, to the number of fifty [*]; and of the chief of them, for he was deſcended of their king Æneas [†]. And as I hold that there is a great difference of races and families in our own ſpecies, as well as in every other ſpecies of animals, this was a great advantage which Cæſar had over Cicero; and he was ſuperior to him in another reſpect, that he had an heroic ſpirit worthy of his birth, was a ſoldier as well as an orator, and the greateſt general of his age. He had, too, great advantages of perſon; Velleius Paterculus ſays that he was *formâ omnium civium excellentiſſimus* [‡]. He had likewiſe a ſplendid voice, as Cicero tells us, and great grace and dignity in his action [‖]. With theſe advantages from nature, joined with his great genius and extraordinary abilities, it was impoſſible that he ſhould not have excelled in the oratorial art, if he gave ſufficient application to it: and that he did ſo, Cicero atteſts by what he makes Brutus ſay, that he ſaw him at Mytilene learning the art from one Cratippus, who, he ſays, was a great friend of Cicero. And he adds, that he learned with great application, omitting every other ſtudy, and was every day employed in rhetorical exerciſes [§]; and in this way he acquired a great copiouſneſs of choice words [**]. And Cicero makes Atticus ſay, that of all the Latin orators, he was the moſt elegant ſpeaker [††]; which, ſays Atticus, was not ſo much owing to his domeſtic education, though that was not wanting neither, but to much deep learning which he had acquired by great ſtudy and diligence, and which made him excel ſo much in the art of language [‡‡]; and here he takes occaſion to mention a book which Cæſar had written upon the Latin language, and addreſſed to Cicero. And he makes the ſame Atticus ſay, a little after, that the ground-work and foundation of the oratorial art is a pure and correct Latinity [§§], which thoſe, who formerly poſſeſſed it, did not owe to art or ſcience, but to a good habit of ſpeaking, which they had formed by imitation of thoſe who ſpoke well; for good ſpeaking as well as virtue was the praiſe of that age. 'But,' ſays he, 'now, by the conflux of 'ſtrangers, who ſpeak ill, the lan'guage both of Rome and Greece 'is much altered for the worſe. To 'correct this abuſe, and reſtore the 'language to its purity, art and 'ſcience muſt, like a touch-ſtone, 'be applied, and in that way bad 'uſe muſt be corrected*. Now 'this rule Cæſar has applied, and in 'that way has purified and refined 'his language; and when, to this 'elegance of words (which, though 'you be no orator, but only a free 'born Roman citizen, is neceſſary) 'he joins the ornaments of elo'quence, he may be ſaid to ſet a 'well-painted picture in a good 'light.' And he concludes his eulogium with the higheſt praiſe which I think he has yet beſtowed upon him, and which I will give in the words he puts into the mouth of Atticus: 'Splendidam quandam, 'minimeque veteratoriam rationem 'dicendi tenet, voce, motu; forma 'etiam magnifica et generoſa quod'ammodo.' So that he excelled in voice and action, the chief quality of an orator: his form was noble, magnificent, and generous; and his manner of ſpeaking liberal, without the appearance of cunning or art. This account of his ſpeaking, I think, may be depended upon, as coming from men who muſt have often heard him ſpeak; and there were alſo ſeveral of his orations that were publiſhed and read by them†. In ſhort, I think Julius Cæſar muſt have been ſuch an orator in Rome as Pericles was in Athens; and he muſt, I think, have come up to my idea of a perfect orator, that is, a man who has an underſtanding and elevation of mind ſuperior to his audience, and which, therefore, muſt ſtrike them with awe. He would not therefore ſhake and tremble as Cicero did, when he ſpake before the dregs of Romulus, as he calls them; though he would no doubt treat them with that appearance at leaſt of reſpect which was neceſſary to perſuade them; nor would he uſe theſe puerile figures to pleaſe their ears, of antitheſes, and like ſounding periods and members of periods, which Cicero uſes ſo frequently.'

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* Their taſte of pleaſure was no doubt very fine, but it was very expenſive; for Demoſthenes tells us, in his fifth Philippic, towards the beginning, that they ſpent more upon the feaſt of the Παναθηναιαι and of Bacchus, than upon any one of their naval expeditions.

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[*] *Antiquitat.* lib. 1. cap. 85.

[†] Suetonius, in his life of Cæſar, cap. 6. tells us that he ſpoke a funeral oration upon his aunt Julia and his wife Cornelia: ‘ Et in Amitæ quidem laudatione, de ‘ ejus ac patris ſui utraque origine, ſic refert. “ Amitæ meæ, Juliæ, maternum “ genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis immortalibus conjunctum eſt: Nam “ ab Anco Marcio ſunt Marcii reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Julii, “ cujus gentis familia eſt noſtra. Eſt ergo in genere, et ſanctitas regum, qui pluri- “ mum inter homines pollent, et ceremonia Deorum, quorum ipſi in poteſtate ſunt “ reges.”

[‡] Lib. 2. cap. 41. I will give the whole paſſage from Velleius, who writes good Latin; and, as he lived so near to the time of Julius Cæſar, that is, under Auguſtus and Tiberius, he muſt be ſuppoſed to be very well informed concerning the particulars he relates of Cæſar. ‘ Hic nobiliſſima Juliorum genitus familiâ, et, quod ‘ inter omnes antiquiſſimos conſtabat, ab Anchiſe ac Venere deducens genus, forma ‘ omnium civium excellentiſſimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentiæ effuſiſſi- ‘ mus, animo ſuper humanam et naturam et fidem evectus, magnitudine cogita- ‘ tionum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, magno illi Alexandro, ſed ‘ ſobrio neque iracundo, ſimillimus.’

[‖] *De Claris Oratoribus*, cap. 71.

[§] Ibid.

[**] Ibid.

[††] Ibid. 72.

[‡‡] Ibid.

[§§] Ibid. cap. 74.

I will not repeat here, what I have ſaid elſewhere of his great qualities; and I will conclude the chapter with ſaying, that he excelled ſo much both in acting and ſpeaking, that I hold him to be the greateſt man of whom we read in hiſtory, and at the ſame time the moſt amiable; for he was ſo much beloved by his friends, that it was a common oath of theirs, *Sic ego, vivente Cæſare, moriar.*

On Geſture in public Speaking. From the ſame.

AS to geſture, the laſt thing to be conſidered belonging to action, nature certainly no doubt prompts us to expreſs our ſentiments by ſome action of the body. But this, as well as other things that are natural to us, may be governed and regulated by art. There was a great art among the antients, by which all ſentiments and paſſions were expreſſed by the action of the body alone, without the voice. This was the art of the pantomimes, once the great delight of the people of Rome. But in rhetoric the action of the body never can be ſeparated from the words: But theſe may be accompanied with proper geſtures, correſponding to the things ſignified by them. And this was beginning to be formed into an art among the Greeks, as Ariſtotle has informed us in the firſt chapter of his third book upon rhetoric; and he gives it the name of ὑποκριτικη, or the *players art*: and if the orator was not too much of a player, I am perſuaded it muſt have had a great effect upon the people to whom he ſpoke; and accordingly Ariſtotle tells us that it had.

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* *De Claris Oratoribus*, cap. 74.

† Ibid. cap. 76.

That there was a great deal of this action in later times, both among the Greeks and Romans, we are ſure. Quintilian ſpeaks a great deal of the geſtures of the orator, and particularly of the action of his hands, without which, he ſays, all other action is weak and imperfect. How many motions the hands have, he adds, cannot be expreſſed: for, ſays he, other parts of the body aſſiſt the ſpeaker, but they may be ſaid to ſpeak themſelves; for with them we aſk, we promiſe, call, let go, threaten, ſupplicate, abominate, interrogate, deny, expreſs joy, ſadneſs, doubt, confeſſion, and repentance, with a good deal more to the ſame purpoſe; and he concludes with ſaying, that in ſuch a difference of languages in different nations, this ſeems to be the common language of men[*]. In modern times there is a good deal of geſture among the French and Italians, and not only in public ſpeaking, but in private converſation, they expreſs a great deal by geſture. In Britain there is much leſs of it; but it is ſo natural a kind of expreſſion, that there muſt be ſome of it even in private converſation; and I think there ought to be more of it in public ſpeaking, in order to give life and animation to what is ſaid. If a man was to harangue, with his arms hanging down by his ſides, like an Egyptian ſtatue, or ſuppoſe a little action with one hand, but the other in his breeches, which I have ſeen, he certainly would move not the paſſions of his hearers, nor engage their attention, at leaſt by his attitude and geſture. Or, if he were to claſp his hands, and move only his thumbs, which is the only action I have obſerved of a celebrated preacher, he could not, I think, much move his audience[†].

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[*] Lib. 11. *Inſtitutionum*, cap. 3. p. 461. of the edition Roline.

[†] As our arms and hands are very uſeful, and indeed of abſolute neceſſity in the practice of the arts of life, ſo the action of them may be very graceful and becoming; or, on the contrary, very awkward and ungraceful. Ovid adviſes a lady,

Si vox eſt, canta; ſi mollia brachia, ſalta.

And it is well known that the antients danced as much, or more, with their arms, as with their feet: and motion to muſic, expreſſing ſentiments and paſſions, was called by them *Dancing*. Now the grace of motion is, as I have obſerved elſewhere, But though ſuch an action be ſo gentle as to be quite inſignificant, there is a rude and noiſy action which I like worſe, ſuch as that of beating upon any form or bench that happens to be near the ſpeaker, (and I have known ſome of theſe orators who beat a ruff upon the bench); for if this be joined with a violent emphaſis, which is commonly the caſe, it is barking and thumping, not ſpeaking. The action, therefore, ſhould be moderate, natural, and graceful: and it ſhould have nothing of mimickry in it, as Quintilian, in the paſſage above quoted, has very well obſerved; for an orator ſhould not be a pantomime, nor even an actor. He ſhould not, therefore, endeavour to imitate by his geſture any thing that he may have occaſion to deſcribe. This Quintilian has very well illuſtrated by a paſſage from Cicero.

With reſpect to this kind of action, there is a remarkable paſſage in Homer, deſcribing the appearance of Ulyſſes riſing to ſpeak among the Trojans, when he was ſent by the Greeks along with Menelaus to demand the reſtitution of Helen. It is in the ſpeech of Antenor to Helen, in the third Iliad *. He ſays, when he firſt roſe, he looked down, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and ſtood without moving his ſceptre at all, either forward or backward. ‘ This (ſays Antenor) made him look like a man ſenſeleſs or out of his wits; but when he began to utter his great commanding voice, and the words fell from him, thick as a ſhower of ſnow in winter, then we found that no other man could contend with Ulyſſes in eloquence, and quite forgot his figure and attitude when he firſt roſe to ſpeak.’

This deſcription of Ulyſſes is, I am perſuaded, a portrait taken from an authentic account which the poet has had of the manner of Ulyſſes, and not an ideal figure, repreſenting what the poet thought beautiful and graceful in ſpeaking; for it is only Ulyſſes that he has deſcribed addreſſing himſelf to his audience in that manner, not any other ſpeaker either in the Iliad or Odyſſey: and I think it is very ſuitable to the character of Ulyſſes, who was the moſt artful of men, practiſed in all kinds of deceit and impoſition.

Ειδως παντοιους τε δολους και μηδεα
πυκνα.

And no doubt his ſtupid appearance,

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where, much too little ſtudied in Britain. The faſhion was ſome time ago, (what it is now I know not) that the ladies danced even country-dances, with their arms hanging down by their ſides, as if they had been pinned to them. The men, in walking, inſtead of making the motion of their arms correſpond with the motion of the legs and of the body, as it naturally ſhould do, diſpoſe of their arms and hands in various ways. Some I have ſeen hang their arms from their arm-pits by the thumbs: others put their hands into their breeches; others into their waiſtcoat pockets, with the thumbs exerted, which they ſometimes move like the preacher above-mentioned; and I have ſeen ſome hide them in the pockets of their coats, which they make project before them as they walk. And all this, it is evident, they do from an affectation of what is graceful and becoming.

* Ver. 203.

when he firſt roſe, would make his eloquence more ſurpriſing and ſtriking when he began to ſpeak. This, however, I would not adviſe any modern orator to imitate; nor do I know that it was imitated by any Greek or Latin orator in later times. At the ſame time I think the contrary extreme of appearing too bold, aſſuming, and arrogant, is more to be avoided.

Account of the Behaviour of ſome Eſquimaux Indians *when in* England. *From the firſt Vol. of* Cartwright's *Journal of Tranſactions and Events on the Coaſt of* Labrador.

I Went down the river this morning, met the veſſel in the pool, and brought the women on ſhore. They were greatly aſtoniſhed at the number of ſhipping which they ſaw in the river; for they did not ſuppoſe that there were ſo many in the whole world: but I was exceedingly diſappointed to obſerve them paſs through London bridge without taking much notice of it. I ſoon diſcovered that they took it for a natural rock which extended acroſs the river. They laughed at me when I told them it was the work of men; nor could I make them believe it, till we came to Blackfriars bridge, which I cauſed them to examine with more attention; ſhewing them the joints, and pointing out the marks of the chizzels upon the ſtones. They no ſooner comprehended by what means ſuch a ſtructure could be erected, than they expreſſed their wonder with aſtoniſhing ſignificancy of countenance.

On landing at Weſtminſter bridge, we were immediately ſurrounded by a great concourſe of people; attracted not only by the uncommon appearance of the Indians, who were in their ſeal-ſkin dreſſes, but alſo by a beautiful eagle, and an Eſquimau dog; which had much the reſemblance of a wolf, and a remarkable wildneſs of look. I put them all into coaches, with as much expedition as poſſible, and drove off to the lodgings which I had prepared in Leiceſter ſtreet.

In a few days time, I had ſo many applications for admittance to ſee the new viſitors, that my time was wholly taken up in gratifying the curioſity of my friends and their acquaintance; and the numbers who came made my lodgings very inconvenient to the landlord as well as to myſelf. I therefore reſolved to look out for a houſe. I ſoon hired a ſmall one, ready furniſhed, for ten guineas a month, in Little Caſtle-ſtreet, Oxford-market, and removed thither.

Being willing, as far as lay in my power, to comply with the inceſſant applications of my friends for a ſight of the Indians; and finding it impoſſible either to have any reſt, or time to tranſact buſineſs, I appropriated two days a week to that purpoſe, *viz.* Tueſdays and Fridays. On thoſe days, not only my houſe was filled, even to an inconvenience, but the ſtreet was ſo much crowded with carriages and people, that my reſidence was a great nuiſance to the neighbourhood.

As their ſkin dreſſes had a dirty appearance and an offenſive ſmell, I provided a quantity of broadcloth, flannel, and beads, together with whatever elſe was neceſſary; and the women now having leiſure to work; and being excellent taylors, ſoon cloathed them all anew;

preſerving their own faſhion in the cut of their garments.

I once took the men to the opera when their majeſties were there, and we chanced to ſit near Mr. Colman, the manager of Covent Garden Theatre, who politely invited all the Indians and myſelf to a play at his houſe. He fixed on Cymbeline, and they were greatly delighted with the repreſentation. But their pride was moſt highly gratified, at being received with a thundering applauſe by the audience, on entering the box. The men ſoon obſerved to their wives, that they were placed in the king's box, and received in the ſame manner as their majeſties were at the opera; which added conſiderably to the pleaſure which they felt from the *tout-enſemble*. Never did I obſerve ſo young a child pay ſuch unremitting attention to the whole repreſentation, as little Ickeuna: no ſooner did the ſwords begin to claſh, in the fighting ſcene between Poſthumus and Iachimo, but ſhe ſet up a moſt feeling ſcream.

About a fortnight after our arrival in town, having provided great-coats, boots, and hats for the men, in order that they might paſs through the ſtreets unobſerved, I took Attuiock with me, and walked beyond the Tower. We there took boat, rowed up the river, and landed at Weſtminſter Bridge; from whence we walked to Hyde Park Corner, and then home again. I was in great expectation, that he would begin to relate the wonders which he had ſeen, the inſtant he entered the room; but I found myſelf greatly diſappointed. He immediately ſat down by the fire-ſide, placed both his hands on his knees, leaned his head forward, fixed his eyes on the ground in a ſtupid ſtare; and continued in that poſture for a conſiderable time. At length, toſſing up his head, and fixing his eyes on the ceiling, he broke out in the following ſoliloquy: "Oh! I am "tired; here are too many houſes; "too much ſmoke; too many peo"ple. Labrador is very good; "ſeals are plentiful there; I wiſh I "was back again." By which I could plainly perceive, that the multiplicity, and variety of objects had confounded his ideas; which were too much confined to comprehend any thing but the inconveniences that he had met with. And indeed, the longer they continued in England, the more was I convinced of the truth of that opinion; for their admiration increaſed in proportion as their ideas expanded; till at length they began more clearly to comprehend the uſe, beauty, and mechaniſm of what they ſaw; though the greater part of theſe were as totally loſt upon them, as they would have been upon one of the brute creation.

Although they had often paſſed St. Paul's without betraying any great aſtoniſhment, or at leaſt not ſo much as all Europeans do at the firſt ſight of one of thoſe ſtupendous iſlands of ice, which are daily to be ſeen near the eaſt coaſt of their own country, yet when I took them to the top of it, and convinced them that it was built by the hands of men (a circumſtance which had not entered their heads before, for they had ſuppoſed it a natural production) they were quite loſt in amazement. The people below, they compared to mice; and inſiſted, that it muſt at leaſt be as high as Cape Charles, which is a mountain of conſiderable altitude. Upon my aſking them how they ſhould deſcribe it to their countrymen on their return, they replied, with a look of the utmoſt expreſſion, they ſhould neither mention it, nor many other things which they had ſeen, leſt they ſhould be called liars, from the ſeeming impoſſibility of ſuch aſtoniſhing facts.

Walking along Piccadilly one day with the two men, I took them into a ſhop to ſhew them a collection of animals. We had no ſooner entered than I obſerved their attention rivetted on a ſmall monkey; and I could perceive horror moſt ſtrongly depicted in their countenances. At length the old man turned to me, and faultered out, "Is "that an Eſquimau?" I muſt confeſs, that both the colour and contour of the countenance had conſiderable reſemblance to the people of their nation; but how they could conceive it poſſible for an Eſquimau to be reduced to that diminutive ſize, I am wholly at a loſs to account for; unleſs they had fixed their attention on the countenance only, and had not adverted to any other particulars. On pointing out ſeveral other monkeys of different kinds, they were greatly diverted at the miſtake which they had made; but were not well pleaſed to obſerve, that monkeys reſembled their race much more than ours.

The parrots, and other talkative birds, next attracted their notice. And it was a great treat to me, both then and at all other times, to obſerve their different emotions, much more forcibly expreſſed in their countenances, than is poſſible to be done by thoſe, whoſe feelings are not equally genuine. Civilized nations imperceptibly contract an artificial expreſſion of countenance, to help out their languid feelings; for knowledge, by a communication with the world and books, enlightens our ideas ſo much, that they are not ſo liable to be taken by ſurpriſe, as the uninformed mind of the ſavage, who never had the leaſt hint given him, that certain things are in exiſtence; conſequently, they break upon him as unexpectedly, and forcibly, as the ſun would do upon a man who was born deaf and blind, in caſe he ſhould ſuddenly be brought to ſight on a clear day.

Being on a dining viſit, with that excellent ſurgeon and anatomiſt, the ingenious John Hunter; in the afternoon Attuiock walked out of the room by himſelf, but preſently returned with ſuch evident marks of terror, that we were all greatly alarmed, fearing ſome accident had happened to him; or, that he had met with an inſult from one of the ſervants. He ſeized hold of my hand, and eagerly preſſed me to go along with him. I aſked the cauſe of his emotion, but could get nothing more from him than, "Come along, come along "with me," and he haſtily led me into a room in the yard, in which ſtood a glaſs caſe containing many human bones. "Look there," ſays he, with more horror and conſternation in his countenance, than I ever beheld in that of man before, "are thoſe the bones of Eſquimaux "whom Mr. Hunter has killed and "eaten? are we to be killed? will "he eat us, and put our bones "there?" As the whole company followed us, the other Indians had alſo taken the alarm before the old prieſt had finiſhed his interrogatories; nor did any of them ſeem more at eaſe, by the reſt of us breaking out into a ſudden and hearty laugh, till I explained to them that thoſe were the bones of our own people, who had been executed for certain crimes committed by them, and were preſerved there, that Mr. Hunter might better know how to ſet thoſe of the living, in caſe any of them ſhould chance to be broken; which often happened in ſo populous a country. They were then perfectly ſatisfied, and approved of the practice; but Attuiock's nerves had received too great a ſhock to enable him to reſume his uſual tranquillity, till he found himſelf ſafe in my houſe again.

Paſſing through Hyde Park, in our way to Holland houſe, and obſerving his Majeſty looking at the regiment of Old Buffs, which were then going to Plymouth, we got out of the coach, and went up to the front; where I explained to them the uſe of that body of men, and of the evolutions which they were performing. After his Majeſty had viewed the regiment collectively, the recruits were drawn out at a few paces diſtant from the left flank, that he might examine them ſeparately. So great a crowd had gathered round us, as incommoded our view of the troops, and attracted the notice of the king; who then ſent General Harvey to order me, with the Indians, into the vacant ſpace between the regiment and the recruits. Here his Majeſty rode ſlowly paſt them, and condeſcended to ſalute them by taking off his hat, accompanied with a gracious ſmile; honours which they were highly pleaſed with, and often mentioned afterwards with great exultation. Nor were they in the leaſt diſpleaſed that his Majeſty did not ſpeak to them, ſince I had previouſly told them not to expect it; and they obſerved that he ſpoke to none but the commanding officer, and one or two of thoſe who were in attendance.

On the Trade of Begging. From The Olio, by the late Francis Groſe, *Eſq.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the enormous ſums collected for the poor, notwithſtanding the number of hoſpitals ſupported by voluntary contribution in the city and environs of London, there is no place where the feelings of humanity receive ſo many ſhocks. Every ſtreet, every alley preſents ſome miſerable object, covered with loathſome ſores, blind, mutilated, or expoſed almoſt naked to the keen wintry blaſt. Speak of this to any of the pariſh officers, and they will tell you theſe are all impoſtors, who, Faquir-like, practiſe voluntary auſterities on themſelves, in order to excite compaſſion, and procure money. Sure this very plea is a diſgrace to our police, who ought in that caſe to apprehend and puniſh them. Should their diſtreſs be real, it is the greateſt inhumanity not to relieve them.

How frequently in winter do we ſee a woman, with two or three half-ſtarved infants hanging about her, apparently dying with the rigours of the ſeaſon!—If humanity will not inſtigate the pariſh officers to take cognizance of them, ſound policy ought; ſince theſe very children, thus educated, ſerve to carry on the ſucceſſion of thieves and vagabonds.

That begging is a trade, and a very beneficial one, is well known; and it is ſaid, that the community is under the regular government of a king or ſuperior, who appoints to every one a particular diſtrict or walk, which walks are farmed out to inferior brethren at certain daily ſums. It is alſo reported, that beggars impoſe taſks on their children or ſervants, aſſigning them the harveſt of particular ſtreets, eſtimating each at a certain produce, for the amount of which they are bound to account, under the penalty of a ſevere beating. A remarkable inſtance of this I learned from a perſon of credit, who overheard a beggar ſaying to a girl, whilſt giving him ſome money, "What is this for? Han't you been all about Bedford and Bloomſbury-ſquares? I am ſure, huſſey, if Ruſſel-ſtreet alone was well begged, it would produce double this ſum."

In this community, natural defects, or bodily misfortunes, are reckoned advantages and pre-eminences. A man who has loſt one leg yields the *pas* to him who wants both; and he, who has neither legs nor arms, is nearly at the head of his profeſſion, very extraordinary deficiencies excepted;—an inſtance of which was given in a ſailor, who had but one eye, one leg, and no arms. This man, aſking in marriage the daughter of a celebrated blind man, was anſwered by her father—that he thanked him for the honour intended, which he ſhould have accepted, had not his daughter received ſome overtures from a man who crawled with his hinder parts in a porridge-pot.

It ſeems a fixed principle in beggars, never to do a day's work on any account, and rather to run away from a job half completed, than finiſh it to receive the ſtipulated hire.

I remember an old juſtice, that lived in a village in the vicinity of London, who, from his knowledge of this principle, long contrived to have his fore-court and garden weeded gratis by itinerant beggars. As he had a handſome houſe near the road, it naturally drew the attention of the mumping fraternity. On their application for charity, he conſtantly aſked them the uſual queſtion, "Why don't you work?" to which the uſual reply was always made, "So I "would, God bleſs your worſhip, "if I could get employment." On this, muſing a while, as if inclined by charity, he would ſet them to weed his court or garden, furniſhing them with a hoe and wheelbarrow, and promiſing them a ſhilling when their job was completed. To work then they would go, with much ſeeming gratitude and alacrity. The juſtice ſtayed by them, or viſited them from time to time till they had performed two-thirds of their taſk; he then retired to a private corner or place of eſpial, in order to prevent their ſtealing his tools, and there waited for what conſtantly happened the moment he diſappeared, which was the elopement of his workman, who rather than complete the unfiniſhed third of his work, choſe to give up what he had done. This method, with ſcarce one diſappointment, the old juſtice long practiſed; till at length his fame having gone forth among the mendicant tribe, he was troubled with no more applications for charity.

Sketch of ſome worn-out Characters of the laſt Age. From the ſame.

ONE of our celebrated writers has obſerved, that there is nothing ſo indifferent to us, that we can ſay without a diſagreeable ſenſation, "we have ſeen the laſt of it." To the truth of this remark, every man who has lived long in the world can give his teſtimony. I am myſelf a man of little more than fifty years of age, and yet I have nearly out-lived divers ſpecies of men and animals, as well as a variety of cuſtoms, faſhions, and opinions; and I can truly ſay, that although ſome of them were not the moſt agreeable, I cannot help recollecting them with a degree of complacency cloſely bordering on regret.

When I was a young man there exiſted in the families of moſt unmarried men or widowers of the rank of gentlemen, reſidents in the country, a certain antiquated female, either maiden or widow, commonly an aunt or couſin. Her dreſs I have now before me: it conſiſted of a ſtiff-ſtarched cap and hood, a little hoop, a rich ſilk damaſk gown with large flowers. She leant on an ivory-headed crutch cane, and was followed by a fat phthyſicky dog of the pug kind, who commonly repoſed on a cuſhion, and enjoyed the privilege of ſnarling at the ſervants, occaſionally biting their heels with impunity.

By the ſide of this good old lady jingled a bunch of keys, ſecuring, in different cloſets and corner-cupboards, all ſorts of cordial waters. cherry and raſberry brandy, waſhes for the complexion, Daffy's Elixir, a rich ſeed-cake, a number of pots of currant jelly and raſberry jam, with a range of gallipots and phials, containing ſalves, electuaries, julaps, and purges, for the uſe of the poor neighbours. The daily buſineſs of this good lady was to ſcold the maids, collect eggs, feed the turkies, and aſſiſt at all lyings-in that happened within the pariſh. Alas! this being is no more ſeen, and the race is, like that of her pug dog and the black rat, totally extinct.

Another character, now worn out and gone, was the country 'Squire; I mean the little independant gentlemen of three hundred pounds per annum, who commonly appeared in a plain drab or pluſh coat, large ſilver buttons, a jockey cap, and rarely without boots. His travels never exceeded the diſtance of the county town, and that only at aſſize and ſeſſion time, or to attend an election. Once a week he commonly dined at the next market town, with the attornies and juſtices. This man went to church regularly, read the weekly journal, ſettled the parochial diſputes between the pariſh officers at the veſtry, and afterwards adjourned to the neighbouring alehouſe, where he uſually got drunk for the good of his country. He never played at cards but at Chriſtmas, when a family pack was produced from the mantle-piece. He was commonly followed by a couple of grey-hounds and a pointer, and announced his arrival at a neighbour's houſe by ſmacking his whip, or giving the view-halloo. His drink was generally ale, except on Chriſtmas, the fifth of November, or ſome other gala days, when he would make a bowl of ſtrong brandy punch, garniſhed with a toaſt and nutmeg. A journey to London was, by one of theſe men, reckoned as great an undertaking, as is at preſent a voyage to the Eaſt Indies, and undertaken with ſcarce leſs precaution and preparation.

The manſion of one of theſe 'Squires was of plaiſter ſtriped with timber, not unaptly called callimanco work, or of red brick, large caſemented bow windows, a porch with ſeats in it, and over it a ſtudy; the eaves of the houſe well inhabited by ſwallows, and the court ſet round with holly-hocks. Near the gate a horſe-block for the conveniency of mounting.

The hall was furniſhed with flitches of bacon, and the mantle-piece with guns and fiſhing-rods of different dimenſions, accompanied by the broad ſword, partizan and dagger, borne by his anceſtor in the civil wars. The vacant ſpaces were occupied by ſtag's horns. Againſt the wall was poſted king Charles's Golden Rules, Vincent Wing's Almanack, and a portrait of the Duke of Marlborough; in his window lay Baker's Chronicle, Fox's Book of Martyrs, Glanvil on Apparitions, Quincey's Diſpenſatory, the Complete Juſtice, and a book of Farriery.

In the corner, by the fire-ſide, ſtood a large wooden two-armed chair with a cuſhion; and within the chimney-corner were a couple of ſeats. Here, at Chriſtmas, he entertained his tenants aſſembled round a glowing fire made of the roots of trees, and other great logs, and told and heard the traditionary tales of the village reſpecting ghoſts and witches, till fear made them afraid to move. In the mean time the jorum of ale was in continual circulation.

The beſt parlour, which was never opened but on particular occaſions, was furniſhed with Turk-worked chairs, and hung round with portraits of his anceſtors; the men in the character of ſhepherds, with their crooks, dreſſed in full ſuits and huge full-bottomed perukes; others in complete armour or buff coats, playing on the baſs viol or lute. The females likewiſe as ſhepherdeſſes, with the lamb and crook, all habited in high heads and flowing robes.

Alas! theſe men and theſe houſes are no more, the luxury of the times has obliged them to quit the country, and become the humble dependants on great men, to ſolicit a place or commiſſion to live in London, to rack their tenants, and draw their rents before due. The venerable manſion in the mean time is ſuffered to tumble down, or is partly upheld as a farm-houſe; till, after a few years, the eſtate is conveyed to the ſteward of the neighbouring lord, or elſe to ſome nabob, contractor, or limb of the law.

Letter from Dr. Radcliffe[*] *to the Earl of* Denbigh; *written a ſhort Time before the Doctor's Death. From the* European Magazine *for* March 1792.

Carſhalton, 15*th Oct.* 1714.

My very good Lord,

THIS being the laſt time that, in all probability, I ſhall ever put pen to paper, I thought it my duty to employ it in writing to you, ſince I am now going to a place from whence I can adminiſter no advice to you, and whither you, and all the reſt who ſurvive me, are obliged to come ſooner or later.

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[*] Dr John Radcliffe was phyſician to Queen Anne; and on account of his ſuppoſed neglect of her majeſty in her laſt moments, had received anonymous threats of aſſaſſination from many loyaliſts; which had ſuch an effect on the doctor's mind, that to them only was his death attributed by moſt of his friends.

Your lordſhip is too well acquainted with my temper, to imagine that I could bear the reproaches of my friends, and threats of my enemies, without laying them deeply at heart; eſpecially ſince there are no grounds for the one, nor foundation for the other; and you will give me credit when I ſay, that theſe conſiderations alone have ſhortened my days.

I dare perſuade myſelf, that the reports which have been raiſed of me, relating to my non-attendance on the queen in her laſt moments, are received by you, as by others of my conſtant and aſſured friends, with an air of contempt and diſbelief; and could wiſh that they made as little an impreſſion upon me. But I find them to be inſupportable, and have experienced, that though there are repellent medicines for diſeaſes of the body, thoſe of the mind are too ſtrong and impetuous for the feeble reſiſtance of the moſt powerful artiſt.

In a word, the decays of nature tell me that I cannot live long; and the menacing letter encloſed will tell you from what quarter my death comes. Give me leave, therefore, to be in earneſt once for all with my very good lord, and to uſe my endeavours to prolong your life, that cannot add a ſpan's length to my own.

Your lordſhip knows how far an air of jollity has obtained amongſt you and your acquaintance, and how many of them, in a few years, have died martyrs to exceſs; let me conjure you therefore, for the good of your own ſoul, the preſervation of your health, and the benefit of the public, to deny yourſelf the deſtructive liberties you have hitherto taken; and which, I muſt confeſs, with a heart full of ſorrow, I have been too great a partaker of in your company.

You are to conſider (Oh! that I myſelf had done ſo!) that men, eſpecially thoſe of your exalted rank, are born to nobler exerciſes than thoſe of eating and drinking; and that by how much the more eminent your ſtation is, by ſo much the more accountable will you be for the diſcharge of it. Nor will your duty to God, your country, or yourſelf, permit you to anger the *firſt*, in robbing the *ſecond* of a patriot and defender, by not taking a due care of the *third*; which will be accounted downright murder in the eyes of that incenſed Deity that will moſt aſſuredly avenge it.

The pain that afflicts my nerves interrupts me from making any other requeſt to you, than that your lordſhip would give credit to the words of a dying man, who is fearful that he has been in a great meaſure an abettor and encourager of your intemperance; and would therefore, in theſe his laſt moments, when he is moſt to be credited, dehort you from the purſuit of it; and that in theſe the days of your youth—for you have many years yet to live, if you do not haſten your own death—you would give ear to the voice of the preacher, whom you and I, with the reſt of your company, have, in the midſt of our riotous debauches, made light of, for ſaying, “ Rejoice, Oh young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart,

and

and in the ſight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all theſe things, God will bring thee to judgment." On which day, when the hearts of all men ſhall be laid open, may you and I, and all that ſincerely repent of acting contrary to the revealed will in this life, reap the fruits of our ſorrows for our miſdeeds in a bleſſed reſurrection; which is the hearty prayer of,

My very good lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient
and moſt obliged ſervant,
JOHN RADCLIFFE.

(*Copy of the Letter incloſed.*)

Doctor,

Though I am no friend of your's, but, on the contrary, one that could wiſh your deſtruction in a legal way, for not preventing the death of our moſt excellent queen when you had it in your power to ſave her; yet I have ſuch an averſion to the taking away mens' lives unfairly, as to acquaint you, that if you go to meet the gentleman you have appointed to dine with at the Greyhound in Croydon, on Thurſday next, you will be moſt certainly murdered.

I am one of the perſons engaged in the conſpiracy, with twelve more, who are reſolved to ſacrifice you to the ghoſt of her late majeſty, that cries aloud for your blood; therefore, neither ſtir out of doors on that day, nor any other, nor think of exchanging your preſent place of abode for your houſe at Hammerſmith, ſince there, and everywhere elſe, we ſhall be in queſt of you.

I am touched with remorſe, and give you this notice: but take care of yourſelf leſt I repent of it, and give proofs of ſo doing, by having it in my power to deſtroy you, who am

Your ſworn enemy,
N. G.

Directed
For Dr. RADCLIFFE, at his
houſe in Carſhalton, Surrey.

Humorous Hiſtory of the Red Caps *at* Paris, *in* 1792. *From the Introduction to the Poetical Tale* of the Monkeys in Red Caps.*

IT has been long familiar to all readers of the ancient claſſics and modern newſpapers, that, among the Romans, a cap was the emblem of liberty; but what ſort of cap it was, has been a queſtion of conſiderable difficulty. Several of the moſt diſtinguiſhed friends to the preſent conſtitution of France, not above three or four years ſince, ſtrenuouſly maintained that it ought to be made with ears and bells, like what we call a fool's-cap; and, within a year, the ſame perſons were of opinion that it ſhould be more like the caps of the black huſſars, who gave no quarter, with a death's head and croſs-bones in the front, to ſtrike terror into all ariſtocrats.

In our own country great ferments have at times taken place upon this ſubject. There is a tradition, not very remote, in one of our univerſities, that a ſerious rebellion once broke out there, occaſioned by two factions of caps among the ſtudents. One of theſe factions, who wore plain ſquare caps, inſiſted that a black ſilk taſſel was eſſential to the cap of liberty; while the other, who wore plain round caps, conſidered the taſſel as a mere accident, but contended that form was of the very eſſence of things, and that the cap of liberty was not a round, but a ſquare cap. At length, to reſtore peace, that learned body prudently determined that each party ſhould be left in quiet poſſeſſion of their own opinions, and wear their caps accordingly. Things were not indeed puſhed to this extremity in our venerable ſociety of antiquaries; but they had many warm diſputes about this ſame cap of liberty, until one evening, after a very long and perplexing debate, they at laſt agreed, that it certainly muſt have been a nightcap; and ſince the cap fitted them, they would wear it. But another ſort of doubt being ſtarted, as to the materials, colour, and make of the cap, they reſolved to conſult their pillows upon it. Many a night did theſe knotty points, with all their incidents and circumſtances, make their nightcaps ſit like bliſter-plaiſters on their heads; but as I have never heard the reſult, I preſume they were not able to determine it. The ſociety, however, to which I have the honour of belonging, claims the merit of having early made the diſcovery, which their own humility would not let them obtrude on the world, but which has been lately ſanctioned beyond the power of ſcepticiſm to doubt, or of time to obliterate, by the deciſive decree of the Jacobins at Paris. Thoſe oracles of the rights of man, it is well known, have pronounced the true cap of liberty to be *a red thrum cap —without ears or bells*.

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* See our Selection of Poetry, p. 170.

As ſoon as their reſolution was made public, all the heads in Paris were in a flame with red thrum caps. This topical ſcarlet-fever became in a moment epidemical. There was not an old courtier, now become a red-hot patriot, but ſold his ariſtocratical hat and red feather, to provide himſelf with the red cap of liberty; and the poor mechanics, who could not afford the genuine thrum caps, got themſelves ſubſtitutes from the old red petticoats of their wives and daughters. The ſtreets of Paris, at a diſtance, appeared like the ſtreets of London after a high wind, all beſtrewn with pieces of red tiles, bricks, and pots from chimnies. Every man in the gardens of the Thuilleries reminded you of the old god of gardens; and the loungers in the Champs Eliſées gave you the image of a troop of miſerable ghoſts, diſpatched freſh to the other Elyſian-fields from the hands of an Indian ſcalping-party. The Jacobins looked like ſo many raw heads and bloody bones. The parterre of the opera-houſe reſembled a parterre of red garden poppies: and the crop of the national aſſembly preſented to the eye nothing but chaff and red weed.

Nor were living heads only new *tiled* in this taſte. The ſtatues of their favourite poets were crowned with a red cap inſtead of a laurel wreath; and they could not murder an emperor in jeſt upon the ſtage, but the people inſtantly demanded that the aſſaſſins of a Cæſar ſhould be honoured in the perſons of their dramatic repreſentatives with the new civic crown.

The contagion, however, was ſimilar to the late plague in Egypt, which, as the newſpapers inform us, though it ſeized half a million of men, did not laſt above three days. *The worthy Petion* (as lord Stanhope ſo excellently characterizes him), ſent a meſſage to the Jacobins; and though the national aſſembly had patriotically refuſed to be uncovered in the preſence of the king, the club immediately uncovered to the meſſage of the mayor.

His motives for this interference have been variouſly repreſented. Some ſay that he was induced to it by a remonſtrance from the virtuous ladies who lately deſired to be armed and officered, but whoſe modeſty was ſhocked at the indecent appearance of the men in theſe new ſkull-caps, looking all like—I don't know what. Other accounts are, that he was really alarmed leſt they might crack each other's crowns, juſt to die their caps of a purer red. Perhaps he was afraid the club might be miſtaken by ſtrangers for an hoſpital of ſcald heads; or, as he is a great patriot, and a man of refined ſagacity, he may not unreaſonably have trembled for the liberties of France, if, when Mr. Briſſot was going to thunder from the tribune againſt the deſpots of the earth, any malignant and abandoned ariſtocrat in the gallery had ſlipped a ſtout Norfolk turkey cock at the head of the orator.

Speech of Sir John Riggs Miller, *containing the proceedings of a Committee appointed by the Houſe of Commons, in the year* 1790, *to take into conſideration the ſubject of Weights and Meaſures.*

*** This article was referred to in the Hiſtorical Part of our 32d vol. p. [89; and was intended for inſertion in the ſucceeding one, but by accident omitted till the preſent volume had proceeded this length; otherwiſe it would have been inſerted under the head of USEFUL PROJECTS, which is perhaps its moſt appropriate ſituation.

SIR John Riggs Miller roſe, and ſaid he thought it his duty to acquaint the houſe, that ſince their late adjournment he had been honoured by a very flattering private letter from an eminent, learned, and very diſtinguiſhed prelate of a neighbouring nation, who had more than once preſided with the moſt marked approbation in the national aſſembly of France, approving his paſt, and encouraging his future, endeavours to obtain an equalization of weights and meaſures; and that letter was accompanied by a printed propoſition, which had been addreſſed to the national aſſembly upon that ſubject by the ſame prelate, (the biſhop of Autun). He ſaid the Britiſh nation ſhould not be deprived of that great man's thoughts and expectations of ſucceſs in the projected regulation of the means which he propoſes to be employed, and the aſſiſtance which he hopes to receive from the mutual co-operation of the Britiſh and French legiſlatures in the ſame inveſtigation. Sir John ſaid, it was very flattering to him that the public muſt hereafter perceive how much there was of coincidence and affinity between the learned prelate's ideas and his own upon this intricate ſubject, without any prior communication whatſoever between them. The biſhop himſelf, indeed, had very liberally acknowledged in his private letter, that he took the hint of making his propoſition to the national aſſembly of France from what had been lately ſubmitted to the Britiſh parliament upon the ſame ſubject. The cloſing paragraph of that great man's private letter, ſo expreſſive of his patriotic feelings, and of his ardent wiſhes to ſee peace, harmony, and good will, eſtabliſhed between two nations ſo long and ſo unhappily in rivalſhip with each other, to their own misfortune, as well as to that of a large portion of mankind, does his heart and his head too much honour to be withholden from the immediate notice of the houſe; and as it will not eaſily admit of an adequate tranſlation, there needs no apology for giving it in his own words: "*Trop long tems les deux nations ſe ſont diviſées pour de vaines pretenſions ou de coupables interêts; il eſt tems que deux peuples libres aſſocient leurs efforts et leurs travaux pour une recherche utile au Genre Humain.*"

Sir John ſaid, he ſhould not avail himſelf of any new lights afforded by the biſhop of Autun's propoſition, having for ſome time prior to his being honoured by that prelate's communication, arranged his own ideas upon the ſubject, which he ſhould now ſubmit to the houſe, and hereafter to the public, that the cauſe in which they were mutually engaged might have every poſſible conſideration, and that the ſuggeſtions of the feeble might be diſcuſſed at the ſame time with the opinions of the ſtrong; public utility being, he was ſatisfied, the ultimate end and object of both their endeavours and expectations.

Sir John then proceeded to ſtate, that having upon a former occaſion aſſerted, and, as he believed, fully demonſtrated to the houſe under the ſanction and authority of the very accurate reports made to parliament by its committees in 1759, that "the legal ſtandards of this country were at univerſal variance with each other;" and that from thence aroſe a compleat and palpable impoſſibility of the exiſtence of any degree of order or conformity in the weights and meaſures now in uſe, ſo long as that variety in our ſtandards ſhould be ſuffered to exiſt; Sir John ſaid, he ſhould now ſtate generally to the houſe, that the order of parliament of the 5th of February, to the ſheriffs and clerks of the market of the different counties of England, for a return of the weights and meaſures now in uſe in the markets of their reſpective diſtricts, had been in a conſiderable degree complied with; and that much valuable information had been communicated, and continued to be received as well through that channel as through the liberality of individuals, and of communities conveying their approbation of the attempted reform, and ſuggeſting their ideas for its promotion. He ſaid he had flattered himſelf by this time to have been able to have ſubmitted fully to the houſe the ſubſtance of the information that had been received, the lights which that information had afforded, the objects to which it was applicable, and the mode that beſt ſuited its application. As under his motion of the 2d of April, Sir John ſaid, ſuch returns as had been made to that day, by the different ſheriffs, clerks of markets, and all other municipal officers and magiſtrates, were already before the houſe; ſo he ſhould move this day, that the reports and returns which had come in during the receſs of parliament ſhould be referred to the ſame committee, in order to their taking the whole of them into conſideration, and reporting their opinion upon the preſent ſtate of our weights and meaſures, and upon the neceſſity and means of their future equalization.

Sir John ſaid, the more he had conſidered the ſubject, the more extenſive and entangled he found it to be, and he might ſay of his labour, that *creſcit eundo*; yet ſtill he was not diſcouraged, nor did he ſee room for diſcouragement; the object was a great one, and it deſerved to be ſtruggled with. He wiſhed to clear the ground before him as he advanced, truſting, as he did, that the ſtatement of that day would prove no inconſiderable progreſs towards his final deſtination; the univerſal inequality in the legal ſtandards, and the almoſt univerſal inequality in the weights and meaſures of this country, being fairly aſſumed, inaſmuch as the former had already, and the latter could now be fully demonſtrated. He meant at this time to follow up the former diſtribution of his argument, not finding, upon the cloſeſt inveſtigation of the ſubject, that it would admit of any improvement which it was within his power to beſtow upon it. The third head or object which he had on a former occaſion promiſed to bring under the view of the houſe was,—"The miſchievous influence of the inequality in our weights and meaſures, upon the commerce and upon the comforts of individuals, as well as of the community at large." This, he ſaid, it was true, was nearly going about to prove a ſelf-evident propoſition; yet his promiſe to the houſe and his duty to the public, rendered it incumbent upon him to ſtate, and he ſhould do ſo, with all ſuitable brevity, the moſt acknowledged and prominent miſchiefs that reſulted from it. And for this purpoſe he ſhould divide the conſideration of this object into three parts, examining ſeparately its philoſophical influence upon mankind. In reſpect to the former of theſe, its moral influence—does it not frequently cauſe an honeſt man to injure perſons with whom he has dealings unintentionally? while it tempts and enables a diſhoneſt man to over-reach and to defraud his neighbour? does it not beget diffidence, perplex and vitiate contracts, and render the engagements and the property of the merchant inſecure and uncertain, beſides being a frequent ſource to him of expence and litigation? Judges and juries are not always diſpoſed, nor are judges and juries always qualified, to decide upon mathematical queſtions; and indeed their deciſions muſt almoſt neceſſarily be perplexed and embarraſſed, and it muſt be matter of much hazard whether they injure or redreſs either of the parties reſorting to them for juſtice, from the variety and inequality of our legal ſtandards. With reſpect to its influence on commerce, Sir John ſaid, did it not interrupt that cordiality, confidence, and good faith, which ſhould always ſubſiſt between the corn merchant and the farmer; between the manufacturer and his employer; between the inhabitants of towns who purchaſe, and of the country who ſell commodities? Does it not check that ſpirit of enterprize ſo uſeful in commercial nations, ſuggeſting caution to the merchant in his purchaſe of commodities by provincial weights or meaſures, which he does not underſtand, and which, from their variety, may prove leſs than he has preſumed to be, and thereby ſubject him to deception, accompanied, perhaps, by litigation? The proportion of one commercial weight or meaſure, either to the legal ſtandards, or to other provincial weights or meaſures, does not for the moſt part admit of a ready calculation.—If the difference were only in the number of the meaſures, that diſagreement could be eaſily reduced to the ſtandards.

But the dimenſions of the provincial meaſures are different in many places, not only from the national ſtandards, but even from each other; a difference frequently overlooked, not eaſy to be aſcertained when ſuſpected; and, in ſome caſes, not even known to exiſt in the very county where ſuch meaſure is uſed. Hence thoſe counties whoſe meaſures are greater than they are known to be, muſt, of neceſſity, ſuſtain loſs when they ſell or export grain by ſuch meaſures; and ſtrangers, who diſpoſe of goods at markets where the meaſures are larger than they ſuppoſed them to be, muſt be injured by their ignorance of that circumſtance. The merchant, who purchaſes commodities in diſtant parts of the kingdom, may well be ignorant that by the largeneſs of his own provincial meaſure he could make as good, and perhaps often a better, bargain nearer home, and thereby encourage the trade of his neighbour with equal or more advantage to himſelf than by diſtant engagements; and the expence incurred by the tranſport of goods from one county to another, is always unproductive labour to ſociety. Thoſe tables which are publiſhed by literary men who know not the dimenſions, but only the numbers of the meaſures which compoſe provincial ſtandards, are miſchievous to ſociety; nor can any correct tables be made until a public examination of all provincial meaſures ſhall have taken place. Let us now examine the effects of this inequality in a philoſophical light. And here, Sir, we ſhall find that ſcience is deeply injured by the diverſity of meaſures uſed in different nations. It is extremely difficult to reduce the meaſures of one nation, with any degree of certainty or accuracy, to thoſe of another; nay, even of that nation which ſhall be neareſt to it in ſituation, and moſt connected with it in commercial intercourſe, the different meaſures of a degree are, for example, (in the ſame latitudes) owing in a great meaſure to this cauſe; and even in the ſame nation our meaſurements would agree better were we confined to our ſtandard. Now, Sir, let no man aſſume, that the inequalities complained of have but a ſlight influence on our commercial tranſactions; and that a man can be only for once materially injured by the greatneſs of thoſe provincial meaſures of which he is ignorant, as he may afterwards reduce them to ſuch as he is acquainted with. This requires a ſkill in calculation beyond what we are aware of, and beyond what the inferior orders of men commonly poſſeſs; and it is a moſt important duty of government to render every ſuch complex operation perfectly unneceſſary to all its ſubjects. The farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer, who ſhould reſiſt the propoſed regulation, would only furniſh an additional proof of its neceſſity. Shall we ſupport a commerce that ſubſiſts by taking advantage of ignorance? our reciprocal wants are the great principle of all commerce, good faith and confidence its only ſubſtantial foundations. Every merchant, and every manufacturer, ſhould have no heſitation to ſell his commodities, and to employ his money in every market of the empire, relying on the protection of the laws againſt all diſhoneſt and artful actions. As the obtaining one general ſtandard, which ſhall be both perfect and permanent, would open the moſt gratifying proſpect to the view of the moraliſt, the merchant, the ſtateſman, and the philoſopher, inaſmuch as it would completely overcome the moſt obſtinate and intractable difficulty that has at all times oppoſed a general equalization of weights and meaſures, I ſhall next ſubmit to the houſe the beſt lights which I have attained upon that ſubject, in order to excite further examination, and to promote a general intercourſe and communication, thereby endeavouring to concentrate the exertions of the learned and the liberal upon an object of equal moment and intricacy. With this view, having already ſtated the indiſpenſable neceſſity for one general ſtandard, I ſhall next deſcribe the qualities that appear to me to be eſſential, and the qualities that appear to be only eligible and deſirable in ſuch a ſtandard; ſubmitting finally to the houſe thoſe objects in nature which are preſumed to be moſt likely and the beſt adapted to ſupply us with a ſtandard.

Qualities of a Standard.

The qualities of a ſtandard are of two kinds, viz. thoſe which are eſſential, and thoſe which are only eligible. The eſſential qualities which every ſtandard ſhould poſſeſs are, that it ſhould be taken from nature, or connected with ſomething in nature, and not from any work of art, which neceſſarily decay; nor from any thing that is merely arbitrary, and which has no other right to be a ſtandard, than that it is kept in a houſe which is called the Exchequer or Guildhall, and which has certain marks upon it, and a certain name given to it: That this ſtandard be the ſame at all times and in all places, or ſo nearly the ſame at every place, as to afford no temptation or encouragement to buy with one weight or meaſure, and to ſell with another: That it be capable of being rectified, or regenerated by an obſervation taken from nature at any diſtance of time and of place. Now, Sir, is this the caſe with our preſent ſtandards? No, but exactly the contrary. Our preſent ſtandards are altogether arbitrary; they have no connection with any thing that is permanent or uniformly of the ſame dimenſions in nature. 'Tis true they were originally taken from nature; but they were taken from what was fluctuating and various, and not from what is uniform and permanent in nature. A barley corn, and an ear of wheat, from which all weights and meaſures now uſed in England were originally raiſed, are of different dimenſions under a different culture, when moiſt and when dry, in different ſoils, ſeaſons, and expoſures. Our preſent ſtandards are therefore not connected with nature, nor with any thing that is fixed or permanent, but are altogether arbitrary, and cannot be rectified but by a new ſtandard.

The qualities which are not eſſential, but only eligible, or more or leſs to be deſired in a ſtandard, are principally that the ſtandard be of ſufficient large dimenſions, as a very ſmall error is conſiderable on a ſmall ſcale or ſtandard, while a much greater error on a large ſcale is inconſiderable. It is deſirable that its denominations be in tens, to give it the advantage of whole numbers, or decimal fractions. It is eligible, that it be connected with two things in nature, or be capable of being rectified by two obſervations from nature, that one of theſe may check and prove the other; and that where a man cannot make the one, he may be able to take the other. It is eligible that the ſtandard correſpond in round numbers with ſome of the weights and meaſures in preſent uſe, either exactly or very nearly. It is eligible that the ſtandard correſpond within $\frac{1}{400}$ or $\frac{1}{500}$ with weight, and within $\frac{1}{1200}$ or $\frac{1}{1500}$ on lineal meaſures, as theſe laſt muſt be raiſed to the cube for ſolid meaſures, or meaſures of capacity. It is alſo eligible in ſome degree that it correſpond with the weights and meaſures of the neighbouring nations. It is deſirable that, where it does not correſpond with, it may be a medium between the weights or meaſures of other nations. And it is to a certain degree eligible, that the ſtandard, and its diviſions, and denomination, be ſuch as the neighbouring nations may be inclined to adopt.

Different Standards examined, and the Properties of the beſt pointed out.

The following ſtandards are all taken from nature, and have all the eſſential qualities of a ſtandard.

1ſt *Standard, taken from a drop of water, or ſpirit of wine of a certain degree of heat.* Suppoſing that every drop were of equal magnitude, as diſtilled water or ſpirit of wine is of the ſame ſpecific gravity in every part of the earth, if weighed in the ſame degree of heat, a certain number of drops of diſtilled water, or of alcohol ſpirits, might be fixed on for a ſtandard tun weight; and the ſide of a cubic veſſel, which contained this tun, might be eſtabliſhed as the ſtandard of lineal meaſure. To render the drops exactly equal, they ſhould be made to drop in the ſame manner; and a number of perſons ſhould be employed at the ſame time, and in the ſame room; while one of them kept the temperature uniform, another ſhould count the ſeconds or half ſeconds for the fall of each drop. If it were poſſible in this, or in any other manner, to procure drops of equal dimenſions, the peculiar advantage of this ſtandard would be, that being taken from cubic to lineal meaſures, the error, if any, would be broken down in making meaſures of length; while any error in a ſtandard that is raiſed from a lineal meaſure, is greatly increaſed, before it is raiſed to the cube for ſolid meaſures. This is perhaps the moſt unexceptionable of ſmall ſtandards; but it is of too ſmall dimenſions, and if there were any error in the dimenſions of a medium drop, that error would be increaſed to a great degree on a tun.

2d *Standard, taken from the admeaſurement of the ſpace, through which bodies fall in a ſecond of time.* This is an excellent idea in theory, but cannot, perhaps, be reduced to practice with that preciſion which is neceſſary in a matter of this kind.

3d *Standard, taken from a degree of a great circle of the earth*, would be a ſtandard of very large dimenſions; it has been propoſed to divide this into 60,000 parts, which multiplied by ſix, will give 360,000 feet for a degree of latitude; one of theſe divided into twelve parts, may be named a foot of twelve inches, and this laſt to be made a ſtandard for dividing a cylindrical foot of water into forty-eight parts, each of which may be named a pound. Here we ſhould have a foot for an invariable and permanent meaſure, taken from the axe of the world, and from thence a rule for meaſuring ſurface, and gravity in ſolids and fluids. The aſtronomers of Vienna have fixed one length of a degree of latitude at 360,000 Auſtrian feet, which ſhews that their foot anſwers to their obſervations, in dividing the meridian in aliquot parts to infinity, and by that they could have had proportions in weight analogous to their meaſures, had they found a ſtandard for their fluids. It is certainly a matter of much difficulty to take this meaſure with the neceſſary accuracy. It is not eaſy to make any obſervations on the heavenly bodies ſo exactly as is here a requiſite. And it is alſo difficult to meaſure ſo large a portion of the earth, as a degree of latitude, with ſufficient truth and preciſion; but though both of theſe could be done, owing to the figure of the earth (which is neither a ſphere nor an elipſoid, but a kind of a ſpheroid leſs prominent in the middle latitudes than the elipſoid) the meaſure of a degree of a great circle is different in different latitudes. And from the attraction of neighbouring mountains, the defect of attraction in neighbouring oceans, and owing to the want of an univerſal ſtandard meaſure, the mathematicians of different nations have found the meaſure of a degree of a great circle, different in the ſame latitude.

Monſieur de la Caille, and ſome others of the French Academicians and philoſophers, have, however, come ſo near to truth in this meaſure, that perhaps a combination of the firſt talents of this nation with thoſe of France, poſſeſſed of time, means, encouragement, and eſpecially of mathematical inſtruments of the greateſt accuracy and excellence, may go nearer to ſupply us with a ſtandard than we are at firſt aware of.

4th *Standard, taken from the length of a pendulum.* This appears to me to be the moſt proper for a ſtandard. It is the ſimpleſt, the moſt eaſily obtained, and the moſt accurate. Mr. Whitehurſt's improvement on Mr. Hatton's idea, in taking the interval between two pendulums, deſerves the higheſt commendation from every lover of ſcience. Yet the interval which he has found, viz. 39.892 inches, is not proper for a ſtandard, as it poſſeſſes none of the eligible qualities mentioned in the foregoing diſcuſſion of ſtandards; nor is it divided according to the rules before recommended. Many lengths of pendulums might be propoſed, as coinciding nearly with ſome of our weights or meaſures. But the pendulum which vibrates ſeconds at London, is the moſt proper ſtandard for Great Britain, and a medium for all Europe.

Mr. Huygen's length of the pendulum, by Sir John Moore's reduction, now known to be erroneous, is - -	39.2. inches.
Mr. Emerſon's, by which he computes his table of the length of the pendulum in different latitudes, - -	39.131.
Dr. Deſagulier's length of the London pendulum, by which Mr. Ferguſon computes his tables, is - - - -	39.128.
Mr. Graham's length, found by a nice experiment in 1772, made with a ſtandard Engliſh foot, - - - -	39.126.
Mr. Whitehurſt's, deduced from the interval between two pendulums, according to himſelf, is - - - -	39.1196.
Ditto corrected by the reviewers, who make a deduction for the ſmall rod of his pendulum, - - - -	39.1187.

Laying aſide the firſt, as knowing

it to be erroneous, Mr. Graham's is nearly the medium between the other lengths, and it is on many accounts the ſafeſt, and until a national experiment ſhall be made, the beſt. Hence I ſhould propoſe, "the London pendulum of 39.126 "inches as the ſtandard of lineal "meaſure, the ſquare of this length "as the ſtandard of ſuperficial mea- "ſure, the cube of it as the ſtandard "of ſolid meaſures or meaſures of "capacity; and the cube of it, filled "with rain water of a certain tem- "perature, as a ſtandard tun, from "which all other weights are to be "derived." This propoſed ſtandard appears to poſſeſs the qualities, both eſſential and eligible, heretofore wiſhed for in a ſtandard.

Having now ſubmitted to this houſe, what I conceive to be the beſt ſuggeſtions, which my own enquiries, or the intimations of others have afforded me, upon the very important ſubject of a ſtandard; I call upon the friends of juſtice, of commerce, and of philoſophy, to diſcuſs it as an object not unworthy of their moſt ſerious conſideration, either by improving the hints which are now propoſed, or by the ſubſtitution of what may appear to them more practicable and more effectual. For without a permanent ſtandard, our endeavours can be at beſt but imperfect: with a permanent ſtandard, what may we not hope for and expect?

The fourth object of my original plan, viz. "the propoſing ſome im- "mediate corrections of the abuſes "that prevail through the inequa- "lity of our weights and meaſures," &c. I ſhall defer troubling the houſe with to a future opportunity, when I ſhall alſo ſubmit to them the objects which the legiſlature is bound either to prevent or to promote, by any act or regulation, for the equalizing our weights and meaſures, accompanied by whatever elſe ſhall, in the mean time, ſuggeſt itſelf, in the courſe of enquiry, that may tend to promote the propoſed equalization *.

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* It is to be regretted, that by the prorogation and ſubſequent diſſolution of parliament, which ſpeedily followed the developement of this plan, the public were deprived (for a time at leaſt) of the benefits naturally to be expected from the adoption of a meaſure fraught with ſo many advantages to the commercial intereſts of the nation at large. As the ingenious propoſer was not returned for the ſucceeding parliament, the buſineſs has hitherto been ſuffered to reſt; but it is to be hoped that ſome other member of the legiſlature may think proper to come forward, and bring it to perfection.

P O E T R Y.

ODE *on his* MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY, *June* 4, 1792.

By Henry James Pye, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

HEARD ye the blaſt whoſe ſullen roar
Burſt dreadful from the angry ſkies ?
Saw ye againſt the craggy ſhore
The waves in wild contention riſe ?—
On the high cliff's embattled brow
The caſtle's ruin'd towers lie low,
And, as the corn-van's winnowing ſail
Drives the looſe chaff before the gale,
The winds in giddy eddies ſweep
The ſcatter'd navy o'er the deep.—
Yet harmleſs as the halcyon breeze
That gently lifts the ſummer ſeas,
The tempeſt breaks on Albion's coaſt,
Its ſtrength controul'd, its fury loſt ;
Down on the ſurge ſhe looks with dauntleſs face.
And ſees it idly laſh her white cliff's rocky baſe.

II.

Not more ſecure her rocky ſhores
Defy the rude wind's ſtormy hoſt,
Not with more idle vengeance roars
The billow 'gainſt Britannia's coaſt,
Than her firm breaſt, by virtue arm'd,
By glory's pureſt radiance warm'd,
Defies loud Diſcord's riſing ſound,
And mocks the tumult raging round.
For Freedom o'er her favour'd head
Her adamantine ſhield has ſpread,
And looking far with brow ſerene
Beyond Europa's troubled ſcene,
On diſtant climes her cares diſplay
Her guardian power's celeſtial ray,

The ſacred beam till ſultry Afric ſee
Burſt Slavery's galling yoke, and boaſt her ſons are free.

III.

Freedom on this congenial ſhore
Her holy temple rear'd of yore,
Tho' Faction to its ſolid baſe
Has oft applied his iron mace,
Tho' Tyranny's gigantic powers
Oft tried to ſhake its maſſy towers,
Cemented firm with patriot blood
Thro' many an age unhurt the mighty frame has ſtood;
And ſtill her ſons, a mingled line,
Warm in her hallow'd cauſe combine.—
Offspring of thoſe whoſe fearleſs ranks
Bore from old Thames' high-trophied banks
Her vaunted charter, which unites
A monarch's with a people's rights;
Of thoſe whoſe ſpears tremendous gleam
By Caledonian* Banna's ſtream,
While ſtern Carnarvon's archers fly
Before the van of Liberty;
Offspring of thoſe whoſe patriot hoſt
On fair Ierne's ſiſter coaſt
Saw Tyranny's expiring pride
Whelm'd deep in Boyne's enſanguin'd tide;
In dread array they ſtand round Britain's throne,
And guard, at Freedom's call, a Monarch all her own.

IV.

To welcome George's natal hour,
No vain diſplay of empty power,
In flattery ſteep'd, no ſoothing lay
Shall ſtrains of adulation pay;
But Commerce rolling deep and wide
To Albion's ſhores her ſwelling tide,
But Themis' olive-cinctur'd head,
And white-rob'd Peace by Vict'ry led,
Shall fill his breaſt with virtuous pride,
Shall give him power to truth allied;
Joys which alone a patriot King can prove—
A nation's ſtrength his power, his pride a people's love.

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* Battle of Bannock-burn.

Invitation of the Genius of the Place to the Goddeſs of Botany; who deſcends, and is received by Spring and the Elements. From Darwin's Botanic Garden, *Part Firſt.*

"STAY your rude ſteps! whoſe throbbing breaſts infold
The legion-fiends of Glory, or of Gold!
Stay! whoſe falſe lips seductive ſimpers part,
While cunning neſtles in the harlot-heart!—
For you no Dryads dreſs the roſeate bower,
For you no Nymphs their ſparkling vaſes pour;
Unmark'd by you, light Graces ſwim the green,
And hovering Cupids aim their ſhafts, unſeen.
"But thou! whoſe mind the well-attemper'd ray
Of taſte and virtue lights with purer day;
Whoſe finer ſenſe each ſoft vibration owns
With ſweet reſponſive ſympathy of tones;
So the fair flower * expands its lucid form
To meet the ſun, and ſhuts it to the ſtorm;—
For thee my borders nurſe the fragrant wreath,
My fountains murmur, and my zephyrs breathe;
Slow ſlides the painted ſnail, the gilded fly
Smooths his fine down, to charm thy curious eye:
On twinkling fins my pearly nations play,
Or win with ſinuous train their trackleſs way;
My plumy pairs in gay embroidery dreſs'd
Form with ingenious bill the penſile neſt,
To love's ſweet notes attune the liſtening dell,
And echo ſounds her ſoft ſymphonious ſhell.
"And, if with thee ſome hapleſs maid ſhould ſtray,
Diſaſterous love † companion of her way,
Oh, lead her timid ſteps to yonder glade,
Whoſe arching cliffs depending alders ſhade;
There, as meek evening wakes her temperate breeze,
And moon-beams glimmer through the trembling trees,
The rills, that gurgle round, ſhall ſooth her ear,
The weeping rocks ſhall number tear for tear;
There as ſad Philomel, alike forlorn,
Sings to the night from her accuſtom'd thorn;

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* *So the fair flower*, &c. It ſeems to have been the original deſign of the philoſophy of Epicurus to render the mind exquiſitely ſenſible to agreeable ſenſations, and equally inſenſible to diſagreeable ones.

† *Diſaſterous Love*, &c. The ſcenery is taken from a botanic garden about a mile from Lichfield, where a cold bath was erected by Sir John Floyer. There is a grotto ſurrounded by projecting rocks, from the edges of which trickles a perpetual ſhower of water; and it is here repreſented as adapted to love-ſcenes, as being thence a proper reſidence for the modern goddeſs of Botany.

While at ſweet intervals each falling note
Sighs in the gale, and whiſpers round the grot;
The ſiſter-woe ſhall calm her aching breaſt,
And ſofter ſlumbers ſteal her cares to reſt.—
"Winds of the North! reſtrain your icy gales,
Nor chill the boſom of theſe happy vales!
Hence in dark heaps, ye gathering clouds, revolve!
Diſperſe, ye lightnings! and, ye miſts, diſſolve!
—Hither, emerging from yon orient ſkies,
Botanic goddeſs! bend thy radiant eyes;
O'er theſe ſoft ſcenes aſſume thy gentle reign,
Pomona, Ceres, Flora in thy train;
O'er the ſtill dawn thy placid ſmile effuſe,
And with thy ſilver ſandals print the dews;
In noon's bright blaze thy vermil veſt unfold,
And wave thy emerald banner ſtarr'd with gold."
Thus ſpoke the Genius, as he ſtept along,
And bade theſe lawns to peace and truth belong;
Down the ſteep ſlopes he led with modeſt ſkill
The willing path-way, and the truant rill;
Stretch'd o'er the marſhy vale yon willowy mound,
Where ſhines the lake amid the tufted ground,
Rais'd the young woodland, ſmooth'd the wavy green,
And gave to beauty all the quiet ſcene.—
She comes!—the goddeſs!—through the whiſpering air,
Bright as the morn, deſcends her bluſhing car;
Each circling wheel a wreath of flowers intwines,
And gem'd with flowers the ſilken harneſs ſhines;
The golden bits with flowery ſtuds are deck'd,
And knots of flowers the crimſon reins connect.—
And now on earth the ſilver axle rings,
And the ſhell ſinks upon its ſlender ſprings;
Light from her airy ſeat the goddeſs bounds,
And ſteps celeſtial preſs the panſied grounds.
Fair Spring advancing calls her feather'd quire,
And tunes to ſofter notes her laughing lyre;
Bids her gay hours on purple pinions move,
And arms her zephyrs with the ſhafts of love,
Pleas'd Gnomes *, aſcending from their earthy beds,
Play round her graceful footſteps, as ſhe treads;

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* *Pleas'd Gnomes*, &c. The Roſicrucian doctrine of Gnomes, Sylphs, Nymphs, and Salamanders affords proper machinery for a philoſophic poem; as it is probable that they were originally the names of hieroglyphic figures of the Elements, or of Genii preſiding over their operations. The fairies of more modern days ſeem to have been derived from them, and to have inherited their powers. The Gnomes and Sylphs, as being more nearly allied to modern fairies, are repreſented as either male or female, which diſtinguiſhes the latter from the Auræ of the Latin poets, which were only female; except the winds, as Zephyrus and Auſter, may be ſuppoſed to have been their huſbands.

Gay Sylphs attendant beat the fragrant air
On winnowing wings, and waft her golden hair;
Blue nymphs emerging leave their ſparkling ſtreams,
And fiery forms alight from orient beams;
Muſk'd in the roſe's lap freſh dews they ſhed,
Or breathe celeſtial luſtres round her head.
 Firſt the fine forms her dulcet voice requires,
Which bathe or baſk in elemental fires;
From each bright gem of day's refulgent car,
From the pale ſphere of every twinkling ſtar,
From each nice pore of ocean, earth, and air,
With eye of flame the ſparkling hoſts repair,
Mix their gay hues, in changeful circles play,
Like motes, that tenant the meridian ray.—
So the clear lens collects with magic power
The countleſs glories of the midnight hour;
Stars after ſtars with quivering luſtre fall,
And twinkling glide along the whiten'd wall.—
Pleas'd, as they paſs, ſhe counts the glittering bands,
And ſtills their murmur with her waving hands;
Each liſtening tribe with fond expectance burns,
And now to theſe, and now to thoſe, ſhe turns.

Deſcription of Venus *riſing out of the Sea. From the ſame.*

SO young Dione, nurs'd beneath the waves,
And rock'd by Nereids in their coral caves,
Charm'd the blue ſiſterhood with playful wiles,
Liſp'd her ſweet tones, and tried her tender ſmiles.
Then, on her beryl throne by Tritons borne,
Bright roſe the goddeſs like the ſtar of morn;
When with ſoft fires the milky dawn he leads,
And wakes to life and love the laughing meads:—
With roſy fingers, as uncurl'd they hung
Round her fair brow, her golden locks ſhe wrung;
O'er the ſmooth ſurge on ſilver ſandals ſtood,
And look'd enchantment on the dazzled flood.—
The bright drops, rolling from her lifted arms,
In ſlow meanders wander o'er her charms,
Seek round her ſnowy neck their lucid track,
Pearl her white ſhoulders, gem her ivory back,
Round her fine waiſt and ſwelling boſom ſwim,
And ſtar with glittering brine each cryſtal limb.—
—The immortal form enamour'd nature hail'd,
And beauty blaz'd to heaven and earth, unvail'd.

The Loves of Jupiter. *From the ſame.*

THUS, for attractive earth, inconſtant Jove
Maſk'd in new ſhapes forſook his realms above.—
Firſt her ſweet eyes his eagle-form beguiles,
And Hebe feeds him with ambroſial ſmiles;
Next the chang'd god a cygnet's down aſſumes,
And playful Leda ſmooths his gloſſy plumes;
Then glides a ſilver ſerpent, treacherous gueſt!
And fair Olympia folds him in her breaſt;
Now lows a milk-white bull on Afric's ſtrand,
And crops with dancing head the daiſy'd land.—
With roſy wreaths Europa's hand adorns
His fringed forehead, and his pearly horns;
Light on his back the ſportive damſel bounds,
And pleas'd he moves along the flowery grounds;
Bears with ſlow ſtep his beauteous prize aloof,
Dips in the lucid flood his ivory hoof;
Then wets his velvet knees, and wading laves
His ſilky ſides amid the dimpling waves.
While her fond train with beckoning hands deplore,
Strain their blue eyes, and ſhriek along the ſhore;
Beneath her robe ſhe draws her ſnowy feet,
And, half-reclining on her ermine ſeat,
Round his raiſed neck her radiant arms ſhe throws,
And reſts her fair cheek on his curled brows;
Her yellow treſſes wave on wanton gales,
And high in air her azure mantle ſails.
—Onward he moves, applauding Cupids guide,
And ſkim on ſhooting wing the ſhining tide;
Emerging Tritons leave their coral caves,
Sound their loud conchs, and ſmooth the circling waves,
Surround the timorous beauty, as ſhe ſwims,
And gaze enamour'd on her ſilver limbs.
—Now Europe's ſhadowy ſhores with loud acclaim
Hail the fair fugitive, and ſhout her name;
Soft echoes warble, whiſpering foreſts nod,
And conſcious nature owns the preſent god.
—Chang'd from the bull, the rapturous god aſſumes
Immortal youth, with glow celeſtial blooms,
With lenient words her virgin fears diſarms,
And claſps the yielding beauty in his arms;
Whence kings and heroes own illuſtrious birth,
Guards of mankind, and demi-gods on earth.

Deſtruction of the Armies of Cambyſes. From the ſame.

THUS when Cambyſes * led his barbarous hoſts
From Perſia's rocks to Egypt's trembling coaſts,
Defiled each hallowed fane, and ſacred wood,
And, drunk with fury, ſwell'd the Nile with blood;
Waved his proud banner o'er the Theban ſtates,
And pour'd deſtruction through her hundred gates;
In dread diviſions march'd the marſhal'd bands,
And ſwarming armies blacken'd all the lands,
By Memphis theſe to Ethiop's ſultry plains,
And thoſe to Hammon's ſand-incircled fanes.—
Slow as they paſs'd, the indignant temples frown'd,
Low curſes muttering from the vaulted ground;
Long ailes of cypreſs wav'd their deepen'd glooms,
And quivering ſpectres grinn'd amid the tombs;
Prophetic whiſpers breathed from Sphinx's tongue,
And Memnon's lyre with hollow murmurs rung;
Burſt from each pyramid expiring groans,
And darker ſhadows ſtretch'd their lengthen'd cones.—
Day after day their deathful rout they ſteer,
Luſt in the van, and rapine in the rear.
Gnomes! as they march'd, you hid the gather'd fruits,
The bladed graſs, ſweet grains, and mealy roots;
Scared the tired quails, that journey'd o'er their heads,
Retain'd the locuſts in their earthy beds;
Bade on your ſands no night-born dews diſtil,
Stay'd with vindictive hands the ſcanty rill.—
Loud o'er the camp the fiend of famine ſhrieks,
Calls all her brood, and champs her hundred beaks;
O'er ten ſquare leagues her pennons broad expand,
And twilight ſwims upon the ſhuddering ſand;
Perch'd on her creſt the griffin Diſcord clings,
And giant Murder rides between her wings;
Blood from each clotted hair, and horny quill,
And ſhowers of tears in blended ſtreams diſtil;
High-poiſed in air her ſpiry neck ſhe bends,
Rolls her keen eye, her dragon-claws extends,
Darts from above, and tears at each fell ſwoop
With iron fangs the decimated troop.

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* *Thus when Cambyſes*, &c.—Cambyſes marched one army from Thebes, after having overturned the temples, ravaged the country, and deluged it with blood, to ſubdue Ethiopia; this army almoſt periſhed by famine, inſomuch that they repeatedly ſlew every tenth man to ſupply the remainder with food. He ſent another army to plunder the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which periſhed overwhelmed with ſand.

Now o'er their head the whizzing whirlwinds breathe,
And the live deſert pants, and heaves beneath;
Tinged by the crimſon ſun, vaſt columns riſe
Of eddying ſands, and war amid the ſkies;
In red arcades the billowy plain ſurround,
And ſtalking turrets dance upon the ground.
—Long ranks in vain their ſhining blades extend.
To demon-gods their knees unhallow'd bend,
Wheel in wide circle, form in hollow ſquare,
And now they front, and now they fly the war,
Pierce the deaf tempeſt with lamenting cries,
Preſs their parch'd lips, and cloſe their blood-ſhot eyes.
—Gnomes! o'er the waſte you led your myriad powers,
Climb'd on the whirls, and aim'd the flinty ſhowers!—
Onward reſiſtleſs rolls the infuriate ſurge,
Clouds follow clouds, and mountains mountains urge;
Wave over wave the driving deſert ſwims,
Burſts o'er their heads, inhumes their ſtruggling limbs;
Man mounts on man, on camels camels ruſh,
Hoſts march o'er hoſts, and nations nations cruſh,—
Wheeling in air the winged iſlands fall,
And one great earthy ocean covers all!—
Then ceaſed the ſtorm,—night bow'd his Ethiop brow
To earth, and liſten'd to the groans below,—
Grim horror ſhook,—awhile the living hill
Heaved with convulſive throes,—and all was ſtill!

Deſcription of Satan's Deſcent in a ſtormy Guſt to the infernal Regions. From Calvary; *or,* The Death of Chriſt, *a Poem, by* Richard Cumberland, *Eſq.*

SO ſpake the parting fiend, in his laſt hour
Prophetic, father though he were of lyes:
To him the inferior dæmon anſwer none
Attempted, but in ghaſtly ſilence ſtood
Gazing with horror on his chieftain's face,
That chang'd all hues by fits, as when the north,
With nitrous vapors charg'd, convulſive ſhoots
It's fiery darts athwart the trembling pole,
Making heav'n's vault a canopy of blood:
So o'er the viſage of the exorcis'd fiend
Alternate gleams like meteors came and went;
And ever and anon he beat his breaſt,
That quick and ſhort with lab'ring pulſes heav'd.
One piteous look he upward turn'd, one ſigh
From his ſad heart he fain had ſent to heav'n,
But ere the hopeleſs meſſenger could leave

His quiv'ring lips, by ſudden impulſe ſeiz'd
He finds himſelf uplifted from the earth;
His azure wings, to ſooty black now chang'd,
In wide expanſe from either ſhoulder ſtretch
For flight involuntary: Up he ſprings
Whirl'd in a fiery vortex round and round:
As when the Lybian wilderneſs caught up
In ſandy pillar by the eddying winds
Moves horrible, the grave of man and beaſt;
Him thus aſcending the fork'd light'ning ſmites
With ſidelong volley, whilſt loud thunders rock
Heav'n's echoing vault; when all at once, behold!
Caught in the ſtream of an impetuous guſt
High in mid-air, ſwift on the level wing
Northward he ſhoots, and like a comet leaves
Long fiery track behind, ſpeeding his courſe
Straight to the realms of Chaos and old Night,
Hell-bound and to Tartarean darkneſs doom'd.

Monkeys in Red Caps; an old Story. By Timothy Thrum, *Eſq.*

IN Africa, one broiling ſummer,
Beneath the ſun's meridian ray,
An Engliſh trader, a new comer,
Faint and fatigued purſued his way.
At length it was his luck to enter
An ancient foreſt's cooling ſhade,
Where piercing to the ſecret center,
Upon the ground his limbs he laid.
It was a wood, by monkeys haunted,
A race, by man and beaſt undaunted;
No poor baboons and vulgar apes,
But monkeys of ſuperior order,
Whom in their actions as their ſhapes,
Ev'n bigots own on men to border:
Monkeys, who, were they ſo inclin'd,
(Their countrymen, the negroes, tell us)
Could plainly, as their human fellows
At Paris, jabber out their mind;
But they keep ſilence from mere knavery,
For fear of being ſent to ſlavery;
And rather than juſt croſs the ſeas
For a Domingo education,
There live content with ſavage eaſe,
Owning no ſovereign but the nation.
Our pedlar thought he now might ſteal
A little reſpite from his labours,

No

Nor any terror did he feel
(He was a ſtranger) from his neighbours;
So from among his wares he drew
A packet of red caps, and tried 'em,
Selected one that ſeem'd to do,
And left the reſt, where he untied 'em:
Then for a pillow plac'd his pack,
And ſnor'd ſecurely on his back:
One moment; and no church was faſter;
Which was the cauſe of his diſaſter.
The monkeys had obſerv'd the man:
At once Chimpanzees, Jockos, Baris,
From every corner, every clan
Around the ſpot tumultuous ran,
Like philoſophic mobs at Paris
Bent to demoliſh without ſtop
A palace, or a baker's ſhop.
Our wild philoſophers, by acclamation,
Like them, ſoon voted crimes againſt the nation;
Nor waiting trial, and all that,
Juſt cried, "Halloo, ariſtocrat!"
And of his caps made inſtant confiſcation,
—But he ſlept ſweetly all the while,
Nor dreamt of man's or monkey's guile.
Theſe confiſcators were a party,
Whoſe faction rul'd the monkey ſtate;
All to the nation ſtaunch and hearty;
All to their king profeſſing hate:
At whoſe reſolves, in club aſſembled,
The monarch in his priſon trembled:
—For theſe ſame monkeys had a king,
Kept like a monſter in a ſtring.
And now above, among the branches,
The club were ſquatting on their haunches;
Each with his cap upon his head,
Puffing his cheeks to look the bigger,
Proud of his little rag of red;—
They made a moſt tremendous figure.
'Twas ludicrous to ſee the rout
They kept about theſe caps of freedom;
—For that's the name which they decreed 'em—
[*] One monkey only was without.
He roſe and bow'd to his ſuperiors;
But, ere he hazarded his caſe,
Pull'd, with all gravity of face,
A cap from under his poſteriors;

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[*] See the deſcription of Mr. Dumourier at the Jacobin club, in the Morning Chronicle of March 26th, 1792.

Thus dreſs'd, he ventur'd to begin;
"Brothers and friends!" he faintly ſtammer'd;
Then gave a ſhrug, and then a grin,
Began again, and hack'd, and hammer'd [*].

* * * * * * * * * * *

His ſpeech was follow'd by applauſe;
All chatter'd, grinn'd, and clapp'd their paws:
In ſhort, they made ſo wild a racket,
The man was waken'd in a fright,
And, ſtaring with half-open ſight,
Perceiv'd the pillage of his packet.
What could he do? By throwing ſtones
He thought to get his goods and chattels.
A ſhow'r of ſticks in anſwer rattles:
And ſoon he learn'd, that broken bones
Were all he muſt expect from battles.
But art has many a time prevail'd
Where violence before had fail'd.
He was a young Peripatetic,
Nor knew what Ariſtotle ſays of man;
But this he knew, the monkey clan
Are in their natures all mimetic.
So, for the gentle air of love,
He chang'd his geſtures of defiance;
With arms outſpread he look'd above,
As offering friendſhip and alliance;
And his conditions to propound,
Advancing, caſt his cap upon the ground.
Peace in a moment reign'd, where all was riot:
The monkeys, caught by his device,
Their caps diſcarded in a trice,
And let him pick and pack them up in quiet.
Thought he, "If I have any brains,
"My honeſt friends, you yet may pay for plunder.
"When all is over, count your gains:
"Only beware next time you make no blunder."
Another packet from his wares
He drew and open'd;—knives and razors:
Thence with due flouriſhes and airs,
Surrounded by ten thouſand gazers,
A razor in his hand he took,
And tho' he never por'd on Plato,
At the drawn weapon ſmil'd, like Cato
Puzzled between his ſword and book.
And now, as jugglers at beginning
Shew every clown each cup and ball,

---

[*] A parody of Mr. Dumourier's ſpeech followed here in the tale, but we
omitted it, as being an alluſion of a temporary nature.

W

While round the ſavages ſtood grinning,
He ſhew'd the razor's edge to all;
Now ſeem'd acroſs his throat to draw it:
The monkeys would have ſworn they ſaw it.
But monkeys now and then are wrong,
When poſitive in their own notion:
For ſhifting with a dextrous motion
His hand, he paſs'd the back along.
Then roll'd his eyes, like one delighted,
With various anticks, on pretence,
As if ſome ſtrangely-pleaſing ſenſe
The razor's tickling touch excited.
At laſt he ſunk upon his ſide
As to repoſe, well ſatisfied.
The razors left at their diſcretion,
The maſter, as they thought, aſleep;
The monkeys their old morals keep,
And hurry round to take poſſeſſion.
Each ſeiz'd a razor; to his throat
Each, like the man, his razor lifted,
Only they juſt forgot to note
How he his hand and razor ſhifted;
Each grinn'd and gaſh'd the razor in,
Which caus'd another ſort of grin:
They fell; and as the blood was trickling,
Perceiv'd themſelves both knaves and fools,
Who playing with ill-gotten tools,
Cut their own throats by way of tickling.
What they had done our hero ſpied,
And up he ſtarted. "By your favors,
"I thought you, Sirs, more cunning ſhavers:"
As he reclaim'd his goods, he cried.
"But come, make honeſt reſtitution:
"My razors by deſign I left,
"That crimes might meet juſt retribution,
"And thieves be puniſh'd by their theft."

Lines written at Southampton. *From Poems by the Rev.* W. L. Bowles.

SMOOTH went our boat upon the ſummer ſeas,
Leaving (for ſo it ſeem'd) the world behind,
It's ſounds of mingled uproar: we, reclin'd
Upon the ſunny deck, heard but the breeze
That o'er us whiſpering paſs'd, or idly play'd
With the lithe flag aloft. A woodland ſcene
On either ſide drew its ſlope line of green,
And hung the waters ſhining edge with ſhade.

Above the woods, NETLEY! thy ruins pale
Peer'd, as we paſs'd; and VECTA's* azure hue
Beyond the miſty caſtle † met the view;
Where in mid channel hung the ſcarce-ſeen ſail.
So all was calm and ſunſhine as we went
Cheerily o'er the briny element.
Oh! were this little boat to us the world,
As thus we wander'd far from ſounds of care,
Circled with friends and gentle maidens fair,
Whilſt morning airs the waving pennant curl'd;
How ſweet were life's long voyage, till in peace
We gain'd that haven ſtill, where all things ceaſe!

Extract from The Grave of Howard, *a Poem. By the ſame.*

HOWARD! it matters not, that far away
From Albion's peaceful ſhore thy bones decay.
Him it might pleaſe, by whoſe ſuſtaining hand
Thy ſteps were led through many a diſtant land,
Thy long and laſt abode ſhould there be found,
Where many a ſavage nation prowls around;
That virtue from the hallow'd ſpot might riſe,
And pointing to the finiſh'd ſacrifice,
Teach to the roving Tartar's ſullen clan
Leſſons of love, and higher aims of man.
The hoary chieftain, who thy tale ſhall hear,
Pale on thy grave ſhall drop his fault'ring ſpear;
The cold, unpitying Coſſack thirſt no more
To bathe his burning faulchion deep in gore,
Relentleſs to the cry of carnage ſpeed,
Or urge o'er gaſping heaps his panting ſteed!
Nor vain the thought that fairer hence may riſe
New views of life, and wider charities.
Far from the bleak Riphéan mountains hoar,
From the cold Don, and Wolga's wand'ring ſhore,
From many a ſhady foreſt's lengthening tract,
From many a dark-deſcending cataract,
Succeeding tribes ſhall come, and o'er the place
Where ſleeps the general friend of human race,
Inſtruct their children what a debt they owe,
Speak of the man who trod the paths of woe;
Then bid them to their native woods depart,
With new-born virtue aching at their heart.
When o'er the ſounding Euxine's ſtormy tides
In hoſtile pomp the Turk's proud navy rides,

---

* Iſle of Wight. † Kelſhot Caſtle.

Bent on the frontiers of th' Imperial Czar
To pour the tempeſt of vindictive war;
If onward to thoſe ſhores they haply ſteer
Where, HOWARD, thy cold duſt repoſes near,
Whilſt o'er the wave the ſilken pennants ſtream,
And ſeen far off the golden creſcents gleam,
Amid the pomp of war, the ſwelling breaſt
Shall feel a ſtill unwonted awe impreſs'd,
And the relenting Pagan turn aſide
To think, on yonder ſhore the *Chriſtian* died!
But thou, O Briton, doom'd perhaps to roam
An exile many a year, and far from home,
If ever fortune thy lone footſteps leads
To the wild Nieper's banks, and whiſp'ring reeds,
O'er HOWARD's grave thou ſhalt impaſſion'd bend,
As if to hold ſad converſe with a friend.
Whate'er thy fate upon this various ſcene,
Where'er thy weary pilgrimage has been,
There ſhalt thou pauſe; and ſhutting from thy heart
Some vain regrets, that oft unbidden ſtart,
Think upon him to every lot reſign'd,
Who wept, who toil'd, who periſh'd for mankind.
For me, who muſing, HOWARD, on thy fate,
Theſe penſive ſtrains at evening meditate,
I thank thee for the leſſons thou haſt taught
To mend my heart, or animate my thought.
I thank thee, HOWARD, for that awful view
Of life which thou haſt drawn, moſt ſad, moſt true.
Thou art no more! and the frail fading bloom
Of this poor offering dies upon thy tomb;
Beyond the tranſient ſound of earthly praiſe,
Thy virtues live, perhaps, in ſeraph's lays!
I, borne in thought to the wild Nieper's wave,
Sigh to the reeds that whiſper o'er thy grave.

Song of Triumph after a Battle. From Songs of the Aboriginal Bards of Britain, *by* George Richards, A. M.

BY glory rous'd, and touch'd with nobler fires,
The bards in holy fury ſeize their lyres;

Ye ſhades of heroes, nobly ſlain,
Fighting for your native plain;
Sons of war, who bravely ſped,
Boadicea at your head;
If your ſouls, return'd to light,
Chaſe the wolf down Snowdon's height,

Or muſe on blood in caverns drear,
Or poiſe in darkſome groves the ſpear;
Come, behold the radiant flame *,
That ſpeaks the glory of our name.
On Skiddaw's ſummit mid the ſkies,
Let the blazing pile ariſe,
That o'er the mountains, dark in night,
Wide may ſtream the glorious light.
Hark! the huge clefts of Borrowdale,
And lonely Derwent's peaceful vale,
Repeat the dying ſufferer's mournful wail.
Lo! wild Lodore her thundering torrent ſtills,
To hear the diſtant groans roll down the midnight hills.

Each groan, O vanquiſh'd Rome,
All-mournful knells thy doom.

In yellow Tiber's orange ſhades
Cæſar's pining form ſhall lie,
And caſt on diſtant Rome a tearful eye,
And ſhuddering ſeem to hear the claſh of Albion's blades.
Revenge ſhall hunt your raſhly-daring band,
To your own viny hills and olive land;
Our bark ſhall ride your hoſtile main,
Our ſcythed chariots ſhake your hateful plain,
And o'er your ſeven proud hills gleam many a flaming brand.

With burning breaſts the warriors catch the ſound,
And raiſe a yell profound,
And claſh their gory ſhields,
And point with ſinewy arm Heſperia's ſouthern fields.

With alter'd ſtrain, in meaſures ſoft and ſlow,
The minſtrels melt the tender heart to woe.
Morcar's breaſt has ceas'd to beat;
Gaſh'd with ſpears the warrior lies;
Bold he turn'd the baſe retreat,
Gain'd the day, and clos'd his eyes.
The wounds that ſcar his manly breaſt,
Like blood-ſtain'd trophies, grace his bier;
Yet Nature views the ſcene depreſs'd,
And ſilent falls a pitying tear.

Empty beneath yon oak his car is caſt,
Stretch'd o'er the mead his courſers breathleſs lie;
Remembrance wakes the glorious triumphs paſt,
And fills with tender grief the gazing eye.

---

* It was the cuſtom with the Aboriginal Britons to ſacrifice their priſoners.

No more beneath the morning ſun,
With dazzling helm, in Nature's pride,
The warrior down the rocks ſhall run,
His faulchion glittering at his ſide.

Near yonder brook ſhall reſt his bones,
His gory axe beſide him laid;
The ſpot be mark'd by moſſy ſtones;
And tears of warriors wet the blade.

With bended forms the mourning chieftains ſtand,
And gaze the paly corſe with ſtedfaſt eye,
And ſilent muſe on frail mortality;—
And ſofteſt ſorrow melts the ſympathetic band.

Abruptly in triumphant ſtrain
The minſtrels ſtrike their lyres again:
Morcar, warriors, is not dead,
He again ſhall rear his head,
Lift the axe, and dye with blood
Wide Sabrina's ſandy flood.
For long as Cambria's ſtreams ſhall run
Sparkling to the golden ſun,
Thro' warrior-forms, from frame to frame,
The ſoul ſhall deathleſs ſhift its flame.
Ye, who to wilds and northern mountains fled,
In keener ſkies make the hard rocks your bed,
Shall viſit earth in happier day,
On Thames's cultur'd margin play;
Shall wear the laurels which ye won of yore,
And taſte the freedom purchas'd by your gore.

Ode as performed at the Altar of Diſcord; by Edward Drewe, *Eſq. From the firſt Volume of Poems chiefly by Gentlemen of* Devonſhire *and* Cornwall.

RECITATIVE.

PREPARE, prepare, the myſtic rites prepare!
On high the emblazon'd magic ſtandard rear;
Whilſt we with notes anti-harmonious, raiſe
Our jarring voice to ſacred Diſcord's praiſe.

AIR.

Hear, oh! ſacred goddeſs, hear:
To thy throne we lift our prayer,
If enſhrin'd above the pole,
Where the rumbling thunders roll,
Thou reign'ſt: or in yon duſky ſky
Where the whirring whirlwinds fly:—
Or if more thou doſt delight,
Spouſe of *Chaos!* child of night!

Thy primeval throne to keep
In the dark and hoary deep,
Where with atom atom jars
Ceaſeleſs ruin, ceaſeleſs wars;
Where the din of pealing ſounds,
Ancient nature's ſelf aſtounds,
And forces far away to fly
The powers of hateful harmony;
Hear, oh! ſacred Goddeſs, hear,
Accept our vows, and grant our prayer.

CHORUS.

Hear, Goddeſs, hear,
Sacred Goddeſs, hear,
Accept our vows, and grant our prayer.

AIR *continued.*

Or by ſome foreſt's ſhaggy ſide,
From haunts of men and muſic wide,
Thou ſitt'ſt beneath the blaſted oak,
Enamour'd of the raven's croak;
Whilſt ſounds terrific ſoothe thine ear;
The mandrake's ſhriek, the grunt of bear,
The piercing ſcream of boding owl,
And famiſh'd tiger's ſullen howl;
Hear, oh! ſacred Goddeſs, hear,
Accept our vows, and grant our prayer.

CHORUS.

Hear, Goddeſs, hear, &c.

AIR *continued.*

Or if more thou art wont to dwell
In the miner's darkling cell,
Where thy empire he maintains,
With * creak of wheel and clank of chains:
Or if more thou art wont to ſport
In the city's wide reſort,
Where ſounds unnumber'd mix in air,
Concert well pleaſing to thine ear;
The tripe-girl's ſcream, the fiſh-wife's bawl,
And ballad-ſingers hideous ſquall;
Hammer's jangle, anvil's jar,
Rumbling cart, and rattling car,

---

* Alluding to the fire-engine.

Grating ſaw, and grinding knife,
* And Flora's veſtals' vocal ſtrife;
Whilſt from roof of lonely houſe,
Terror of the trembling mouſe,
Grimalkin to his tabby tells
His ardent love in hideous yells.
Hear, oh! ſacred Goddeſs, hear, &c.

CHORUS.

Hear, Goddeſs, hear, &c.

AIR *continued.*

Or if thou delighteſt more
In *Boſtonia*'s favour'd ſhore,
By the power diſcordant won
Of thy darling F———n,
When (the hero ſeated high
Crown'd with paper canopy)
Diſcord's own celeſtial fire
Does his generous breaſt inſpire,
Untunes his voice, diſtends his throat
With her harſheſt happieſt note:
His brethren all, in wild amaze,
Aſtoniſh'd hear, aſtoniſh'd gaze;
They mark his voice, they mark his eye,
And own the preſent deity.
Hear, oh! ſacred Goddeſs, hear, &c.

CHORUS.

Hear, Goddeſs, hear, &c.

RECITATIVE.

Ceaſe, brethren, ceaſe, the ſacred ſong is done;
By other rites ſage Diſcord muſt be won:
Let all with ſtep irregular advance,
And ſupplicate the Goddeſs by a dance.

AIR, *briſk.*

But let no juſt or well-tim'd grace
Betray a rebel nature:
Shew no regard to time or tune,
In action, ſtep, or feature.
But let your nimbly twinkling feet
Bound briſk to ſloweſt meaſure;
The Goddeſs bends from off her throne,
And views our dance with pleaſure.
[*Here a quick dance to ſlow time.*

---

* Squabble among the flower-girls.

RECITATIVE.

Now breathe your inſtruments their harſheſt ſound,
Such as the ear of harmony ſhall wound;
Let your wild notes in full concerto riſe,
And with fell Diſcord's voice aſſault the affrighted ſkies.

AIR.

[*As each inſtrument is mentioned it ſtrikes up, until the whole forms one grand concerto, which continues playing to the end of the air.*]

Firſt whilſt famed Pringelio * ſings,
Scrape the fiddle's † jarring ſtrings.
Next to Diſcord's favourite tune,
Drily drone the dull baſſoon ‡:
Let the bladder § ſtring be bent,
Diſcord's darling inſtrument.
Now with unharmonious note
The penny cuckow || ſwells its throat;
The horn || in voice diſcordant ſpeaks,
And the ruddy trumpet || ſqueaks.
Hark! the pealing choir aſcends,
See the vaulted temple rends,
Nature ſtarts with wild affright,
Trembles chaos, trembles night:
Gods above the ſtarry ſphere
The hideous din aſtoniſht hear,
The thunderer forſakes his throne,
And Diſcord claims it as her own.

RECITATIVE.

But hark! I hear the rapid, ¶ rapid beat,
The modern drummer's fam'd retreat,
Amidſt the tipping tap of pitting patting drums,
Diſcord, long wiſh'd-for Goddeſs, comes.

CHORUS.

Amidſt the tipping tap, &c. &c.

RECITATIVE.

All kneel with me, your hands uplifted rear,
And to the Goddeſs raiſe your ſupplicating prayer.

---

* Lieut. Pringle, firſt ſinger to the lodge, of the 35th regiment.
† A child's fiddle. ‡ A paper baſſoon. § A new inſtrument.
|| Toys. ¶ A very ridiculous method of beating the retreat, made uſe of in the army.

AIR.

AIR.

Oh! Diſcord, ſacred Goddeſs, hear,
And bleſs each faithful ſervant,
Whilſt muſic's powers we all forſwear,
Of thy decrees obſervant.

When ſullen ſound in ether floats,
Whilſt curfew bells are ringing,
Grant us to hear melodious notes,
As nightingales were ſinging.

When pealing organs' awful ſound
Would lift the ſoul to heaven;
Grant us aghaſt to ſtare around,
As if a rock was riven.

When ſofteſt touch of breathing flute
Pours forth the ſtrain melodious,
Grant us to hear the aſs's hoot,
To muſic's ſons moſt odious!

When ballad-ſingers ſqualling tear
Their lungs with notes moſt hideous,
Grant us ſweet MILLICO * to hear;
A ſinger moſt prodigious.

Oh, ſacred Goddeſs! child of night!
We bend us to thy pleaſure;
We ſacrifice to thy delight
All voice, and tune, and meaſure.

Then on us all thy bleſſings ſhow'r,
Be all our pains requited;
Reſtore us each harmonious power,
In Friendſhip's bands united.

And hence with all melodious ſtrains,
Struck out of that or this cord;
'Tis here alone true muſic reigns,
And gains the palm from Diſcord.

The Half-peeled Turnip, a Tale. By the ſame. From the ſecond Volume of the ſame.

THE rain it is coming down faſt,
The frogs they are hopping around;
The ſeaſon of drought it is paſt,
The earth-worms crawl out of the ground:
The ants, that ſo crept up the trees,
Are all now retir'd to their neſt;
Snug in hive ſtay the flower-loving bees,
'Tis holiday all, and 'tis reſt:

---

* MILLICO was, at the time this ode was compoſed, the moſt favourite ſinger at the Opera-Houſe in London.

The rook no more caws in the grove,
   Nor the wood-dove ſhe maketh her moan;
All dull is the ſeaſon of love,
   And Corydon's pleaſure is flown:
For Phillis had promis'd to meet—
   All down in the dew-ſprinkled vale;
But he ſaw not the prints of her feet,
   He ſaw not the marks of her pail:

The rain had kept Phillis at home,
   To catch a ſad cold was her fear;
Her mother forbid her to roam,
   So ſhe ſat by the fire in her chair.
Sad Corydon put on his hat,
   And hied him away to her houſe;
At the door he eſpied the lov'd cat,—
   The cat had been ſeeking a mouſe:

" Pretty puſſy," ſays he, " are you wet?
   " Alas! let me open the door;
" Were I, like fond puſſy, a pet,
   " My breaſt would feel ſorrow no more!"
The cat he did cock up his tail,
   He purr'd, and he rubb'd on his leg:
" Dear puſſy! ah, could I prevail,
   " One favour of thee would I beg—

" Go pur, and go rub in my love,
   " By mewing expreſs what I feel;
" Oh! try that hard boſom to move,
   " I'll give thee a ſupper on eel."
As Phillis now ſat by the fire,
   She heard the fond ſhepherd complain,
And kindly ſaid, ' Swain, I deſire
   ' That you will come out of the rain.'

He caught up the cat in his arms,
   Her ſummons ſo proud to obey;
For Phillis, dear Phillis, had charms,
   And ſo all the ſhepherds would ſay.
" Dear Phillis," ſays he, " how dye do?"
   As ſoon as ſhe heard the ſwain ſpeak,
' Kind ſhepherd,' ſays ſhe, ' how are are you?'
   And the bluſhes, they cover'd her cheek:

' Ah! why would you ſtay out of door?
   ' Ah! why in the rain would you wait?
' See the poker, it lies on the floor,
   ' Pray ſtir up the coals in the grate.'

"Ah! why ſhould I poke up the fire?
"Or why ſhould I ſtir up the coal?
"What is coal to my ardent deſire?
"What is fire to the fire of my ſoul?

"So would flame yonder new-made hay-ſtack,
"If with candle the hay you ſhould touch;
"So the kidney be ſcorch'd and turn black,
"Which the cook-maid has griddled too much:
"So the cook-maid, if ſpit will not turn,
"Will roaſt on one ſide all her meat:
"So with froſt aching, chilblains will burn,
"Which little girls have on their feet."

'Oh! talk not of chilblains,' ſhe cries,
'But aid me, kind ſhepherd, I pray;
'This turnip my patience defies,
'It will not be peeled to-day.
'Ah, ſhepherd! if love ſway thy breaſt
'By this fond requeſt I ſhall ſee;
'Oh! give my tir'd fingers ſome reſt,
'And peel the tough turnip for me.'

He took out his knife in a trice—
The knife it was crooked and keen,
He gave to the turnip a ſlice,
A ſlice ſuch as never was ſeen:
The turnip was peeled well nigh,
The mother was feeding the hogs,
When, ah! ſhe return'd from the ſty,
The ſwain knew the ſound of her clogs!

All hurry'd he ran out of door,
And took not his hat in his hand;
The turnip roll'd down on the floor,
And Phillis was quite at a ſtand.
Home went Corydon, heartily ſoak'd,
Poor Phillis was lock'd up in ſpite;
So the fire, it no longer was pok'd,
Nor the turnip was peel'd for the night!

Elegy written in the Tower, by John Harington, *confined with the Princeſs* Elizabeth, *in* 1554. *From the Third Vol. of* Nugæ Antiquæ.

I.

THE lyfe is long that lothſomely dothe laſt,
The doleful days draw ſlowly to their date;

The preſent pange or painful plage, ſcarce paſt,
  But ſome new greif, ſtill green, doth marr our ſtate.
In all we find midſt this world's ſtorme and ſtryfe,
Sure death is ſweete, that ſhortythe ſuch a lyfe.

II.

The pleaſaunte years that ſome ſo ſwiftelye runne,
  The merrie daies to end ſo faſte that fleete,
The riot-night which day draws on ſo ſoone,
  The happie hours which more do miſſe than meete;
Do all conſume lyke ſnow kyſs'd by the ſunne,
And death ſoon ends all that vain lyfe begunne.

III.

Death is a porte whereby we paſs to joye,
  Lyfe is a lake that drownethe all in payne;
Death is ſo dear it killeth all annoye,
  Lyfe is ſo lewd that all it yeilds is vayne,
For, as by lyfe to bondage man was broughte,
Even ſo by deathe all freedom too was wroughte.

The Monckis Complaynte to Alma Mater, *touchyng dyverſe newe Matters wrought in* Oxenforde Cytie. *By Dr.* HARINGTON, *of* Bath.

WHIE, holie modher, whie doth ruthleſs honde
  Thus ſmyte thie [*] gates of hoarie majeſtie,
Workyng rude ſpoyle, wheere Science kepte her ſtonde,
Contente to flowte all gawdie fantaſie?
Staie, holie modher, ſtaie ſoch vanitee,
Albe ſoe trymm, this nought beſeemeth thee.

No goodlie ſyghte of [†] *bedeſmannes* connyng *celle*,
Wheare urchyn Wyſdome crawlyd forth thie lappe!
No [‡] *ſturdie porche*, wheare valour's *chylde* dyd dwelle,
Swyl'yng his lore from owte thie plenteous pappe!
Staie, holie modher, ſtaie ſoch vanitee,
Albe ſoe trymm, this naught beſeemeth thee.

Att wonted noone, thie [§] *trenchermenne* unſeene;
Att eve, unheard thie [‖] *chawnte* of godlie tonge.
More godlie farr ſoch holie chawnte, I weene,
Thann mottrying clerke wyth maſſe ne ſayde, ne ſonge.
Staie, holie modher, ſtaie ſoch vanitee
Albe ſoe trymm, this naught beſeemeth thee.

[*] The city gates, all taken down.
[†] Friar Bacon's ſtudy.
[‡] Queen's old gateway, over which was the room of Henry Vth.
[§] Twelve, the uſual hour of dinner, now changed to three.
[‖] Chaunting the ſervice, aboliſhed in the choirs.

Nyghtes ſterrie hoſte in ſteadie pathe doth byde,
Ne ſoffreth chaunge thilk lampe, whych ruleth daie;
O lett not ſhowe of mortals wytleſſe pryde
Bedymm thie heavenlie cowrſe, ſweete ſainct, wee praie.
Staie, holie modher, ſtaie all vanitee,
Ne be moe trymm, thann erſte beſeemed thee.

SENTIMENTAL SONNET.

Written when my Charmer was wandering far from Home on a very ſnowy Day.

HARK! the ſhrill blaſt keen o'er my piggery blows,
While to the whimperings of the plaintive ſwine
All woe-begone I anſwer, whine for whine,
My Emma's abſence murdering my repoſe!

Ev'n now perchance ſhe wades through drifted ſnows,
No Henry near, around her neck to twine,
Warm her blue lips, or kiſs the tears, that ſhine
In icy ſplendor on her burniſh'd noſe!

Oh! ye, who reign joint-rivals in her heart,
Pompey, Puſs, Poll, with hapleſs Henry wail;
Bear in my ſorrows, as my loſs, your part:

No more may Emma's hand deck Pompey's tail;
Stroke purring Puſs, till fires electric dart,
Or ſcratch thee, itching Poll, with patient nail!

Account of Books for 1792.

The Hiſtory of Philoſophy, from the earlieſt Times to the beginning of the preſent Century; drawn up from Brucker's Hiſtoria Critica Philoſophiæ. *By* William Enfield, LL. D. *In Two Volumes,* 4*to.*

THE induſtrious author of theſe volumes is juſtly entitled to the gratitude of the public for the pains which he has taken, in transferring into our own language the ſubſtance of a very important publication, hitherto inacceſſible to the mere Engliſh reader. Brucker's Hiſtoria Critica Philoſophiæ has been long known to the literary world, and has deſervedly attained a ſolid and eſtabliſhed reputation. The preſent production profeſſes not to be a direct tranſlation of this celebrated work, but rather a faithful repreſentation of its true meaning and ſpirit. A more complete tranſlation of the whole, occaſionally curtailing the redundance, and compreſſing the prolixity of the original, would perhaps have appeared preferable, could Dr. Enfield have flattered himſelf with the hope of obtaining patrons for ſo arduous an undertaking, or readers for ſuch a bulky publication. As it is, the volumes, with which we are preſented, may be conſidered as no mean acquiſition to our ſtock of Engliſh literature.

"Upon a careful peruſal of this hiſtory, (Dr. Enfield obſerves) I found it a vaſt magazine of important facts, collected with indefatigable induſtry, digeſted with admirable perſpicuity of method, and written with every appearance of candour and impartiality. I regretted that ſo valuable a fund of information ſhould be acceſſible only to thoſe who had learning, leiſure, and perſeverance ſufficient, to read in Latin ſix cloſely printed quarto volumes, containing on the average about a thouſand pages each. I thought I could not render my countrymen better ſervice, than by taking upon myſelf to become, in this inſtance, their reader; and determined to undertake the taſk of communicating to them, in their vernacular tongue, the ſubſtance of this great, and, as it appeared to me, valuable work."

This Hiſtory of Philoſophy is divided into three periods. The firſt commences from the earlieſt times, and extends to the decline of the Roman republic: the ſecond from the decline of the Roman republic to the revival of letters: the third from the revival of letters to the beginning of the preſent century. The firſt period comprehends the account of, 1. the Barbaric Philoſophy; and 2. the Grecian Philoſophy. Under the appellation of Barbaric Philoſophy, is included the philoſophy of the eaſtern nations (the Hebrews, Chaldeans, Perſians, Indians, Arabians, and Phœnicians); of the ſouthern nations (the Egyptians and Phœnicians); of the weſtern nations (the Celts and Etrurians, with the ancient Romans); and of the northern nations, or Scythians. As our knowledge of ſo remote a period muſt be of courſe extremely imperfect, the whole account of the philoſophy of theſe different nations occupies but a ſmall portion of the firſt volume, the greateſt part of which is aſſigned to a tolerably comprehenſive view of the Grecian philoſophy.

The Grecian philoſophy is conſidered under the three heads of the fabulous, the political, and the ſectarian; the two firſt of which are comprized in a few pages only, while the laſt fills the remainder of the volume. In the ſectarian philoſophy, the two leading ſchools which are noticed, are termed the Ionic and the Italic. The Ionic ſchool is ſubdivided into the Ionic ſect proper, of which Thales was the author—the Socratic ſchool—the Cyrenaic ſect, founded by Ariſtippus—the Megaric, or Eriſtic ſect, by Euclid, of Megara—the Eliac, or Eretriac ſect, by Phædo, of Elis—the Academic ſect, by Plato—the Peripatetic ſect, by Ariſtotle—the Cynic ſect, by Antiſthenes—and the Stoic ſect, by Zeno. The Italic ſchool contains the Italic ſect proper, which was eſtabliſhed by Pythagoras—the Eleatic ſect, of which Xenophanes was the author—the Heraclitean ſect, which took its denomination from Heraclitus—the Epicurean, a branch of the Eleatic, which was ſo named from Epicurus—and the Pyrrhonic, or Sceptic ſect, founded by Pyrrho.

The ſecond volume commences with the next period; comprehending, 1. the philoſophy of the Romans, both before the eſtabliſhment of their monarchy, and during its exiſtence;—2. the oriental philoſophy, which aroſe a little before the Chriſtian æra;—3. the philoſophy of the Jews, after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity;—4. the philoſophy of the Saracens or Arabians;—and, 5. the philoſophy of Chriſtians, from the birth of Chriſt to the ſeventh century, and from the ſeventh century to the revival of letters. With the revival of letters, begins the third and laſt period, which has three principal diviſions, compriſing, 1. attempts to reſtore and correct the Sectarian philoſophy;—2. attempts to introduce new methods of philoſophizing by modern ſceptics, ſcriptural philoſophers, Theoſophiſts, and by men, who are termed profeſſed enemies to all philoſophy;—and, 3. attempts to improve philoſophy in the true Eclectic method. Under the laſt head, we find a ſub-diviſion into Eclectic philoſophers, who have endeavoured to improve philoſophy in general; and Eclectic philoſophers, who have endeavoured to improve particular branches of it, as logic, metaphyſics, morals, juriſprudence, and natural philoſophy.

The following reflections on the writings of Homer, occur in the hiſtory of the fabulous Grecian philoſophy.

“ Without detailing the extravagant encomiums paſſed upon Homer by ſome of his panegyriſts, who have ſuppoſed him a perfect maſter of ſciences and arts, and called him the prince of philoſophers; and, without adopting the fanciful notion of Juſtin Martyr, who ſuppoſed, that Homer borrowed many things from Moſes, and found, in his poems, the creation of the world, the tower of Babel, and the devils caſt out of heaven, it muſt be allowed that he poſſeſſed as much knowledge as was to be expected from an individual at the period in which he lived. But his works were written merely as a diſplay of poetical genius, without any deſign of delivering precepts of religion, philoſophy, or the arts, farther than as they incidentally aroſe from his ſubject. Nothing therefore can be more abſurd, than the attempts of ſome critics, who have poſſeſſed more learning and ſcience than taſte, to reſt the merit of Homer upon the extent of his knowledge. An antient encomiaſt * upon Homer, proves him to have poſſeſſed a perfect knowledge of nature, and to have been the author of the doctrine of Thales and Xenophanes, that water is the firſt principle of all things, from his having called Oceanus the parent of nature; and infers, that he was acquainted with Empedocles' doctrine of friendſhip and diſcord, from the viſit which Juno pays to Oceanus and Thetis to ſettle their diſpute: becauſe Homer repreſents Neptune as ſhaking the earth, he concludes him to have been well acquainted with the cauſes of earthquakes; and becauſe he ſpeaks of the great bear as never touching the horizon, he makes him an eminent aſtronomer.

"The truth is, the knowledge of nature, which poetry deſcribes, is very different from that which belongs to the philoſopher. It would be eaſy to prove, from the beautiful ſimiles of Homer, that he was an accurate obſerver of natural appearances; and to ſhow from his delineation of characters, that he was intimately acquainted with human nature. But he is not, on this account, to be ranked with natural philoſophers or moraliſts. Much pains have been taken to prove, that Homer expreſſes juſt and ſublime conceptions of the divine nature. And it will be acknowledged, that in ſome paſſages, he ſpeaks of Jupiter in language which may not improperly be applied to the Supreme Deity. But, if the whole fable of Jupiter, as it is repreſented in Homer, be fairly examined, it will be very evident, either that he had not juſt conceptions of the divine nature, or that he did not mean to expreſs them in the portrait which he has drawn of the ſon of Saturn, the huſband of Juno, and the preſident of the council of Olympus. It would ſurely have been too great a monopoly of perfection, if the firſt poet in the world had alſo been the firſt philoſopher."

The account of the accuſation and death of Socrates is given in very circumſtantial and affecting language. After an high eulogy on his philoſophical merits, public ſervices, and private virtues, the narration thus proceeds.

"From this time, Socrates continued, for many years, to purſue without interruption his laudable deſign of inſtructing and reforming his fellow citizens. At length, however, when the inflexible integrity with which he had diſcharged the duty of a ſenator, and the firmneſs with which he had oppoſed every kind of political corruption and op-

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* Galæi Opuſc. Mythol. p. 283.

preſſion, both under the democracy and the oligarchy, had greatly increaſed the number of his enemies; the conſpiracy, which had long been concerted againſt his life, was reſumed. After the diſſolution of the tyranny, clandeſtine arts were employed to raiſe a general prejudice againſt him. The people were induſtriouſly reminded, that Critias, who had been one of the moſt cruel of the thirty tyrants, and Alcibiades, who had inſulted religion by defacing the public ſtatues of Mercury *, and performing a mock repreſentation of the Eleuſinian myſteries, had, in their youth, been diſciples of Socrates.

“ The minds of the people being thus artfully prepared for the ſequel, the enemies of Socrates preferred a direct accuſation againſt him before the ſupreme court of judicature. His accuſers were Anytus, a leather-dreſſer, who had long entertained a perſonal enmity againſt Socrates, for reprehending his avarice, in depriving his ſons of the benefits of learning, that they might purſue the gains of trade; Melitus, a young rhetorician, who was capable of undertaking any thing for the ſake of gain; and Lycon, who was glad of any opportunity of diſplaying his talents. The accuſation, which was delivered to the ſenate under the name of Melitus, was this: “ Melitus, ſon of Melitus, of the tribe of Pythos, accuſeth Socrates, ſon of Sophroniſcus, of the tribe of Alopece. Socrates violates the laws, in not acknowledging the gods which the ſtate acknowledges, and by introducing new divinities. He alſo violates the laws by corrupting the youth. Be his puniſhment DEATH †.”

“ This charge was delivered upon oath to the ſenate; and Crito, a friend of Socrates, became ſurety for his appearance on the day of trial. Anytus, ſoon afterwards, ſent a private meſſage to Socrates, aſſuring him, that if he would deſiſt from cenſuring his conduct, he would withdraw his accuſation. But Socrates refuſed to comply with ſo degrading a condition, and, with his uſual ſpirit replied, “ Whilſt I live I will never diſguiſe the truth, nor ſpeak otherwiſe than my duty requires.” The interval between the accuſation and the trial he ſpent in philoſophical converſations with his friends, chuſing to diſcourſe upon any other ſubject, rather than his own ſituation. Hermogenes, one of his friends, was much ſtruck with this circumſtance, and aſked him, why he did not employ his time in preparing his defence: “ Becauſe,” replied Socrates, “ I have never in my life done any think unjuſt.” The eminent orator Lyſias ‡ compoſed an apology, in the name of his maſter, which he requeſted him to adopt; but Socrates excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that, though it was eloquently written, it would not ſuit his character.

“ When the day of trial arrived, his accuſers appeared in the ſenate, and attempted to ſupport their charge in three diſtinct ſpeeches, which ſtrongly marked their reſpective characters. Plato, who was a young man, and a zealous follower of Socrates, then roſe up to addreſs

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* Laert. Plut. in Alcib.

† Laert. Plato in Apologia. Xen. Apol. Mem. l. iv.

‡ Cic. de Orat. l. i. c. 54.

the judges in defence of his maſter: but, whilſt he was attempting to apologiſe for his youth, he was abruptly commanded by the court to ſit down. Socrates, however, needed no advocate. Aſcending the chair with all the ſerenity of conſcious innocence, and with all the dignity of ſuperior merit, he delivered, in a firm and manly tone, an unpremeditated defence of himſelf, which ſilenced his opponents, and ought to have convinced his judges. After tracing the progreſs of the conſpiracy which had been raiſed againſt him to its true ſource, the jealouſy and reſentment of men whoſe ignorance he had expoſed, and whoſe vices he had ridiculed and reproved, he diſtinctly replied to the ſeveral charges brought againſt him by Melitus. To prove that he had not been guilty of impiety towards the gods of his country, he appealed to his frequent practice of attending the public religious feſtivals. The crime of introducing new divinities, with which he was charged, chiefly, as it ſeems, on the ground of the admonitions which he profeſſed to have received from an inviſible power, he diſclaimed, by pleading, that it was no new thing for men to conſult the gods, and receive inſtructions from them. To refute the charge of his having been a corrupter of youth, he urged, the example which he had uniformly exhibited of juſtice, moderation and temperance, the moral ſpirit and tendency of his diſcourſes, and the effect which had actually been produced by his doctrine upon the manners of the young. Then, diſdaining to ſolicit the mercy of his judges, he called upon them for that juſtice, which their office and their oath obliged them to adminiſter, and profeſſing his faith and confidence in God, reſigned himſelf to their pleaſure.

« The judges, whoſe prejudices would not ſuffer them to pay due attention to this apology, or to examine with impartiality the merits of the cauſe, immediately declared him guilty of the crimes of which he ſtood accuſed. Socrates, in this ſtage of the trial, had a right to enter his plea againſt the puniſhment which the accuſers demanded, and inſtead of the ſentence of death, to propoſe ſome pecuniary amercement. But he, at firſt, peremptorily refuſed to make any propoſal of this kind, imagining that it might be conſtrued into an acknowledgment of guilt; and aſſerted, that his conduct merited, from the ſtate, reward rather than puniſhment. At length, however, he was prevailed upon by his friends, to offer, upon their credit, a fine of thirty *minæ*. The judges, notwithſtanding, ſtill remained inexorable: they proceeded, without farther delay, to pronounce ſentence upon him; and he was condemned to be put to death by the poiſon of hemlock. Socrates received the ſentence with perfect compoſure, and by a ſmile teſtified his contempt both for his accuſers and his judges. Then, turning to his friends, he expreſſed his entire ſatisfaction in the recollection of his paſt life, and declared himſelf firmly perſuaded, that poſterity would do ſo much juſtice to his memory as to believe, that he had never injured or corrupted any one, but had ſpent his days in ſerving his fellow citizens, by communicating to them, without reward, the precepts of wiſdom. Converſing in this manner, he was conducted from the court to the priſon, which he entered with a ſerene countenance and a lofty mind, amidſt the lamentations of his friends *.

"On the day of the condemnation, it happened that the ſhip, which was employed to carry a cuſtomary annual offering to the iſland of Delos, ſet ſail. It was contrary to the law of Athens, that, during this voyage, any capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted within the city. This circumſtance delayed the execution of the ſentence againſt Socrates for thirty days. So long an interval of painful expectation, however, only ſerved to afford farther ſcope for the diſplay of his conſtancy. When his friends were with him, he converſed with his uſual cheerfulneſs. In their abſence, he amuſed himſelf with writing verſes. He compoſed a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and verſified a fable of Eſop. His friends, ſtill anxious to ſave ſo valuable a life, urged him to attempt his eſcape, or at leaſt to permit them to convey him away; and Crito went ſo far, as to aſſure him that, by his intereſt with the jailor, it might be eaſily accompliſhed, and to offer him a retreat in Theſſaly; but Socrates rejected the propoſal, as a criminal violation of the laws; and aſked them, whether there was any place out of Attica, which death could not reach.

"News being, at length, brought of the return of the ſhip from Delos, the officers, to whoſe care he was committed, delivered to Socrates, early in the morning, the final order for his execution, and immediately, according to the law, ſet him at liberty from his bonds. His friends, who came thus early to the priſon that they might have an opportunity of converſing with their maſter through the day, found his wife ſitting by him with a child in her arms. As ſoon as Xantippe ſaw them, ſhe burſt into tears, and ſaid, "O Socrates! this is the laſt time "your friends will ever ſpeak to "you, or you to them." Socrates, that the tranquillity of his laſt moments might not be diſturbed by her unavailing lamentations, requeſted that ſhe might be conducted home. With the moſt frantic expreſſions of grief, ſhe left the priſon. An intereſting converſation then paſſed between Socrates and his friends, which chiefly turned upon the immortality of the ſoul. In the courſe of this converſation, Socrates expreſſed his diſapprobation of the practice of ſuicide, and aſſured his friends, that his chief ſupport in his preſent ſituation was an expectation, though not unmixed with doubts, of a happy exiſtence after death. "It would be inexcuſable in me," ſaid he, "to deſpiſe death, if I were "not perſuaded that it will conduct "me into the preſence of the gods, "who are the moſt righteous go- "vernors, and into the ſociety of "juſt and good men: but I derive "confidence from the hope, that "ſomething of man remains after "death, and that the condition of "good men will then be much bet- "ter than that of the bad." Crito afterwards aſking him, in what manner he wiſhed to be buried, Socrates replied, with a ſmile, "As you "pleaſe, provided I do not eſcape "out of your hands." Then, turning to the reſt of his friends, he ſaid, "Is it not ſtrange, after "all that I have ſaid to convince "you that I am going to the ſociety "of the happy, that Crito ſtill "thinks this body, which will ſoon

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* Senec. Conſol. ad. Helv. c. 14.

“ be a lifeleſs corpſe, to be So-
“ crates? Let him diſpoſe of my
“ body as he pleaſes, but let him
“ not, at its interment, mourn
“ over it, as if it were Socrates.”

“ Towards the cloſe of the day, Socrates retired into an adjoining apartment to bathe; his friends, in the mean time, expreſſing to one another their grief, at the proſpect of loſing ſo excellent a father, and being left to paſs the reſt of their days in the ſolitary ſtate of orphans. After a ſhort interval, during which he gave ſome neceſſary inſtructions to his domeſtics, and took his laſt leave of his children, the attendant of the priſon informed him, that the time for drinking the poiſon was come. The executioner, though accuſtomed to ſuch ſcenes, ſhed tears as he preſented the fatal cup. Socrates received it without change of countenance, or the leaſt appearance of perturbation: then, offering up a prayer to the gods, that they would grant him a proſperous paſſage into the inviſible world, with perfect compoſure he ſwallowed the poiſonous draught. His friends around him burſt into tears. Socrates alone remained unmoved. He upbraided their puſillanimity, and entreated them to exerciſe a manly conſtancy, worthy of the friends of virtue. He continued walking, till the chilling operation of the hemlock obliged him to lie down upon his bed. After remaining, for a ſhort time, ſilent, he requeſted Crito (probably in order to refute a calumny which might prove injurious to his friends after his deceaſe) not to neglect the offering of a cock which he had vowed to Eſculapius. Then covering himſelf with his cloak, he expired *.—Such was the fate of the virtuous Socrates! A ſtory, ſays Cicero, which I never read without tears †.”

A liberal apology is made for the ſurly virtue of the Cynics; and the character of Epicurus is reſcued from the groſſeſt and moſt unmerited calumny.

“ The ſect of the Cynics, founded by Antiſthenes, is not ſo much to be regarded as a ſchool of philoſophy, as an inſtitution of manners. It was formed, rather for the purpoſe of providing a remedy for the moral diſorders of luxury, ambition, and avarice, than with a view to eſtabliſh any new theory of ſpeculative opinions. The diſciples of Antiſthenes, and other leaders of this ſect, conſidered their maſters, not as authors of any new doctrine, but as patrons of ſtrict and inflexible virtue; and were regarded by them, rather as examples for their imitation in the conduct of life, than as preceptors to guide them in the ſearch of truth. The ſole end of the Cynic philoſophy was, to ſubdue the paſſions, and produce ſimplicity of manners. The characteriſtic peculiarities of the ſect were, an indignant contempt of effeminate vices, and a rigorous adherence to the rules of moral diſcipline. A Cynic, according to the original ſpirit of the ſect, was one who appeared in a coarſe garb, and carried a wallet and ſtaff, as external ſymbols of ſeverity, and who regarded every thing with indifference, except that kind of virtue, which conſiſts in a haughty

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* Vid. Xenophont. Apolog. Memor. l. iv. Platon. Apol. Crito. Phædo. Eutyphron. Laert. l. ii. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 13.

† Nat. D. l. iii. c. 33.

contempt of external good, and a hardy endurance of external ill*. Simplicity and moderation were indeed in this ſect carried to the extreme of auſterity, and at laſt produced the Stoic ſyſtem of apathy; but the real deſign of the founders both of the Cynic and the Stoic ſect ſeems to have been, to eſtabliſh virtuous manners. The rigorous diſcipline which was practiſed by the firſt Cynics, and which afterwards degenerated into the moſt abſurd ſeverity, was at firſt adopted for the laudable purpoſe of exhibiting an example of moderation and virtuous ſelf-command. If, in executing this praiſe-worthy deſign, a portion of vanity blended itſelf with the love of virtue, who will not be inclined to pardon the weakneſs, out of reſpect to the merit, of the character†?

"That they might be perfectly at liberty to apply themſelves to the cultivation of virtuous habits and manners, without interruption from the noiſy conteſts of ſpeculative philoſophy, the Cynics renounced every kind of ſcientific purſuit; contending, that to thoſe who are endued by nature with a mind diſpoſed to virtue, the purſuits of learning are an unneceſſary and troubleſome interruption of the main buſineſs of life. Hence they entirely diſcarded all dialectic, phyſical, and mathematical ſpeculations, and confined themſelves to the ſtudy, or rather to the practice, of virtue. This was certainly injudicious; but it is ſome apology for their error, that Socrates had taken pains to inſpire his followers with a contempt of theoretical ſcience, when conſidered in compariſon with practical wiſdom. It may alſo be added, that the learning which flouriſhed at that time in Greece, chiefly conſiſted in futile ſpeculations, and an illegitimate kind of eloquence, which contributed little towards the happineſs of ſociety, or the real improvement of the human mind‡.

"Farther to account for, and excuſe, the ſingularities of the Cynic ſect, it ſhould be recollected, that the manners of the Greeks were, at this time, ſtrongly tending towards the extreme of effeminacy. So much attention was now paid to external appearance, eſpecially among the Athenians, that not only the citizens at large were addicted to luxury and vanity, but even the philoſophers themſelves caught the infection, as ſufficiently appears from what has been related concerning the dreſs and manners of Ariſtippus, Arceſilaus, Ariſtotle, Stilpo, and others. Socrates had endeavoured, by modeſt cenſure mingled with eaſy pleaſantry, as well as by a laudable example of moderation, to correct the public taſte and manners. Antiſthenes, without poſſeſſing either judgment or moderation equal to his maſter, adopted the ſame plan, but carried it to an extreme, which paſſed beyond the limits of decorum. Judging all regard to external appearance to be unfavourable to virtue, he neglected every attention of this kind, and went back towards the ſimplicity of nature, nearer than was conſiſtent with civilized life. His followers, obſerving the high degree of reputation for wiſdom and fortitude, which the ſtrictneſs of his manners had procured him, determined to follow his ſteps, and carried his peculiarities to a ridiculous and abſurd extreme. At firſt, a Cynic philoſopher, being nothing more than a ſevere public monitor,

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* Laert. l. vi. § 103, &c.

† Juliani Orat. vi. vii. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 21. Arrian. Diſſ. Epict. I. iii. Diſſ. 22. Lucian in Vit. Auct. et Cynico, et Demonacte.

‡ Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 361. Arr. Epict, l. iii. p. 301.

> Virtutis veræ cuſtos, rigiduſque ſatelles[*][†],

commanded attention and reſpect; but when the freedom of cenſure degenerated into ſcurrility, whilſt the vulgar admired the boldneſs of theſe philoſophers, the more judicious wondered at their impudence; and the whole order gradually fell into diſeſteem and contempt.

"Theſe circumſtances will account for the diſgraceful tales which have been ſo induſtriouſly propagated concerning this ſect. The ſingularity of the early Cynics, and many groſs violations of decorum, which, at a later period, rendered the ſect not only ridiculous but infamous, furniſhed occaſion to thoſe, who did not carefully diſtinguiſh between the firſt deſign of this inſtitution and its ſubſequent abuſes, to declaim againſt the Cynical philoſophy, as nothing better than a compound of vulgarity, ſpleen, and malignity. An impartial enquirer will, therefore, in this part of the hiſtory of philoſophy, be particularly cautious in giving credit to Athenæus, Lucian, and other writers, who, to diſplay their own wit, or to bring philoſophy into diſcredit, have, on every occaſion, eagerly caught hold of ſtories diſreputable to philoſophers, without taking the pains, and perhaps without wiſhing, to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood."

"Not only did the immediate followers of Epicurus adorn the memory of their maſter with the higheſt honours[‡], but many eminent writers, who have diſapproved his philoſophy, have expreſſed great reſpect for his perſonal merit. Nevertheleſs, it cannot be denied, that from the time when this philoſopher appeared to the preſent day, an uninterrupted courſe of cenſure has fallen upon his memory; ſo that the name of his ſect has almoſt become a proverbial expreſſion for every thing corrupt in principle, and infamous in character. The charges brought againſt Epicurus are, that he ſuperſeded all religious principles, by diſmiſſing the gods from the care of the world[§]; that, if he acknowledged their exiſtence, it was only in conformity to popular prejudice, ſince, according to his ſyſtem, nothing exiſts in nature but material atoms; that he diſcovered great inſolence and vanity in the diſreſpect with which he treated the memory of former philoſophers, and the characters and perſons of his contemporaries[‖]; that both the maſter and the whole fraternity were addicted to the vileſt and moſt infamous vices[**], ſo that the ſchool ought not to have been called a garden, but a ſty; and, in ſhort, that this philoſopher, and his followers, relinquiſhed all liberal ſtudies and manly purſuits, that they might devote themſelves to the groſſeſt impieties and debaucheries. Theſe accuſations againſt the Epicurean ſchool have been not only the voice of common rumour, but have been more or leſs confirmed by men diſtinguiſhed for their wiſdom and virtue; Zeno, Cicero, Plutarch, Galen, and a long train of Chriſtian Fathers *. So that if the queſtion were to be determined by the number of accuſers, there can be no doubt that Epicurus and his followers muſt be condemned. But if the cauſe be examined with impartiality; if the credit of the witneſſes againſt Epicurus be thoroughly canvaſſed; if the cauſes of the ſpirit of invective raiſed againſt him be duly conſidered; and if the evidences on the other ſide be allowed a fair hearing, it will perhaps be found, that this philoſopher, though in ſome reſpects highly cenſurable, has been, in ſeveral others, ſeverely and unjuſtly condemned.

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[*] Hor. Ep. i. 1. 17.

[†] The ſtern defender of pure virtue's cauſe.

[‡] Laert.

[§] Plut. adv. Colot. Senec. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19.

[‖] Cic. de Nat. l. i.

[**] Athen. l. iii. p. 101. l. vii. p. 278. l. x. p. 546. Suidas.

" With reſpect to the firſt charge, that of impiety, it certainly admits of no refutation. The doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature not only militated againſt the ſuperſtitions of the Athenians, but againſt the agency of a Supreme Deity in the formation and government of the world; and his miſconceptions, with reſpect to mechanical motion, and the nature of divine happineſs, led him in his ſyſtem to diveſt the Deity of ſome of his primary attributes. It doth not indeed appear, that he entirely denied the exiſtence of ſuperior powers. Cicero, who is unqueſtionably to be ranked among his opponents, relates †, that Epicurus wrote books concerning piety, and the reverence due to the gods, expreſſed in terms which might have become a prieſt; and he charges him ‡ with inconſiſtency, in maintaining that the gods ought to be worſhipped, whilſt he aſſerted, that they had no concern in human affairs; herein admitting, that he revered the gods, but neither through hope nor fear, merely on account of the majeſty and excellence of their nature §. But if, with the utmoſt contempt for popular ſuperſtitions, Epicurus retained ſome belief in, and reſpect for, inviſible natures, it is evident that his gods were deſtitute of many of the eſſential characters of divinity, and that his piety was of a kind very different from that which is inſpired by juſt notions of Deity. Not to urge, that there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that what he taught concerning the gods might have been artfully deſigned to ſcreen him from the odium and hazard, which would have attended a direct avowal of atheiſm.

" The ſecond charge againſt Epicurus, that of inſolence and contempt towards other philoſophers, ſeems ſcarcely compatible with the general air of gentleneſs and civility which appears in his character. If he claimed to himſelf the credit of his own ſyſtem, he did no more than Zeno, Plato, and Ariſtotle, after availing themſelves of every poſſible aid from former philoſophers, had done before him.

" Calumny never appeared with greater effrontery, than in accuſing Epicurus of intemperance and incontinence. That his character was diſtinguiſhed by the contrary virtues, appears not only from the numerous atteſtations adduced by Laertius ‖, but even from the confeſſion of the more reſpectable opponents of his doctrine, particularly

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[*] Vid. Gaſſend. Vit. Ep. l. iii. c. 6.

[†] De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 41.

[‡] Ib. c. 8.

[§] Senec. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19.

[‖] L. x. § 11.

Cicero[*], Plutarch[†], and Seneca[‡]. And indeed, without any external evidence, this is ſufficiently clear, from the particulars which are related concerning his uſual manner of living. Chryſippus himſelf, one of his moſt violent enemies among the Stoics, acknowledged that Epicurus diſcovered little inclination towards ſexual pleaſures[§]. Nothing can be a greater proof that his adverſaries had little to alledge againſt his innocence, than that they were obliged to have recourſe to forgery. The infamous letters which Diotimus, or, according to Athenæus, Theotimus, aſcribed to him[‖], were proved, in a public court, to have been fraudulently impoſed upon the world, and the author of the impoſition was puniſhed. Whatever might be the caſe afterwards, there is little reaſon to doubt that, during the life of Epicures, his garden was rather a ſchool of temperance, than a ſcene of riot and debauchery.

"That Epicurus did not renounce every kind of learning, as inſignificant and uſeleſs, will more fully appear in the ſequel. For the preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with the remarks which Cicero puts into the mouth of Torquatus, in other reſpects ſufficiently ſevere againſt Epicurus. "The reaſon," ſays he[**], "why Epicurus appears to "you deficient in learning, is that "he thought nothing deſerved the "name of learning, which was not "conducive to the happineſs of "life." And afterwards, "Epicu"rus therefore was not uninſtruct"ed, but they are unlearned who "think that thoſe ſtudies, with "which it would be diſgraceful for "youth not to be converſant, ſhould "be continued to old age." Whence it appears, that Epicurus was an enemy to liberal ſcience no further than Socrates himſelf had been. Stobæus[††] aſcribes to Epicurus the following ſentiment: We ought to be thankful to nature for having made thoſe things which are neceſſary eaſy to be diſcovered, and thoſe things which are difficult to be known, not neceſſary."

A ſtriking ſpecimen of Oriental ethics appears in the account of the philoſophy of the Saracens.

"Beſides the precepts of the Koran, the Arabians have always had among them leſſons of moral wiſdom, written in verſe, in the form of aphoriſms. Several collections of theſe ſentences have been made by modern writers, from which it appears, that the Arabians, though they did not treat the doctrine of ethics ſcientifically, were very capable of thinking juſtly, and writing elegantly, on moral ſubjects[‡‡]. One poet, in particular, appeared among them, who wrote a beautiful compendium of Oriental ethics, under the title of The Perſian Roſary[§§]. This was Eddin Sadi, a Perſian, who, about the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Turks invaded Perſia, withdrew from his own country, and ſettled at Bagdat, for the purpoſe of proſecuting his ſtudies. After experiencing much viciſſitude of fortune, he returned home, and compiled the book juſt mentioned, which he completed in the year one thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſeven. This work has been univerſally read in the Eaſt; and has been tranſlated into Latin, and into ſeveral modern languages. From this Roſary, which is divided into eight chapters, we ſhall cull a few of the choiceſt flowers.

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[*] Tuſc. Q. l. v.

[†] Adv. Colot.

[‡] Ep. 21. 18.

[§] Stob. l. c.

[‖] Laert. l. x. § 3. Athen. l. xiii. p. 611.

[**] De Fin. l. i.

[††] Serm. 39. p. 137.

[‡‡] Erpenii Centur. Proverb. Arab. Galland. les Paroles Remarq. des Orient. Paris, 1694. 12°. Hottinger. Hiſt. Or. l. ii. c. 5.

[§§] Ed. Gentii. Amſtel. 1651. fol. Lit. Perſic. cum verſ. Lat. fol. Amſt. 1651. Lat. ver. 12°. 1655. Hottinger. l. c.

" 1. Paradiſe will be the reward of thoſe kings who reſtrain their reſentment, and know how to forgive. A king, who inſtitutes unjuſt laws, undermines the foundation of his kingdom. Let him, who neglects to raiſe the fallen, fear, leſt when he himſelf falls, no one will ſtretch out his hand to lift him up. Adminiſter juſtice to your people, for a day of judgment is at hand. The diſhoneſt ſteward's hand will ſhake, when he comes to render an account of his truſt. Be juſt, and fear not. Oppreſs not thy ſubjects, leſt the ſighing of the oppreſſed ſhould aſcend to heaven. If you wiſh to be great, be liberal; for, unleſs you ſow the ſeed, there can be no increaſe. Aſſiſt and relieve the wretched, for misfortunes may happen to yourſelf. Wound no man unneceſſarily; there are thorns enough in the path of human life. If a king take an apple from the garden of a ſubject, his ſervants will ſoon cut down the tree. The flock is not made for the ſhepherd, but the ſhepherd for the flock.

" 2. Excel in good works, and wear what you pleaſe: innocence and piety do not conſiſt in wearing an old or coarſe garment. Learn virtue from the vicious; and what offends you in their conduct, avoid in your own. If you have received an injury, bear it patiently: by pardoning the offences of others, you will waſh away your own. Him, who has been every day conferring upon you new favours, pardon, if, in the ſpace of a long life, he ſhould have once done you an injury. Reſpect the memory of the good, that your good name may live for ever.

" 3. In your adverſity, do not viſit your friend with a ſad countenance; for you will embitter his cup: relate even your misfortunes with a ſmile; for wretchedneſs will never reach the heart of a cheerful man. He who lives upon the fruits of his own labour, eſcapes the contempt of haughty benefactors. Always encounter petulance with gentleneſs, and perverſeneſs with kindneſs: a gentle hand will lead the elephant itſelf by a hair. When once you have offended a man, do not preſume that a hundred benefits will ſecure you from revenge: an arrow may be drawn out of a wound, but an injury is never forgotten. Worſe than the venom of a ſerpent, is the tongue of an enemy, who pretends to be your friend.

" 4. It is better to be ſilent upon points we underſtand, than to be put to ſhame by being queſtioned upon things of which we are ignorant. A wiſe man will not contend with a fool. It is a certain mark of folly, as well as rudeneſs, to ſpeak whilſt another is ſpeaking. If you are wiſe, you will ſpeak leſs than you know.

" 5. Although you can repeat every word of the Koran, if you ſuffer yourſelf to be enſlaved by love, you have not yet learned your alphabet. The immature grape is ſour; wait a few days, and it will become ſweet. If you reſiſt temptation, do not aſſure yourſelf that you ſhall eſcape ſlander. The reputation, which has been fifty years in building, may be thrown down by one blaſt of calumny. Liſten not to the tale of friendſhip, from the man who has been capable of forgetting his friend in adverſity.

"6. Perſeverance accompliſhes more than precipitation; the patient mule, which travels ſlowly night and day, will in the end go further than an Arabian courſer. If you are old, leave ſports and jeſts to the young: the ſtream, which has paſſed away, will not return into its channel.

"7. Inſtruction is only profitable to thoſe who are capable of receiving it: bring an aſs to Mecca, and it will ſtill return an aſs. If you would be your father's heir, learn his wiſdom: his wealth you may expend in ten days. He who is tinctured with good principles while he is young, when he is grown old will not be deſtitute of virtue. If a man be deſtitute of knowledge, prudence, and virtue, his door-keeper may ſay, No-body is at home. Give advice where you ought; if it be not regarded, the fault is not your's.

"8. Two kinds of men labour in vain: they who get riches, and do not enjoy them; and they who learn wiſdom, and do not apply it to the conduct of life. A wiſe man, who is not at the ſame time virtuous, is a blind man carrying a lamp; he gives light to others, whilſt he himſelf remains in darkneſs. If you wiſh to ſleep ſoundly, provide for to-morrow. Truſt no man, even your beſt friend, with a ſecret; you will never find a more faithful guardian of the truſt than yourſelf. Let your misfortunes teach you compaſſion: he knows the condition of the wretched, who has himſelf been wretched. Exceſſive vehemence creates enmity; exceſſive gentleneſs, contempt: be neither ſo ſevere, as to be hated; nor ſo mild as to be inſulted. He who throws away advice upon a conceited man, himſelf wants an adviſer. In a ſingle hour you may diſcover, whether a man has good ſenſe; but it will require many years to diſcover, whether he has good temper. Three things are unattainable; riches without trouble, ſcience without controverſy, and government without puniſhment. Clemency to the wicked is an injury to the good. If learning were baniſhed from the earth, there would, notwithſtanding, be no one who would think himſelf ignorant.

"The whole book from which the preceding ſentences are extracted, whether written from the author's own conceptions, or compiled from other ſources, deſerves to be read as an elegant ſpecimen of Arabian morals *."

In an age when wonders, notwithſtanding their frequent recurrence, had not yet loſt all popular attraction, aroſe the Roſacrucian fraternity, to amuſe and aſtoniſh the world. The ſuppoſed origin of this marvellous ſociety, is thus briefly related.

"To the claſs of Theoſophiſts has been commonly referred the

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* Vidend. Boulainvillier Vie de Mahomet. Erneſt. Gerhard. de Theol. Muhammed. Reland. de Rel. Muham. Renaudot. Epiſt. ad Dacier de exiguo pretio verſ. Arab. in Fab. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 812. Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. ii. p. 10. Compend. Theol. Muham. Ultraject. 1717. 8vo. Pfeffer. Theol. Jud. atque Moham. Kruger de Fato Muhamm. Lipſ. 1759.

entire ſociety of Roſacruſians*, which, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, made ſo much noiſe in the eccleſiaſtical and literary world. The hiſtory of this ſociety, which is attended with ſome obſcurity, ſeems to be as follows: its origin is referred to a certain German, whoſe name was Roſencreuz, who, in the fourteenth century, viſited the holy ſepulchre, and, in travelling through Aſia and Africa, made himſelf acquainted with many oriental ſecrets; and who, after his return, inſtituted a ſmall fraternity, to whom he communicated the myſteries he had learned, under an oath of inviolable ſecrecy. This ſociety remained concealed till the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, when two books were publiſhed, the one entitled, *Fama Fraternitatis laudabilis Ordinis Roſæcruſis*, "The Re-" port of the laudable Fraternity of "Roſacruſians;" the other *Confeſſio Fraternitatis* †, "The Confeſſion of "the Fraternity." In theſe books the world was informed, that this fraternity was enabled, by divine revelation, to explain the moſt important ſecrets both of nature and grace; that they were appointed to correct the errors of the learned world, particularly in philoſophy and medicine; that they were poſſeſſed of the philoſopher's ſtone, and underſtood both the art of tranſmuting metals, and of prolonging human life; and, in fine, that by their means the golden age would return. As ſoon as theſe grand ſecrets were divulged, the whole tribe of the Paracelſiſts, Theoſophiſts, and Chemiſts, flocked to the Roſacruſian ſtandard, and every new and unheard-of myſtery was referred to this fraternity. It is impoſſible to relate, how much noiſe this wonderful diſcovery made, or what different opinions were formed concerning it. After all, though the laws and ſtatutes of the ſociety had appeared, no one could tell where the ſociety itſelf was to be found, or who really belonged to it. It was imagined by ſome ſagacious obſervers, that a certain important meaning was concealed under the ſtory of the Roſacruſian fraternity, though they were wholly unable to ſay what it was. One conjectured that ſome chemical myſtery lay hid behind the allegorical tale; another ſuppoſed that it foretold ſome great eccleſiaſtical revolution. At laſt, Michael Breler ‡, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty, had the courage publicly to declare, that he certainly knew the whole ſtory to have been the contrivance of ſome ingenious perſons, who choſe to amuſe themſelves by impoſing upon the public credulity. This declaration raiſed a general ſuſpicion againſt the whole ſtory; and, as no one undertook to contradict it, this wonderful ſociety daily vaniſhed, and the rumours, which had been ſpread concerning it, ceaſed. The whole was probably a contrivance to ridicule the pretenders to ſecret wiſdom and wonderful power, particularly the chemiſts, who boaſted that they were poſſeſſed of the philoſopher's ſtone. It has been conjectured, and the ſatirical turn of his writings, and ſeveral particular paſſages in his works, favour the conjecture, that this farce was invented and performed, in part at leaſt, by John Valentine Andrea, a divine of Wartenburg."

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* Arnold. Hiſt. Eccl. P. ii. c. 18. p. 613. Sec. 17. p. 58. Struv. Intr. in Hiſt. Lit. c. 9. § 29. p. 466. Biblioth. Phil. c. 2. § 13. Colberg. Chriſt. Plat. Hermet. p. i. c. 6. Serpill. Epitaph. Theol. p. 12. Val. Andreæ Turris Babel, c. 25.

† Franc. 1614, 1617.

‡ In Myſterio Iniquitatis Pſeudo Evang. c. iii. p. 100. Alethea, p. 329.

Travels during the Years 1787, 1788, *and* 1789; *undertaken more particularly with a View of aſcertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Reſources, and national Proſperity of the Kingdom of* France. *By* Arthur Young, *Eſq.* F. R. S. &c. &c. *Two Volumes, 4to.*

MR. Young, who has been long a diſtinguiſhed writer on the ſubject of agriculture, appears now before the public in a new light, as a traveller of no mean abilities, poſſeſſed of much judicious reflection and accurate diſcrimination. Every publication of this gentleman is entitled to a conſiderable degree of reſpect. Although he may not uniformly challenge the approbation of his readers, he ſeldom fails to entertain them, and never grows tedious or inſipid. His very foibles afford amuſement; and even the little traits of perſonal vanity, which occaſionally betray themſelves, and which he ſeems by no means anxious to conceal, excite rather the ſmile of complacency than the ſneer of contempt.

The profeſſed object of theſe travels is an enquiry into the preſent ſtate of agriculture in France. But the author has not confined himſelf to this ſingle ſubject, nor to others with which it is immediately connected. He has taken a wider range; and introduced much extraneous matter, which in the opinion of many may probably form a valuable part of the work.

Theſe Travels are divided into two parts; the firſt part conſiſting of the author's journal; the ſecond, which is by far the moſt conſiderable, containing a variety of philoſophical, political and agricultural remarks, thrown into the form of ſo many diſtinct eſſays. Mr. Young thought, that by this method he might convey under the laſt diviſion the general reſult of his travels, while under the former he might communicate to his readers in the moſt natural way the various impreſſions which his mind received from obſervations on the face of the country, through which he paſſed, and of the manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the people, with whom he converſed.

Mr. Young's firſt route, in the year 1787, was from Calais through Paris, in a direct line to the ſouthern extremity of France, quitting that kingdom at Bagnieres de Louchon; thence extending in an oblique direction to Barcelona in Spain; re-entering France at Perpignan, and proceeding through Beziers to Montpelier and Niſmes; returning to Beziers, and running parallel with the Pyrenees to Bayonne on the weſtern coaſt; from Bayonne through Bourdeaux, Poiters, and Orleans, again touching at Paris; and laſtly, after a ſhort circuit through French Flanders, concluding where it commenced, at Calais. On his ſecond expedition, in 1788, he went from Calais the whole way along the coaſt of the channel to Breſt, from

Breſt to Nantes, from Nantes through Angers to Rouen, and from Rouen to Dieppe, where he croſſed to Brighton.

His third expedition was in the year 1789. He then once more viſited Paris, and taking a new line of direction proceeded by Rheims, Chalons, Metz, &c. to Straſbourgh; leaving Straſbourgh he next paſſed through part of Franche Comté, Bourbonnois, Auvergne, and Dauphiné, in his way to Provence; after viſiting Marſeilles and Toulon, he quitted France, and went by Nice to Turin; from Turin he made a circuit through Milan, Verona, Padua, Venice, Bologna, Florence and Parma; then returning to Turin, he travelled the direct road by Lyons to Paris.

After concluding an intereſting and amuſing journal, Mr. Young preſents his readers with what he calls the ſecond part, his general obſervations on the agriculture and political œconomy of the countries, which he viſited. This part occupies a conſiderable portion of the firſt volume, and the whole of the ſecond. It is divided into chapters, which treat of the following ſubjects. In the firſt volume, of the extent of France—of the ſoil, and face of the country—of the climate—on the produce of corn, the rent, and the price of land—of the French courſes of crops—irrigation—meadows—lucerne—ſainfoin—of incloſures—of the tenantry, and ſize of farms—of the ſheep—of the capital employed in huſbandry—of the price of proviſions, labour, &c.—of the produce—of the population—of the police of corn—of the commerce—of the manufactures—of the taxation—and of the revolution of France.

In the ſecond volume, on vines—on the culture of ſilk—of cattle—of the culture of various plants—of the waſte lands—of coals—of woods, foreſts, timber, and planting—on ſome œconomical practices in France—of tillage, and the implements of huſbandry—of manures and manuring—and of an Engliſh farm eſtabliſhed in France. To theſe obſervations, on what appeared worthy of notice in France, the author ſubjoins a long account of the agriculture of Lombardy, and a few ſhort remarks on that of Spain.

Mr. Young gives no very favourable idea of the comforts, which are to be found in a French inn.

"Having now croſſed the kingdom, and been in many French inns, I ſhall in general obſerve that they are on an average better in two reſpects, and worſe in all the reſt, than thoſe in England. We have lived better in point of eating and drinking beyond a queſtion, than we ſhould have done in going from London to the highlands of Scotland, at double the expence. But if in England the beſt of every thing is ordered, without any attention to the expence, we ſhould for double the money have lived better than we have done in France; the common cookery of the French gives great advantage. It is true, they roaſt every thing to a chip, if they are not cautioned: but they give ſuch a number and variety of diſhes, that if you do not like ſome, there are others to pleaſe your palate. The deſert at a French inn has no rival at an Engliſh one; nor are the liqueurs to be deſpiſed.—We ſometimes have met with bad wine, but, upon the whole, far better than ſuch port as Engliſh inns give. Beds are better in France; in England

and they are good only at good inns; and we have none of that torment which is ſo perplexing in England, to have the ſheets aired; for we never trouble our heads about them, doubtleſs on account of the climate. After theſe two points, all is a blank. You have no parlour to eat in; only a room with two, three, or four beds. Apartments badly fitted up; the walls white-waſhed; or paper of different ſorts in the ſame room; or tapeſtry ſo old, as to be a fit nidus for moths and ſpiders; and the furniture ſuch, that an Engliſh innkeeper would light his fire with it. For a table, you have every where a board laid on croſs bars, which are ſo conveniently contrived, as to leave room for your legs only at the end.—Oak chairs with ruſh bottoms, and the back univerſally a direct perpendicular, that defies all idea of reſt after fatigue. Doors give muſic as well as entrance; the wind whiſtles through their chinks; and hinges grate diſcord. Windows admit rain as well as light; when ſhut they are not eaſy to open; and when open not eaſy to ſhut. Mops, brooms, and ſcrubbing-bruſhes are not in the catalogue of the neceſſaries of a French inn. Bells there are none; the *fille* muſt always be bawled for, and when ſhe appears, is neither neat, well dreſſed, nor handſome. The kitchen is black with ſmoke; the maſter commonly the cook, and the leſs you ſee of the cooking, the more likely you are to have a ſtomach to your dinner; but this is not peculiar to France. Copper utenſils always in great plenty, but not always well tinned. The miſtreſs rarely claſſes civility or attention to her gueſts among the requiſites of her trade."

A conciſe account is given of the celebrated cones at Cherbourg, which, previous to the French revolution, created much alarm in the minds of many Engliſh politicians. This project ſeems at preſent abandoned, perhaps for ever. It was nevertheleſs the opinion of ſome profeſſional gentlemen, that had this great undertaking been completed, it would not probably have fully anſwered the intention of its projectors, at leaſt only for a ſhort period. This opinion was grounded upon the ſuppoſition, that there muſt have been ſo conſiderable a quantity of ſand, &c. forced into the harbour by the increaſed violence of the waves daſhing through the narrow paſſages between the cones, as in time to have choaked it up, and thus to have rendered it inadequate to the reception of large ſhips.

"Cherbourg.—I had letters to the duke de Beuvron, who commands here; to the count de Chavagnac, and M. de Meuſnier, of the academy of ſciences, and tranſlator of Cook's voyages; the count is in the country. So much had I heard of the famous works erecting to form a harbour here, that I was eager to view them without the loſs of a moment: the duke favoured me with an order for that purpoſe; I therefore took a boat, and rowed acroſs the artificial harbour formed by the celebrated cones. As it is poſſible that this itinerary may be read by perſons that have not either time or inclination to ſeek other books for an account of theſe works, I will in a few words ſketch the intention and execution. The French poſſeſs no port for ſhips of war from Dunkirk to Breſt, and the former is capable of receiving frigates only. This deficiency has been fatal to them more than once in their wars with England, whoſe more favourable coaſt affords not only the Thames, but the noble harbour of Portſmouth. To remedy the want, they planned a mole acroſs the open bay of Cherbourg; but to incloſe a ſpace ſufficient to protect a fleet of the line, would demand ſo extended a wall, and ſo expoſed to heavy ſeas, that the expence would be far too great to be thought of; and at the ſame time the ſucceſs too dubious to be ventured. The idea of a regular mole was therefore given up, and a partial one, on a new plan, adopted; this was to erect in the ſea, in a line where a mole is wanted, inſulated columns of timber and maſonry, of ſo vaſt a ſize, as to reſiſt the violence of the ocean, and to break its waves ſufficiently to permit a bank being formed between column and column. Theſe have been called cones from their form. They are 140 feet diameter at the baſe; 60 diameter at the top, and 60 feet vertical height, being, when ſunk in the ſea, 30 to 34 feet immerſed at the low water of high tides. Theſe enormous broad-bottomed tubs being conſtructed of oak, with every attention to ſtrength and ſolidity, when finiſhed for launching, were loaded with ſtone juſt ſufficient for ſinking, and in that ſtate each cone weighed 1000 tons (of 2000 lb.) To float them, ſixty empty caſks, each of ten pipes, were attached around by cords, and in this ſtate of buoyancy the enormous machine was floated to its deſtined ſpot, towed by numberleſs veſſels, and before innumerable ſpectators. At a ſignal, the cords are cut in a moment, and the pile ſinks: it is then filled inſtantly with ſtone from veſſels ready attending, and capped with maſonry. The contents of each, filled to within four feet of the ſurface only, 2500 cubical toiſes of ſtone *. A vaſt number of veſſels are then employed to form a bank of ſtone from cone to cone, viſible at low water in neap tides. Eighteen cones, by one account, but 33 by another, would complete the work, leaving only two entrances, commanded by two very fine new-built forts, *Royale* and *d'Artois*, thoroughly well provided, it is ſaid, (for they do not ſhew them,) with an apparatus for heating cannon-balls. The number of cones will depend on the diſtances at which they are placed. I found eight finiſhed, and the ſkeleton frames of two more in the dock-yard; but all is ſtopped by the archbiſhop of Toulouſe, in favour of the œconomical plans at preſent in ſpeculation. Four of them, the laſt ſunk, being moſt expoſed, are now repairing, having been found too weak to reſiſt the fury of the ſtorms, and the heavy weſterly ſeas. The laſt cone is much the moſt damaged, and, in proportion as they advance, they will be ſtill more and more expoſed, which gives riſe to the opinion of many ſkilful engineers, that the whole ſcheme will prove fruitleſs, unleſs ſuch an expence is beſtowed on the remaining cones as would be ſufficient to exhauſt the revenues of a kingdom. The eight already erected have for ſome years given a new appearance to Cherbourg; new houſes, and even ſtreets, and ſuch a face of activity and animation, that the ſtop to the works was received with blank countenances. They ſay, that, quarry-men included, 3000 were employed.

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* A toiſe ſix feet.

The effect of the eight cones already erected, and the bank of ſtone formed between them, has been to give perfect ſecurity to a conſiderable portion of the intended harbour. Two 40 gun ſhips have lain at anchor within them theſe eighteen months paſt, by way of experiment; and though ſuch ſtorms have happened in that time as have put all to ſevere trials, and, as I mentioned before, conſiderably damaged three of the cones, yet theſe ſhips have not received the ſmalleſt agitation; hence it is a harbour for a ſmall fleet without doing more. Should they ever proceed with the reſt of the cones, they muſt be built much ſtronger, perhaps larger, and far greater precautions taken in giving them firmneſs and ſolidity: it is alſo a queſtion, whether they muſt not be ſunk much nearer to each other; at all events, the proportional expence will be nearly doubled; but for wars with England, the importance of having a ſecure harbour ſo critically ſituated, they conſider as equal almoſt to any expence; at leaſt this importance has its full weight in the eyes of the people of Cherbourg. I remarked, in rowing acroſs the harbour, that while the ſea without the artificial bar was ſo rough, that it would have been unpleaſant for a boat, within it was quite ſmooth. I mounted two of the cones, one of which has this inſcription:—*Louis XVI.—Sur ce premiere cône échoue le 6 Juin* 1784, *a vu l'emmerſion de celui de l'eſt, le* 23 *Juin* 1786.—On the whole, the undertaking is a prodigious one, and does no trifling credit to the ſpirit of enterprize of the preſent age in France. The ſervice of the marine is a favourite, whether juſtly or not, is another queſtion; and this harbour ſhews, that when this great people undertake any capital works, that are really favourites, they find inventive genius to plan, and engineers of capital talents to execute whatever is deviſed, in a manner that does honour to their kingdom."

The uſual conveyance from Venice to Bologna muſt be ſufficiently unpleaſant and diſguſting to an Engliſhman.

" The *Corriere di Bologna*, a covered barge, the only conveyance, ſets off to-night at eleven o'clock. I have taken my place, paid my money, and delivered my baggage; and as the quay from which the barge departs is conveniently near the opera-houſe, and *Il Burbero di buon Cuore* acted for the firſt night, I took my leave of Signore Petrillo's excellent inn, which deſerves every commendation, and went to the opera. I found it equal to what the *prova* had indicated: it is an inimitable performance; not only abounding with many very pleaſing airs, but the whole piece is agreeable, and does honour to the genius and taſte of Signore Martini. Swift, in one of his letters to Stella, after dining with lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, and going in the evening to ſome ſcrub, ſays, he hates to be a prince and a ſcoundrel the ſame day. I had to-night all this feeling with a vengeance. From the repreſentation of a pleaſing and elegant performance, the muſic of which was well adapted to ſtring one's feelings to a certain pitch, in clear uniſon with the pleaſure that ſparkled in ſo many eyes, and ſounded from ſo many hands—I ſtepped at once, in full contraſt, into the bark *Detto Corriere di Bologna*; a cabin about ten feet ſquare, round which ſat in ſilence, and the darkneſs viſible of a wretched lamp, a company, whoſe rolling eyes examined, without one word of reception, each paſſenger that entered. The wind howled, and the rain beat in at the hole left for entering. My feelings that thrilled during the evening, were diſſipated in a moment, and the gloom of my boſom was ſoon in uniſon with that of the ſcene.

" Of this voyage from Venice to Bologna, all the powers of language would fail me to give the idea I would wiſh to impreſs. The time I paſſed in it I rank among the moſt diſagreeable days I ever experienced, and by a thouſand degrees the worſt ſince I left England; yet I had no choice: the roads are ſo infamouſly bad, or rather ſo impracticable, that there are no *vetturini*; even thoſe whoſe fortune admits poſting make this paſſage by water; and when I found that Monſ. de la Lande, ſecretary to the French ambaſſador at Turin, had made the ſame journey, in the ſame conveyance, and yet in his book ſays not a word againſt the accommodation, how was I to have divined, that it could prove ſo execrable? A little more thought, however, would have told me that it was too cheap to be good; the price, for the whole voyage of 125 miles, is only 30 *paoli* (17*s.* 6*d.*) for which you are boarded. After a day's ſpitting of a dozen people, in ten feet ſquare (enough to make a dog ſick), mattreſſes are ſpread on the ground, and you reſt on them as you can, packed almoſt like herrings in a barrel; they are then rolled up and tumbled under a bulk, without the leaſt attention which ſide is given you the night after; add to this the odours of various ſorts, eaſy to imagine. At dinner, the cabin is the kitchen, and the *padrone* the cook, he takes ſnuff, wipes his noſe with his fingers, and the knife with his handkerchief; while he prepares the victuals, which he handles before you, till you are ſick of the idea of eating. But, on changing the bark to one whoſe cabin was too ſmall to admit any cookery, he brought his ſteaks and ſauſages, rolled up in a paper, and that in his flag of abomination (as Smollet calls a continental handkerchief), which he ſpread on his knees as he ſat, opening the greaſy treaſure, for thoſe to eat out of his lap with their fingers, whoſe ſtomachs could bear ſuch a repaſt. Will an Engliſh reader believe that there were perſons preſent who ſubmitted, without a murmur, to ſuch a voyage, and who were beyond the common mercantile crews one meets with in a *vettura?*—ſome well dreſſed, with an appearance and converſation that betrayed nothing mean. I draw concluſions, operating ſtrongly againſt the private and domeſtic comforts of life, from ſuch public vehicles: this is the only one for thoſe who paſs to and from Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, and Naples, and of courſe muſt be exceedingly frequented; and there are no *voitures* by land to rival it."

A zealous advocate for all agricultural improvements, Mr. Young makes ſome judicious reflections on ſmall properties in France, upon a compariſon with the ſame ſpecies of property in England.

" There cannot be a more pleaſing ſpectacle, or better framed to call into animation the ſympathies of our nature, than that of a family living on a little property, which their induſtry cultivates, and perhaps created: it is this object, ſo touching to the beſt feelings of the human boſom, that has certainly made many writers indiſcriminate advocates for ſmall properties. If the induſtry of towns and manufactures were active enough to demand the ſurplus of all this population as faſt as it aroſe, the advantages of the ſyſtem would be clear; but France knows, by ſad experience, that ſuch a ſurplus is not demanded at preſent; what, therefore, would the conſequence be of bringing a freſh one to market, while the old one remains on hand? It is idle to cite the example of America, where an immenſity of fertile land lies open to every one who will accept it; and where population is valuable to an unexampled degree, as we ſee in the price of their labour; but what compariſon, between ſuch a country and France, where the competition for employment is ſo great, ariſing from too great a populouſneſs, that the price of labour is 76 per cent. below that of its more flouriſhing neighbour? —But, in conſidering this intereſting ſubject, I ſhall recur, as I have done on ſo many other occaſions, to the example of England. In this kingdom, ſmall properties are exceedingly rare; in great numbers of our counties, there are ſcarcely any ſuch thing to be found: our labouring poor are juſtly emulous of being the proprietors of their cottages, and of that ſcrap of land, a few perches, which forms the garden; but they ſeldom think of buying land enough to employ themſelves, and, as in France, of offering prices ſo much beyond the value, as to enſure the acquiſition. A man that has two or three hundred pounds with us, does not buy a little field, but ſtocks a farm: now, as our labouring poor are incomparably more at their eaſe, and in every reſpect happier than thoſe of France, does it not appear to follow, by fair concluſion, that ſmall properties are by no means neceſſary for the welfare of the lower claſſes in the country? In every part of England, in which I have been, there is no compariſon between the eaſe of a day-labourer and of a very little farmer; we have no people that work ſo hard, and fare ſo ill, as the latter. Why then ſhould this minute diviſion be conſidered as ſo advantageous in France, while we in England feel the benefit of a ſyſtem directly contrary? There are ſeveral reaſons for this; the manufactures of France, compared with thoſe of England, are not nearly ſo conſiderable reſpectively in proportion to the population of the two kingdoms. Nor does the agriculture of France, which is carried on either by farmers or metayers, afford any employment comparable to that which Engliſh culture yields. Country gentlemen, in France, do not employ probably the hundredth part of the labourers that are employed by country gentlemen in England, who have always ſome works of ornamental gardening or farming going on, which gives bread to many people. An object, more important, is, that the prices of proviſions are as dear in France as in England, while thoſe of labour are 76 per cent. lower. We have another proof, if any were wanted, how much too great the population of that kingdom is. The Engliſh labourer, who commands ſteadily eight, nine, or ten ſhillings a week, by working for a farmer, hazards much when he labours land for himſelf; and this fact is ſo ſtrong, that the moſt induſtrious and hard labouring of our poor peaſants, are not thoſe who keep their little gardens in the beſt order and cultivation; but ſuch, on the contrary, as make inferior earnings, that mark ſomething of debility. By means of theſe, and various other cauſes, the poor countrymen in England find a much more regular employment by day labour than thoſe of France, who, having no reſource in working for others, are obliged to work for themſelves, or ſtarve. And when gentlemen find them in this ſituation, no wonder they readily expatiate on the advantages of ſmall properties being to ſuch families the only reſource that offers. But, in fact, the very height of operoſe culture upon ſuch, and what appears perfection to a vulgar eye, can ariſe only from the miſery of half-employed people. The dearneſs of labour, very common in ſuch a country, is no proof againſt this obſervation. No labour is ſo wretchedly performed, and ſo dear, as that of hired hands accuſtomed much to labour for themſelves; there is a diſguſt, and a liſtleſſneſs that cannot eſcape an intelligent obſerver; and nothing but real diſtreſs will drive ſuch little proprietors to work at all for others; ſo that I have ſeen, in the operoſely cultivated parts of France, labour comparatively dear, and ill performed, amidſt ſwarms of half idle people. And here I ſhould remark the circumſtance ſeen to ſo ſtrange a degree in almoſt all the markets of France, that ſwarms of people regularly loſe one day in a week, for objects that clearly ſhew the little value time is of to theſe ſmall farmers. Can any thing be apparently ſo abſurd, as a ſtrong hearty man walking ſome miles, and loſing a day's work, which ought to be worth 15 or 20 *ſous*, in order to ſell a dozen of eggs, or a chicken, the value of which would not equal the labour of conveying it, *were the people uſefully employed?* This ought to convince us, that theſe ſmall occupations are a real loſs of labour; and that people are fed upon them, whoſe time is worth little or nothing.

"There are many practices in French huſbandry, that are apparently of conſiderable merit, yet cannot be recommended to other countries. I have ſeen them, in a part of Flanders, mattocking up every corner of a field where the plough could not come; and, in the ſouth of France, the peaſant makes a common practice of mattocking up whole fields. In many parts of the kingdom all the land is digged. In the mountains of the Vivarais, terraces are built by walling, and the earth carried to them in baſkets. Such practices, and a thouſand other ſimilar, ſpring abſolutely from the extreme diviſion of landed property, having nurſed up a population beyond the power of induſtry to ſupport; and ought to be conſidered as a proof of a real evil in the vitals of the ſtate. The man who unhappily has exiſtence in a country where there is no employment for him, will, if he has the property of a ſcrap of land, work for two-pence a day upon it; he will work for half a farthing; and if he has an ardour of induſtry, for nothing, as thouſands do in France. If he does not perform ſome buſineſs upon his little farm, he thinks he does nothing; in ſuch a ſituation, he will pick ſtraws—he will take up a ſtone here and lay it there: he will carry earth in a baſket to the top of a mountain; he will walk ten miles to ſell an egg. Is it not obvious to the reader, that ſuch practices exiſting, and, if tolerably directed, producing an effect well calculated to command admiration from an extreme of culture, are in reality no more analogous to a well conſtituted country, if I may venture the expreſſion, than would the moſt preposterous practices to be fancied? You might as well go a ſtep further in population, and hold up, with M. de Poivre, the example of the Chineſe, as worthy of European imitation.

" Upon the whole, one muſt be inclined to think, that ſmall properties are carried much too far in France; that a moſt miſerable population has been created by them, which ought to have had no exiſtence; that their diviſion ſhould be reſtrained by expreſs laws, at leaſt till the demand for hands is equal to the production; that the ſyſtem of great farms regularly employing, and well paying a numerous peaſantry by day labour is infinitely more advantageous to the nation, and to the poor themſelves, than the multiplication of ſmall properties; in fine, it is obvious, that all meaſures which prevent the eſtabliſhment of large farms, and increaſing wealthy farmers, ſuch as reſtrictions or bars to incloſures, the exiſtence of rights of commonage, and the leaſt favour to little proprietors in levying of the land taxes, are ruinous to agriculture, and ought to be deprecated, as a ſyſtem deſtructive of the public welfare."

Manufactures are generally conceived to be prejudicial to agriculture. The ſentiments of a traveller ſo well qualified as our author to write on ſuch a ſubject, claim particular attention.

" M. l'Abbé Raynal remitted 1200 livres to the Royal Society of Agriculture, at Paris, to be given as a prize on the ſubject of the following queſtion, *Une agriculture floriſante influe-telle plus ſur la proſpérité des manufactures, que l'accroiſſement des manufactures ſur la proſpérité de l'agriculture?* How the writers, who contend for the prize, will decide the queſtion, I ſhall not inquire; but the facts, which I have here noted, ſeem to weigh materially towards enabling us to examine it. I take France to have poſſeſſed, from 1650 to 1750, the moſt flouriſhing manufactures in Europe: they were ſo conſiderable, and ſome of them remain yet ſo important, as to enable us to appeal merely to facts for an anſwer to ſuch a queſtion, ſo far as the example of that kingdom is concerned. That century of proſperous fabrics, what did it effect for agriculture? I may very ſecurely reply, nothing. Whatever accounts I received of the compariſon between the former and the preſent ſtate of their cultivation, were in favour of the latter; yet, ſuppoſing it as good in 1750 as at preſent, I heſitate not to aſſert, that if ſuch immenſe fabrics, encouraged almoſt excluſively for a century, could create no better huſbandry than I met with in France, we may very ſafely conclude, that manufactures may flouriſh greatly, without ſhedding much influence in favour of agriculture. Such is the concluſion which forces itſelf upon one from the general view of the kingdom; but let us examine it more in detail.—The greateſt fabrics in France are the cottons and woollens of Normandie, the woollens of Picardy and Champagne, the linens of Bretagne, and the ſilks and hard-ware of the

Lyonois. Now, if manufactures be the true encouragement of agriculture, the vicinity of thoſe great fabrics ought to be the beſt cultivated diſtricts in the kingdom. I have viſited all thoſe manufactures, and remarked the attendant culture, which is unexceptionably ſo execrable, that one would be much more inclined to think there was ſomething peſtiferous to agriculture in the neighbourhood of a manufacture, than to look up to it as a mean of encouragement. Conſidering the fertility of the ſoil, which is great, Picardy and Normandie are among the worſt cultivated countries I have ſeen. The immenſe fabrics of Abbeville and Amiens have not cauſed the incloſure of a ſingle field, or the baniſhment of fallows from a ſingle acre. Go from Elbœuf to Rouen, if you would view a deſert: and the Pays de Caux, poſſeſſing one of the richeſt ſoils in the world, with manufactures in every hut and cottage, preſents one continued ſcene of weeds, filth, and beggary; a ſoil ſo villainouſly managed, that if it were not naturally of an inexhauſtible fertility, it would long ago have been utterly ruined. The agriculture of Champagne is miſerable, even to a proverb; I ſaw there great and flouriſhing manufactures, and cultivation in ruins around them. Let us paſs into Bretagne, which affords but one ſpectacle, that of a dreary, deſolate waſte; dark as ling—*ſombre* as broom can make it.—You find yourſelf in the midſt of one of the greateſt linen manufactures in Europe, and, throwing your eye around the country, can ſcarcely believe the inhabitants are fed by agriculture; if they ſubſiſted by the chaſe of wild animals, their country might be as well cultivated. From hence croſs the kingdom to Lyons; all the world knows the immenſe fabrics found there; and thoſe of St. Etienne among the moſt flouriſhing in the kingdom: *De toutes les provinces de France,* ſays M. Roland de la Platiêre, *le Lyonois eſt le plus miſerable*[*]. What I ſaw of it gave me little reaſon to queſtion the aſſertion. The remark of another French writer makes the experiment double: *D'Artois eſt un de provinces les plus riches du royaume. C'eſt un verité inconteſtable——elle ne poſſède point de manufactures*[†]. I will not preſume to aſſert, that the agriculture of certain diſtricts is bad, *becauſe* they abound with manufactures, though I believe it to be very much the caſe in the Pays de Caux; I merely ſtate the facts, which I clearly know, becauſe they came within my own eye; the fabrics are the greateſt in the kingdom, and certainly the agriculture is amongſt the worſt. In my tour through Ireland, the journal of which is before the public, I examined, with attention the vaſt linen manufacture which ſpreads all over the north of that kingdom. I there found the ſame ſpectacle that Bretagne offers; huſbandry ſo miſerably, ſo contemptibly bad, that I have ſhewn, by calculation, the whole province converted into a ſheep-walk, and feeding but two ſheep per acre, would yield, in wool only, a greater value than the whole amount of the linen fabric*; a circumſtance I attribute entirely to the manufacture ſpreading into the country, inſtead of being confined to towns. *Wherever the linen manufacture ſpreads, there tillage is very bad,* ſaid that attentive obſerver the Lord Chief Baron Forſter†.—The earl of Tyrone has an eſtate, in the county of Derry, amidſt manufactures, and another in that of Waterford, where there are none; and he aſſured me, that if the Derry land were in Waterford, or abſolutely freed from fabrics, he ſhould clear full one-third more money from it‡.—If we paſs into England, we ſhall find ſomething ſimilar, though not in an equal degree; the manufacturing parts of the kingdom being among the worſt cultivated. You muſt not go for agriculture to Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Warwickſhire, or Glouceſterſhire, which are full of fabrics, but to Kent, where there is not the trace of a fabric; to Berkſhire, Hertfordſhire, and Suffolk, where there are ſcarcely any; Norwich is an exception, being the only great manufacture in the kingdom in a thoroughly well cultivated diſtrict, which muſt very much be attributed to the fabric being kept remarkably within the city, and ſpreading (ſpinning excepted) not much into the country; a circumſtance that deſerves attention, as it confirms ſtrongly the preceding obſervations. But the two counties of Kent and Lancaſter are expreſsly to the purpoſe, becauſe they form a double experiment. Lancaſter is the moſt manufacturing province in England, and amongſt the worſt cultivated: Kent has not the ſhadow of a manufacture, and is perhaps the beſt cultivated. Italy will furniſh inſtances, more to the purpoſe, than any yet cited. The richeſt and moſt flouriſhing countries in Europe, in proportion to their extent, are probably Piedmont, and the Milaneſe. All the ſigns of proſperity are there met with; populouſneſs well employed and well ſupported; a great export without; a thriving conſumption within; magnificent roads; numerous and wealthy towns; circulation active; intereſt of money low; and the price of labour high. In a word, you can name no circumſtance that ſhall prove Mancheſter, Birmingham, Rouen, and Lyons to be in a proſperous ſtate, that is found diffuſed throughout the whole of theſe countries. To what is all this proſperity to be aſcribed? Certainly not to manufactures, becauſe they poſſeſs hardly the trace of a fabric: there are a few of no conſideration at Milan; and there are in Piedmont the ſilk-mills, to give the firſt hand to that product; but on the whole to an amount ſo very trifling, that both countries muſt be conſidered as *without* fabrics. They are equally without commerce, being excluded from the ſea; and though there is a navigable river that paſſes through both theſe territories, yet no uſe is made of it, for there are five ſovereigns between Piedmont and its mouth, all of whom lay duties on the tranſit of every ſort of merchandize. As theſe two countries do not owe their riches to manufactures or commerce, ſo undoubtedly they are not indebted for them to any peculiar felicity in their governments: both are deſpotiſms; and the deſpot * of Milan makes that country a beaſt of burthen to Germany; the revenues are remitted to Vienna; and the cloaths, even for the troops paid by Milan, come from Germany. The origin and the ſupport of all the wealth of theſe countries, are to be found in *agriculture alone*, which is carried to ſuch perfection as to prove, that it is equal to the ſole ſupport of a modern and moſt flouriſhing ſociety: to keep that ſociety in a ſtate of great wealth; and to enable the governments to be, in proportion to their extent, doubly more powerful than either France or England, Piedmont ſupports a regal court, and pays 30,000 men. The ſame extent of country, or number of people, does not effect the half of this in any other dominion of Europe. But are theſe territories really without manufactures? No: nor is any country in the world; it is not poſſible to find a people totally exempt from them. The preſent inquiry demands no ſuch exemption: it is only neceſſary to ſhew, that the manufactures found in the Milaneſe and in Piedmont are ſuch as ariſe abſolutely in conſequence of agriculture; that it is agriculture which ſupports and nouriſhes them; and that, on the contrary, theſe manufactures are ſo far from doing any thing politically for agriculture, that they occaſion the expoſing of it to reſtrictions and monopolies; for the government in theſe countries have been bitten by the ſame madneſs of commerce that has infeſted other kingdoms; and have attempted, by ſuch means, to raiſe theſe trifling fabrics into foreign export. Happily they have never been able to do it; for there is reaſon to imagine, that ſucceſs would have ſuggeſted other reſtrictions unfavourable to the great foundation of all their proſperity. Thus the inſtances produced are expreſs to the purpoſe, as they exhibit two opulent ſtates, ſupported by agriculture alone, and poſſeſſing no other manufactures or commerce, than what every country muſt poſſeſs that enjoys a flouriſhing cultivation; for it is not to be expected that ſuch great reſults are to be found attending common exertions only. On the contrary, thoſe that have converted part of theſe noble teritories into a garden, have been great and exemplary. The canals, for mere irrigation, are greater works than many in England for the purpoſes of navigation; and the infinite attention that is given to the perpetual deviation of the waters, is a ſpectacle of equal merit and curioſity. Hence the following facts cannot be controverted:

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[*] *Journal Phyſique*, tom. xxxvi. p. 342.

[†] *Memoire ſur cette queſtion, Eſt-il utile en Artois du diviſer leſs fermes? par M. Delegorgue*, 1786. p. 23.

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* *A Tour in Ireland,* 2d edit. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 304.

† Ib. vol. i. p. 123.

‡ Ib. vol. i. p. 515.

I. That the agriculture of France, after a century of excluſive and ſucceſsful attention to manufactures, was in a wretched ſtate.

II. That the manufacturing diſtricts in France and England are the worſt cultivated.

III. That the beſt cultivation in England, and ſome of the beſt in France, muſt be looked for where no manufactures are to be found.

IV. That when the fabrics ſpread into all the cottages of a country, as in France and Ireland, ſuch a circumſtance is abſolutely deſtructive of agriculture: ſpinning only excepted, which is almoſt univerſal in every country.

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* The expreſſion has nothing too harſh, when applied to the late Emperor, in whoſe reign I viſited the Milaneſe: it is not applicable to the wiſe and benignant Leopold, who has given ample grounds to induce a belief, that he will prove a bleſſing to every country that is happy enough to be governed by him.

V. That agriculture alone, when thoroughly improved, is equal to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of great national wealth, power, and felicity.

And from theſe facts, the following corollaries are clearly deducible:

I. That the beſt method of improving agriculture is not by eſtabliſhing manufactures and commerce, becauſe they may be eſtabliſhed in great extent and perfection, and yet agriculture may remain in a miſerable ſtate.

II. That the eſtabliſhment of a flouriſhing agriculture inevitably occaſions the poſſeſſion of ſuch manufactures and commerce as are equal to the ſupport of numerous and flouriſhing towns; and to whatever is neceſſary to form a great and potent ſociety. The leſſon to governments is deducible in few words: firſt, ſecure proſperity to agriculture, by equal taxation*, and by abſolute liberty † of cultivation and ſale ‡. Secondly, do no more to encourage manufactures and commerce than by letting them alone, a policy excluſive of every idea of monopoly. We may ſafely affirm, and our aſſertions are founded on unqueſtionable facts, that any country will attain the utmoſt proſperity of which its government is capable that ſteadily purſues this conduct."

Mr. Young in the moſt pointed manner diſcourages the idea of attempting to promote the culture of ſilk in this kingdom. His reaſoning may be perfectly accurate; but the tone of his deciſions in general is rather too peremptory, as well as too contemptuous towards all, who differ from him on ſpeculative points.

"The Society of Arts at London have, for many years, offered premiums for mulberries and ſilk in England; and much has been written and argued in favour of the ſcheme, which I take to be a great, but harmleſs folly: it may miſlead and deceive a few ingenious ſpeculative people, who may, for what I know, in the courſe of a century, arrive at ſuch ſucceſs as the late king of Pruſſia boaſted, that of making a few thouſand pounds of miſerably bad ſilk, after forty years exertion. Such ſucceſs is a real loſs; for the ſame attention, time, capital, and encouragement, given to productions natural to the climate, would have made twenty times, perhaps an hundred times, the return. That ſilk may be made in England I have no doubt; but it will be made on the ſame principles, and attended by the ſame dead loſs. The duke of Belleiſle made ſilk in Normandy; and if he had been a great ſovereign, his hundreds would have been thouſands of pounds; but all was loſs, and, therefore, the ſooner it dropped the better. Another duke failed, not quite ſo much, in the Angoumois; and a third planted mulberries to loſs on the Garonne: his neighbours did the ſame, but grubbed them up again becauſe they did not anſwer. At Tours, the fineſt climate of France for fruits, and by conſequence well adapted for mulberries, they ſucceed tolerably, but the culture does not increaſe; which carries with it a preſumption, that more ſteady heat in ſpring is wanted than the northern provinces of France enjoy. Such circumſtances bear with great force againſt any ideas of ſilk in England, where the heat is never ſteady; and leaſt of all in ſpring, where late froſts cut off vegetables much hardier than the mulberry, even ſo late as the end of May and beginning of June; and where I have ſeen potatoes turned black by them, even on Midſummer day.

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* There is no equality but in thoſe on conſumption, and tythes alſo incompatible.

† Liberty of cultivation implies an unlimited power of incloſure: the privilege of cultivating any plant the farmer pleaſes, without ſhackle or reſtraint.

‡ An unbounded freedom of export.

" The minutes are invariably deciſive, on the queſtion of feeding worms with any thing but mulberry-leaves; the utter impracticability of that ſcheme is ſhewn in a manner too ſatisfactory for any doubts to remain; and the difficulty of retarding the hatching of the worms beyond a certain period, though not proved with equal deciſion, is yet placed in a light not a little queſtionable. It is upon theſe two modifications of the common practice, that ſilk in England confeſſedly depends; one of them is a vague groundleſs theory; and the other too uncertain to be relied on. But I muſt further remark, that froſts, in ſuch a climate as England, as well as abroad, are to be looked for *after* the leafing of the mulberry; and conſequently, that the power of retarding the hatching of the eggs would be uſeleſs; the worms in that caſe muſt be put upon other food, which, with ſmall parcels, would make bad ſilk, and with large ones would demand an expence impoſſible to ſubmit to every year for a mere contingency that might be demanded only once in three or four. To urge the example of Brandenbourg is idle: in the firſt place, all continental climates are more regular than inſular ones, and therefore the climate of the king of Pruſſia's dominions may be better for the buſineſs; yet with this advantage Normandy failed. In 1788, that is, after forty years exertion, they made, in all the Pruſſian territories, 11,000 lb. * of pounds lighter than French ones. And the author I quote on this ſubject, who commends the project, informs us, that in Brandenbourg, to make a pound of ſilk, demands one-fourth more cocoons than in the ſouth of France †; and that the ſilk thus made, is ſo bad, that it will do only for certain objects ‡; of the climate he ſays, that it is not favourable enough § for the buſineſs. What encouragement is to be collected from this detail, when it is conſidered that forty years effort of the firſt talents in the world, ſeconded by boundleſs power, forcing plantations and laviſhing premiums, have been able to drive this nail, that will not go but againſt nature, to no greater extent than 11,000 lb. of bad ſilk in all the Pruſſian dominions? In my opinion, the reſult of ſuch an experiment yields a more complete condemnation, than if it had never been tried at all in ſuch a climate; and ought to be a leſſon to us in England, not obſtinately to perſiſt in ſuch fooliſh attempts, calculated only to bring ridicule on ſocieties, and diſappointment to individuals. In all probability, the ſilk made in Pruſſia coſts every year ten times more than it is worth; that is to ſay, the ſame royal attention, the ſame premiums, the ſame favours, as giving trees and ſilk eggs—the ſame powerful inſtigations to rectors and curées of the crown livings, &c.—had they been exerted to people the heaths of Brandenbourg with ſheep, would have yielded, in *wool alone,* ten times the value of 11,000 lb. of ſilk; which, if we value it at 12 s. a pound, being ſo inferior, amounts only to 6,600 l.—a pretty article of produce for forty years efforts of the moſt energic government in Europe! 50,000 ſheep, at 3 s. a-head in wool, go much beyond it, throwing mutton out of the queſtion.

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* *Mirabeau Monarch. Pruſſ.* tom. i. p. 180.

† Tom. ii. p. 166.

‡ Tom. i. p. 180.

§ Tom. ii. p. 166.

"An idle error in England, is the idea that this culture demands the labour only of women and children, and old and infirm perſons: the contrary appears the fact; eight men are neceſſary for gathering the leaves for twenty ounces of grain, during four or five days, when the worms are moſt ravenous: and the work of gathering is that of men at all times; for the leaves are not *picked,* but *ſtripped* along a branch, by force and hardneſs of hand. And even the feeding and cleaning worms is ſo far from being light work, that it is, on the contrary, very ſevere, ſo as even to kill ſome of the poor people that follow it up; as the induſtrious will follow up all work ſeverely. The culture is therefore very far from what it has been repreſented in England, as being all net profit, demanding only women, children, and the infirm; on the contrary, it would demand many able men, at a buſy ſeaſon of the year, when they could be ill ſpared; and if a propoſal was to be made at ſuch a ſeaſon to a farmer, that he muſt ſpare men enough to gather all the leaves of many hundred of pollard trees of any ſort, he would probably ſay the price of mulberry leaves in the ſilk countries would not pay him; and that double that price would not be an inducement to him, at ſuch a ſeaſon, to derange his buſineſs, and take his men from neceſſary work, for employing them on ſuch a buſineſs. If it is aſked, how the ſame thing can be done in the ſilk countries? I anſwer, that labour is but half the price of Engliſh labour, owing to cauſes explained in other chapters; that the multiplied ſubdiviſion of landed property fills many of thoſe countries with hands—many idle, and many not half employed. To them the culture is highly valuable; but to introduce it in a country, even if the climate would permit, conſtituted and politically arranged, in a manner and upon principles abſolutely contrary, would be attended with difficulties and expences, not in the contemplation of people very ingenious, perhaps, who have amuſed themſelves with ſilk-worms, and paid an attention to them, being a pleaſure, which, if commercially valued, would poſſibly amount to fifty times the value of all the ſilk they make."

Tranſactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland. *4to. vol. i.*

IN a ſhort account of this new aſſociation, prefixed to the preſent volume, it is obſerved, that until a very recent period various political cauſes prevented the Scots from making that progreſs in literature, to which the rapidity of their late acquiſitions proves them to have been competent. Previous to the Union, and indeed until they were united with the Engliſh, not only under one government, but in loyalty and affection under one common ſovereign, it is hinted that little could be expected from them capable of attracting the notice or challenging the applauſe of the learned.

The firſt volume of the ſociety's tranſactions cannot be ſuppoſed to contain nothing cenſurable in the eye of fair criticiſm. But if it is not free from ſome occaſional blemiſhes, if it poſſeſſes not as an aggregate any very important rank among ſimilar publications, it is nevertheleſs far above contempt, and merits ſufficient encouragement from the public to compenſate the labour, and animate the zeal of its authors.

In their future volumes the leading members of this ſociety ſhould beſtow a minuter attention upon the nature of the different papers, which are ſubmitted to them for publication. Several of thoſe which compoſe a part of this volume, are not exactly of a deſcription to claim a place in a compilation profeſſedly confined to the ſubject of antiquities. No inſinuation is meant to be conveyed by this remark againſt the intrinſic merits of the eſſays alluded to: they may be excellent in their reſpective kinds; but certainly are not preciſely ſuited to the work in which they are inſerted.

An aſſociation, ſimilar to that of the London Society of Antiquaries, was projected it ſeems in Scotland by ſeveral gentlemen of eminence and learning, "ſome of whom (we are told) had made private collections, and were anxious that theſe, and others which they knew were ſcattered through the kingdom, ſhould be preſerved in a ſecure and permanent repoſitory. The time, they found, was now arrived, when ſuch a ſociety might be inſtituted, without any apprehenſion of thoſe conſequences to national union and concord which had formerly ſubſiſted: they conſidered, that ſome uſeful materials which had been amaſſed by eminent antiquaries, were now periſhing in the poſſeſſion of perſons who knew not their value; that others, ſtill exiſting in public libraries, depended upon the fate of ſingle copies, and were ſubject to obliteration, to fire, and to other cauſes of deſtruction; and that it was an object of national importance to bring all theſe, either in their original form, or by accurate tranſcript, into one great repoſitory, which ſhould be rendered acceſſible to the republic of letters."

Agreeably to this idea, Lord Buchan, in November 1780, convened a meeting of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen at his own houſe, for the expreſs purpoſe of commencing the intended aſſociation. At this meeting, the parties preſent reſolved to eſtabliſh themſelves into a regular and permanent body, under the denomination of "The Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland." In May 1782 a petition was preſented to his majeſty, praying for a royal charter of incorporation, who not only acceded to the requeſt of the petitioners, but condeſcended himſelf to be ſtyled their patron. The gentlemen in office, upon this occaſion, with a liberality which did

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them honour, declined the acceptance of their accuſtomed fees for the grant of a royal charter.

The following are the papers contained in the preſent volume—An hiſtorical account of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland; by Mr. William Smellie.—An inquiry into the origin of the name of the Scottiſh nation, preſented to the Society of Antiquaries, at Edinburgh, December 1780; by Sir James Foulis, of Colinton, baronet.—An inquiry into the beverage of the ancient Caledonians, and other northern nations, at their feaſts, and of their drinking veſſels; by the ſame.—Of the league ſaid to have been formed between the emperor Charlemagne and the king of Scotland; by the ſame.—Plan for a royal foreſt of oak in the highlands of Scotland; by Mr. John Williams, mineral ſurveyor.—Report upon the preceding paper; by Sir Alexander Dick, of Preſtonfield, baronet.—Account of the pariſh of Haddington, by the Rev. Dr. George Barclay of Middleton—Sect. 1. Situation, boundaries, and topographical deſcription of the pariſh, number of inhabitants, ancient and modern ſeats, nature of ſoils, ſtate of agriculture, rivers, bridges, &c.—Sect. 2. Its antiquity, civil government, police, trade, manufactures, remarkable occurrences, &c.—Sect. 3. Abbacy of Haddington, pariſh church of Haddington, and other religious foundations, with the ſucceſſion of miniſters ſince the reformation, and other particulars relating to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.—Sect. 4. Eminent perſons who were natives of the pariſh of Haddington.—Appendix, N° i. Catalogue of pictures at Amisfield.—Appendix, N° ii. Liſt of the farms and ploughgates in the county of Haddington.—Appendix, N° iii. Condeſcendence by Mr. William Law, ſheriff-depute of the county of Haddington, of his mode of ſtriking the Fiars of that county.—Appendix, N° iv. Act of parliament in favoris of the town of Haddington, 28 *Junii* 1633.—Appendix, N° v. The inſcriptions upon the monument in the earl of Lauderdale's aile upon the north ſide of the church of Haddington.—Appendix, N° vi. *Carta Confirmationis, Cartae Prioratui de Hadington, per Willielmum St. Andreae conceſſae.*—Appendix, N° vii. *Ex Cartul. Priorat. St. Andr. Richardus de Eccleſia de Hadintona.*—Obſervations on the origin of the Duni Pacis; by Sir James Foulis, of Colinton, baronet.—Deſcription of the encampments on the hill of Burnſwork.—Memoirs of the life of Sir James Stewart Denhalm, baronet; by the right honourable the earl of Buchan.—Account of the pariſh of Uphall; by the ſame.—An inquiry into the original inhabitants of Britain; by Sir James Foulis, of Colinton, baronet.—An hiſtorical account of the hammermen of Edinburgh, from their records; by William Charles Little, of Liberton, eſq.—An account of the magnetic mountain of Cannay; by George Dempſter, of Dunichen, eſq.—On the offices of thane and abthane; by Robert Riddel, of Glenriddel, eſq.—An account of a combat between the Macpherſons and the Davidſons; from Sir James Foulis, of Colinton, baronet.—An account of the Manner in which the Lammas Feſtival uſed to be celebrated in Mid Lothian, about the middle of the eighteenth century; by James Anderſon, L.L.D.—A diſquiſition into the proper arrangement of the ſilver coins, applicable to the firſt four James's kings of Scotland; by James Cummyng, eſq; L. A. C.—An account of the province of Biſcay, in Spain; by the Rev. Dr. John Geddes.—An account of the money, coins, and weights uſed in England, during the reigns of the Saxon princes; by James Stirling, of Leadhills, eſq; —An account of the iſland of Icolumkill; by the right honourable the earl of Buchan.—Of the Roman Haſta and Pilum; of the braſs and iron uſed by the ancients; by the Rev. Mr. John Grant, miniſter of Dundurcas.—Life of Mr. James Short, optician; by the right honourable the earl of Buchan.—Remarks made in a journey to the Orkney-iſlands; by Principal Gordon, of the Scots college in Paris.—A deſcription of an antient obeliſk in Berwickſhire: with an engraving; by Roger Robertſon, of Ladykirk, eſq.—Obſervations and facts concerning the breed of horſes in Scotland in ancient times, by the ſame.—An account of ſome remains of antiquity in the iſland of Lewis, one of the Hebrides; by Colin M'Kenzie, eſq.—An account of the pariſh of Liberton in Mid-Lothian, or county of Edinburgh; by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Whyte, miniſter of that pariſh.—Appendix, N° i. chart. 1. *Charta Alexandri Regis Scotorum Roberto de Walnchop, filio Allani de Walnchop.* Chart. 2. *Carta admortizationis facta per Archibaldum Wauchope de Nudrie Mercheale.*—N° ii.—N° iii. Account of the number of ſouls in the pariſh of Liberton, taken Autumn 1786.—N° iv. Charter, by the city of Edinburgh, to William of Preſtoune of Gourton.—N° v. An account of the ſtipend of Liberton, as allocated on the ſeveral lands.—N° vi. The tithes of Liberton.—N° vii. An account of the chriſtenings in Liberton, from November 28, 1624, until January 1, 1788—an account of the marriages in Liberton.—An account of the irregular marriages, from the beginning of 1753 until the end of 1783—an account of the deaths or burials in Liberton.—N° viii. 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Dr. Alexander Geddes.—Epiſtle to the preſident, vice-preſidents, and members of the Scottiſh ſociety of antiquaries, on being choſen a correſpondent member; by the ſame.—The firſt Eklog of Virgil, tránſlâtit into Skottis vers; by the ſame.—The firſt Idillion of Theokritus, tránſlâtit into Skottis vers; by the ſame.—Diſſertation on the Scottiſh muſic; by William Tytler, of Woodhouſelee, eſq.—On the faſhionable amuſements and entertainments in Edinburgh in the laſt century, with a plan of a grand concert of muſic on St. Cecilia's day, 1695; by the ſame.—The order of the inſtrumental muſic for the feaſt of St. Cecilia, 22d November 1695; by the ſame.—Topographical deſcription of the pariſh of Aberlady; by the Rev. Dr. Neil Roy.—Letter from the counteſs dowager of Nithſdale to her ſiſter, the counteſs of Traquair, giving an account of the earl's eſcape out of the Tower in 1716; from Mr. John Syme, writer to the ſignet.—A letter from the late Dr. Henry, author of the hiſtory of Great Britain, to William Tytler, eſq;—the anſwer.—Diſſertation on the marriage of Queen Mary with the earl of Bothwell; by William Tytler, of Woodhouſelee, eſq.—Letter under the privy ſignet of of king James VI. addreſſed thus: 'to o^{r} truſtie and well beloved y^{e} 'proveſt, bayliffes, and councell of 'y^{e} burrough of Dundie;' from the original in the muſaeum.—Letter from the privy council of Scotland, directed thus: 'to the earle of Callander, ſheriff principall of the 'ſhyre of Stirling. In haſte;' from the original in the muſaeum.—Letter to Mr. Cummyng, ſecretary to the ſociety of the antiquaries of Scotland, from the Rev. Dr. Barclay of Middleton.—Letter to the right reverend the biſhop of Edinburgh, from Gilbert Burnet, D. D; from the original in the muſaeum—Inſtructions for William Stewart, to be obſerved by him in the duke of Queenſberry's family, during his grace's abſence in England; from the original in the muſaeum.—Licence by Lord Bellenden, lord treaſurer depute, in favour of William Selkirk, &c. to eat fleſh in forbidden times, February 1665; from the original in the muſaeum.—Addreſs of one hundred and two chief heritors and heads of clans in the Highlands of Scotland to king George I; from the original in the muſaeum.—On Agricola's engagement with the Caledonians, under their leader Galgacus; by Robert Barclay, of Ury, eſq.—Excerpts from Tacitus's life of Agricola.

The Environs of London: *being an hiſtorical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, within Twelve Miles of that Capital; interſperſed with Biographical Anecdotes. By the Reverend* Daniel Lyſons, A. M. F. A. S. *Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of* Orford.—*Vol.* i. *County of* Surrey.

FROM the title page which Mr. Lyſons has choſen (not perhaps with the greateſt judgment) the reader may be inclined to imagine, that the work itſelf is little more than a mere trifling diſh of light and unſubſtantial fare, cooked up to pleaſe the palates of our citizens of taſte, who pride themſelves upon viſiting the moſt remarkable ſpots in the vicinity of the metropolis. But the fact is far otherwiſe. It is in reality a publication of a very reſpectable deſcription; and may challenge no contemptible rank among the beſt of our provincial hiſtories.

If a work of this kind, when compoſed by a man of talents, induſtry, and diſcrimination, is not attended with that immediate glare of reputation, which proves in general ſo captivating to young authors; yet it ſeldom fails of ultimately making its way to the eſtimation of the public, and is frequently quoted and admired, when the meteor of the day has blazed and is forgotten. Such, we doubt not, will be the certain reward of Mr. Lyſons's labours.

The abilities of the author ſeem

peculiarly adapted to an undertaking of this nature. Inſtigated in an unuſual degree by a laudable zeal for all antiquarian and curious reſearches, he appears to receive a mental relaxation, in what would be to many the extreme of toil and fatigue. Poſſeſſed likewiſe of a moſt comprehenſive memory, richly ſtored with an inexhauſtible fund of literary as well as local hiſtory, he is enabled continually to enliven the dullneſs of parochial narrative by many intereſting biographical anecdotes. Nor is the accuracy of his judgment in ſelecting and applying his materials inferior to the activity of his memory in furniſhing them. He is always circumſtantial, but never frivolouſly minute. If he is not faſtidiouſly ſcrupulous in the choice of his words, and the ſtructure of his periods, he has to boaſt conſiderable ſkill in the ſelection and arrangement of the information, which he lays before the public. Not that an unprejudiced critic will complain of any inelegance or coarſeneſs of diction. Mr. Lyſons's language is that of a man of ſenſe, who on a ſubject, which requires no extraordinary embelliſhments of ſtyle, affects to uſe none, but conveys his meaning with neatneſs, plainneſs, and perſpicuity.

The leading objects of this publication are ſimply ſtated to be, a brief deſcription of the ſituation, ſoil, produce, and manufactures of the pariſhes within twelve miles of the capital; the deſcent of the principal, particularly manerial, property; the churches and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; the ſtate of population; and the biography connected with the reſpective pariſhes. We have already given ſeveral extracts from the work; but in order to convey a better idea of the plan, upon which it is conducted, we ſhall preſent our readers with the principal part of the account, which is given of the pariſh of Streatham.

" This place derives its name from having been ſituated near the great Roman road from Arundel to London; *ſtrete* ſignifying in the Saxon language a highway; and *ham*, a dwelling. The Normans, with little attention to its derivation, call this village, in Doomſday-book, Eſtraham: in all records of a ſubſequent date it is written Stretham. In compliance with the univerſal cuſtom which has prevailed perhaps for the laſt fifty years, I have ſpelt it Streatham, though the *a* ſeems an unneceſſary and improper interpolation *.

" Streatham lies in the eaſtern diviſion of Brixton-hundred, and is ſituated on the road from London to Croydon, at the diſtance of ſomewhat more than five miles from Weſtminſter-bridge. The pariſh is bounded by thoſe of Croydon, Mitcham, Wandſworth, Batterſea, Clapham, Lambeth, and Camberwell. The greater part of the land is arable, the ſoil various, but clay is predominant. There are about 380 acres of common. Streatham is aſſeſſed the ſum of 586l. 13 s. 9 d. to the land-tax, which is at the rate of 2 s. 3 d. in the pound.

" In Doomſday-book ſeveral manors or eſtates are recorded as lying within the pariſh of Streatham; they were held in the Confeſſor's time by Ulward, Edwin, Harold, the canons of Waltham, Erding, and Eſtarcher. Ulward's manor was of one carucate, valued at 20 s.; and was held, at the time of the ſurvey, by Haimo the ſheriff. Edwin's manor, which was of the ſame extent, but valued at 25 s. was given by the Conqueror to the biſhop of Baieux, and was held under him by Anſgot. Earl Morton became proprietor of the land which had been divided between Earl Harold and the canons of Waltham. It contained two carucates, and at three ſeveral periods had been valued at 30 s. 15 s. and 43 s. Richard de Tonebridge obtained of the Conqueror the two other manors; one of which, being valued at 100 s. he gave to the monaſtery of Bec; the other, valued in the Confeſſor's time at 50 s. and at the time of the ſurvey at 60 s. was held of him by the ſame convent. The former of theſe included the hamlet of Tooting, which, as well as the manor, was called afterwards Tooting Bec. The lands here are ſometimes deſcribed as the property of the abbey of Bec, and ſometimes of the priory of Okebourn, which was the principal cell to that monaſtery in England *. Tanner ſpeaks of a priory of black monks ſettled at Tooting; in ſupport of which authority, a record of the reign of Edward IV. mentions the manor or priory of Tooting †. After the ſuppreſſion of alien priories, the manor of Tooting Bec was granted to John duke of Bedford, conſtable of France ‡; and was afterwards leaſed by the crown to John Arderne, eſq. for a rent of 19 l. per annum, which formed part of the endowment of Eton college §. The manor was granted by Edward IV. to Lawrence Booth, biſhop of Durham, for life ‖; and was afterwards, by the ſame king, ſettled upon John Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, maſter, and Sir John Scott and others, wardens, of St. Mary's Guild, in the church of Allhallows-Barking **. Upon the ſuppreſſion of the guild, John Dudley earl of Warwick bought the manor of Tooting Bec of the crown, at 22 years purchaſe ††. It afterwards became the property of the Pakenhams, and was aliened in the year 1600, by Henry Pakenham to Sir Giles Howland ‡‡. By the intermarriage of Wriotheſley duke of Bedford, with Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heir of John Howland, eſq. it came into the Bedford family, and is now the property of the preſent duke, who bears the title of baron Howland of Streatham.

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* See Mr. Bray's paper in the Archæologia, vol. ix. p. 104.

" The manor-houſe, which is ſituated at the corner of Streatham-common, on the road to Croydon, is large, but contains nothing remarkable. It was probably rebuilt by Sir Giles Howland, whoſe arms and

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* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 488. In a regiſter of Merton Abbey, in the Bodleian Library, is an account of a trial at law between the Abbot of Bec, and William rector of Streatham, A° 1340, in which the former recovered a houſe and 60 acres of land, of which he had been diſſeized. Another trial relating to the ſame premiſes happened in 1368, between the Abbot and John Whiteman, in which the former was again ſucceſsful. The prior of Okebourn's property in Streatham was valued at 68 s. 8 d. in 1291.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 488.

‡ Eſch. 14 Hen. VI.

§ Hiſtory of Alien Priories, vol. ii. p. 155.

‖ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 488.

** Pat. 5 Edw. IV. pt. 1. m. 19.

†† Certificate of the ſale of chantry lands, in the Augmentation-office.

‡‡ Pat. 42 Eliz. pt. 10. Dec. 1.

thoſe of his wife * are upon two brick turrets, which appear to have formed the grand entrance to the houſe. Queen Elizabeth's arms, which were formerly in the hall, ſerve alſo to aſcertain the date, and no doubt gave riſe to a tradition, that it was one of her palaces; a tradition ſo prevalent in Salmon's time †, that they ſhowed the earl of Eſſex's apartments, and ſupported it by other circumſtantial proofs, yet ſo deſtitute of foundation, either from hiſtory or record, as to make one very cautious of truſting the village tale upon ſuch occaſions. The houſe appears to have undergone a total change in its external form about the beginning of this century.

"It does not appear what became of the other manors mentioned in Doomſday. King John granted a conſiderable eſtate at Streatham, which had been the property of Peter Feald, to William de Rivers earl of Devonſhire. This probably was afterwards given to the monaſtery of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondſey.

"The dean and chapter of Canterbury have ſtill a manor here, which, though not mentioned in Doomſday-book, is ſaid to have been given to the monks of that cathedral by king "Egelred," in the year 959 ‡.

"The manor of Leigham's or Legham's court belonged to Bermondſey abbey, and was granted, after the ſuppreſſion of that monaſtery, to Henry Dowſe §, clerk; William Dowſe appears to have alienated it about the year 1564 to John Southcott, eſq. afterwards one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas ‖. About the year 1610, it came into the poſſeſſion of Sir Matthew Carew, knt. and LL. D. who two years afterwards appears to have alienated it to John Howland, eſq. from whom it deſcended to Walter Howland, alias Roberts, ſon of Thomas Roberts, eſq. and grandſon of Sir Matthew Howland. George duke of St. Albans married Jane ſole heir of Sir Walter Roberts, whereby he became poſſeſſed of this manor, which was purchaſed of the late duke's truſtees by the right hon. Edward lord Thurlow, who is the preſent proprietor.

"The lord of this manor has a court-leet, and view of franc-plege: the lands therein deſcend to the youngeſt ſon. The tenants are ſubject to the payment of pannage, or 1 d. to the lord for every ſwine, and to another cuſtomary payment called rump-pence, being one penny to be paid by every perſon who has cattle to the value of 30s.

"The manor of Balgham, or, as it is now called, Balham, though now in Streatham pariſh, ſeems to be mentioned in Doomſday-book as an appendage to Clapham. It had been held of earl Harold by

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* Howland bears Argent, two bars Sable, in chief, 3 lions rampant, Gules; Rivers bears Az. on a feſſe Gules, engrailed Arg. between 3 ſwans proper, three roſes of the third. Sir Giles Howland married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Rivers. Sir Giles's brother Richard was biſhop of Peterborough.

† Antiquities of Surrey, 8vo. 1736. p. 39.

‡ Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. i. p. 21. There muſt be an error reſpecting the date. Eldred began to reign in 946, and died in 955. Ethelred began his reign in 979.

§ Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 10. Oct. 15.

‖ Court-rolls of the manor, whence the ſubſequent alienations are taken.

Anſchil. At the time of the ſurvey it was in the poſſeſſion of Godfrey Orlatele, who is there reported not to have had lawful ſeizure thereof. At three ſeveral periods it had been valued at 6l. 20s. and 40s. Sibyl de Tingria confirmed to the monks of Bec a hide of land in Balgham belonging to the manor of Clapham, which had been given them by her anceſtors *. Nigel de Mandeville, in the year 1103, gave two hides of land in Balgham to Bermondſey Abbey †. The farm of Balams in Streatham continued in the crown ſome time after the diſſolution of monaſteries, and was leaſed by Queen Elizabeth to Edward Williams ‡. William Smith, gent. who died 16 Car. I. was ſeiſed of a meſſuage called Balams in Streatham, which he had lately purchaſed of Nathaniel Boſtock §. The manor has belonged to the family of Du Cane ſince the year 1701, and is now the property of Peter Du Cane, jun. eſq.

" Edward VI. granted lands at Streatham to Thomas Lord Darcy ‖, which afterwards came to the Carews **.

" On the ſide of the ſmall common between Streatham and Tooting, is a villa which belonged to the late Henry Thrale, eſq. and is now the reſidence of Gabriel Piozzi, eſq. who married his widow. The houſe, which is pleaſant and commodious, has been much improved by Mr. Piozzi. In the library is a very valuable ſet of portraits, painted by Sir Joſhua Reynolds for Mr. Thrale. Beſides the maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe, they conſiſt of lord Sandys, lord Weſtcote, Sir Joſhua Reynolds, Dr. Johnſon, Edmund Burke, David Garrick, Arthur Murphy, Oliver Goldſmith, Dr. Burney, Sir Robert Chambers, and Baretti, who ſpent many ſocial hours in the room where their portraits now hang. It is well known to thoſe who have read any of the various writers of Johnſon's life, that he ſpent much of his time beneath this hoſpitable roof. The little events which happened, and the peculiarities which diſtinguiſhed this eminent and worthy character during his reſidence here, are admirably pourtrayed by Mrs. Piozzi in her anecdotes of the laſt 20 years of his life. The kitchen-gardens belonging to this villa are remarkably ſpacious, and ſurrounded by brick-walls fourteen feet in height, built for the reception of forcing-frames, and producing a great abundance of fine fruit. Adjoining the houſe is an incloſure of about 100 acres, ſurrounded with a ſhrubbery and gravel walk of nearly two miles in circumference.

" The church, which ſtands in the centre of the village, is dedicated to St. Leonard, and conſiſts of a nave and chancel. The north ſide is built of flints, and retains ſome traces of the architecture of the fourteenth century. The ſouth wall was rebuilt with brick, and a gallery added on that ſide about

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* Hiſtory of Alien Priories, vol. i. p. 164—167.

† Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. i. p. 640.

‡ Pat. 29 Eliz. pt. 3. Apr. 2.

§ Cole's Eſcheats, Brit. Muſ. Harl. MSS. N° 411. p. 188.

‖ Grants by Edw. VI. Augmentation-office.

** Terrier of Lands in Surrey, N° 4705. Ayſcough's Cat. MSS. Brit. Muſ.

16 years ago. At the weſt end is a ſquare tower ſupporting a taper ſpire, which, though of no great height, yet, being ſituated upon a high ſpot of ground, forms a conſpicuous object for ſeveral miles.

"Upon an altar-tomb in the north wall, under a rich Gothic canopy, lies the mutilated figure of an armed knight, having a pointed helmet, mail gorget, and plated cuiraſſes. The canopy is ornamented with quatrefoils, but the pinnacles and ſome of the other parts are imperfect. It ſeems probable, from the ſituation, that it is the founder's tomb, and its form aſcertains it to be of the 14th century*. It has been abſurdly called the tomb of John of Gaunt †, who it is well known was buried in St. Paul's cathedral.

"In the ſame wall, higher in the chancel, is another Gothic canopy with a flat arch: beneath this is a marble ſlab fixed ſideways in the wall, which has evidently been diſplaced. The inſcription, which is nearly covered with wainſcot, records the death of Margaret wife of Henry Cantlowe, and daughter of Nicholas Aylwin, who died in 1486. It is printed in Aubrey, who ſays, that it was taken from the ground. In the pew belonging to the Thrale family are the following inſcriptions, upon tablets of white marble, to the memory of Mr. Thrale, and Mrs. Saluſbury, mother to Mrs. Piozzi. They were both written by Dr. Johnſon.

"Hic conditur quod reliquum "eſt Henrici Thrale, qui res ſeu "civiles, ſive domeſticas, ita egit, "ut vitam illi longiorem multi op"tarent: ita ſacras, ut quam bre"vem eſſet habiturus præſcire vide"retur. Simplex, apertus, ſibique "ſemper ſimilis, nihil oſtentavit "aut arte fictum aut curâ elabora"tum. In Senatu, Regi, patriæ"que fideliter ſtuduit, vulgi ob"ſtrepentis contemptor animoſus; "domi inter mille mercaturæ ne"gotia, literarum elegantias mi"nimè neglexit. Amicis quocun"que modo laborantibus, conſiliis, "auctoritate, muneribus adfuit. In"ter familiares, comites, convivas, "hoſpites, tam facili fuit morum "ſuavitate ut omnium animos ad ſe "alliceret, tam felici ſermonis li"bertate, ut nulli adulatus, omni"bus placeret. Natus 1728, obiit "1781. Conſortes tumuli habet "Radulphum patrem, ſtrenuum "prudentemque virum et Henri"cum filium unicum, quem ſpei "parentium mors inopina decen"nem præripuit. Ita domus felix "et opulenta, quam erexit avus, "auxitque pater, cum nepote deci"dit. Abi Lector! et vicibus re"rum humanarum perſpectis, æter"nitatem cogita!"

"Juxta ſepulta eſt Heſtera Maria, "Thomæ Cotton de Combermere "Baronetti Ceſtrienſis filia, Johan"nis Saluſbury, Armigeri Flint"ienſis, uxor; formâ felix, felix "ingenio, omnibus jucunda, ſuorum "amantiſſima, linguis artibuſque "ita exculta ut loquenti numquam "deeſſent ſermonis nitor; ſenten"tiarum floſculi, ſapientiæ gravitas, "leporum gratia: modum ſervandi

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* It very nearly reſembles the tomb of Haimo de Hethe, biſhop of Rocheſter, who died in 1352; and that of Sir William de la Pole, at Hull, who died 1367. See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. i.

† See Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, vol. i. p. 201; and Salmon, p. 40.

"adeò perita ut domeſtica inter "negotia literis oblectaretur; literarum inter delicias rem familiarem ſedulò curaret. Multis illi "multos annos precantibus, diro "Carcinomatis veneno contabuit, "nexibuſque vitæ paulatim reſolutis, e terris, meliora ſperans, "emigravit. Nata 1707, nupta "1739, obiit 1773.

"In the chancel are alſo the monuments of Thomas Hobbes, eſq. (no date); his wife Suſanna, who died in 1623, and his ſecond wife Margaret Lady Chiborne, daughter of Sir George Younge, of York, who died in 1628; John Maſſingberd, who died in 1653; Sir Matthew Howland, knt. gentleman penſioner to king James and king Charles, who died in 1648 (this tablet is mutilated, but the inſcription is preſerved in Aubrey); Edmund Tilney, eſq. of Letherhead, maſter of the revels to Queen Elizabeth and king James (no date, the inſcription records his alliances with the family of Howard, duke of Norfolk); Cecilia, wife of Robert Goodwin, eſq. of the county of Suſſex, who died in 1664; Walter Howland, alias Roberts, eſq. of Brixton-cauſey, who died in 1692; and Rebecca, wife of William Lynne, who died in 1653. Her epitaph was written by her huſband, who, after dwelling upon her ſeveral virtues, exclaims in the concluding lines:

"Should I ten thouſand years enjoy my life,
"I cou'd not praiſe enough ſo good a wife."

"On the ſouth wall is a monument to a woman of equal excellence—Elizabeth, wife of major general Hamilton, "who was married near 47 years, and never did "one thing to diſpleaſe her huſband." She died in 1746.

"On the chancel floor are the tombs of Sir Giles Howland, who died in 1609; and Suſanna, relict of John Evelyn, eſq. who died in 1680.

"On the north wall are the monuments of Robert Liveſay*, eſq. who died in 1608; John Howland, eſq. who died in 1686; and Major Henniker, eſq. who died in 1789. On the ſouth wall that of Priſcilla Lavayſiere, a native of France, who left that kingdom during the perſecutions of Lewis XIV. She died in 1748. In the middle of the church are the tombs of Elizabeth, wife of Mr. John Fry, of the county of Devon, who died in 1770; and Elias Durnford, eſq. who died in 1774. Under the gallery are thoſe of the honourable John Piers, one of his majeſty's council in Barbadoes, who died in 1688; and his grandſon John Piers, eſq. who died in 1761; William Hambly, eſq. of the county of Cornwall, who died in 1718, and Peter Hambly, eſq. who died in 1723. Towards the weſt end are thoſe of the Reverend Philip Morgan, rector of Waſing in Berkſhire, who died in 1774; and Amelia, wife of James Strachan, eſq. who died in 1788.

"Aubrey has preſerved the epitaphs of the following perſons, which are either deſtroyed or covered with pews. John Eſlifield, rector of Streatham, (no date)*; William Mowſarth†, rector of this church and Mickleham, who died in 1513; Roger Norton, ſub-dean of the king's chapel, and rector of Streatham, who died in 1527; Michael Rabet, rector, who died in 1630; Thomas Holt, rector, who died in 1710; Anne, wife of Gabriel Liveſey, eſq. who died in 1518; Cecilia, wife of George Lee, eſq. of Lincoln's-inn, who died in 1664; and Elizabeth, wife of Mark Wiſeman, gent. who died in 1643.

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* At the foot of this monument is the following quibbling couplet:

"Liveſaye the name, God here them gave,
"And now Lives—aye, indeed they have."

“ In the chancel window, which is ſaid in Roger Norton's epitaph to have been put up at his expence, are ſtill ſome remains of painted glaſs.

“ In the church-yard are the tombs of Godfrey Lee, proctor in Doctors Commons, who died in 1720; Edward Theobald, gent. who died in 1738; William Jones, eſq. of Tooting Bec, who died in 1753; John Jones, eſq. who died in 1762; the Reverend James Jackſon, M. A. maſter of an academy, who died in 1766; William Hardy, eſq. who died in 1779; Ann, relict of the Reverend Pierſon Lloyd, LL. D. who died in 1787; Mary, wife of Henry Bodicoate, merchant, who died in 1789; and Elizabeth, wife of John Painter, eſq. who died in 1791. Aubrey mentions alſo that of John Baker of Gray's-Inn, gent. who died in 1703.

“ The church of Streatham lies in the dioceſe of Wincheſter, and in the deanery of Southwark. The benefice is a rectory, the patronage of which has been always attached to the manor of Tooting Bec, and is now veſted in his grace the duke of Bedford. In 1291 it was taxed at ſix marks and 40d. The prior of Okebourn received a penſion of 20 s. from it; the prior of Bec 4 l.; and the prior of Garſteyne 4 s. The rectory is valued in the king's books at 18 l. 13 s. 9 d. per annum.

“ The celebrated Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, biſhop of Bangor, ſo well known for the controverſy which from him took the name of Bangorian, was inſtituted to this rectory in the year 1710 on the preſentation of Mrs. Howland; who gave it him without any previous acquaintance, becauſe ſhe admired his political principles ‡. Dr. Hoadly dedicated a volume of ſermons to his patroneſs. He left Streatham, which was his moſt beloved retirement, upon his promotion to the ſee of Saliſbury in 1723 §.

“ The preſent incumbent is the Reverend Richard Bullock, D.D.

“ The pariſh regiſter begins in the year 1538, and, except during a part of the laſt century, appears to have been very accurately kept:

	Average of Baptiſms.	Average of Burials.
1580—1589	— 11	— 8
1680—1689	— 20	— 25
1780—1789	— 42	— 63

The population of this place appears to have increaſed in a proportion of two to one, during each century. The burials conſiderably exceed the baptiſms, eſpecially during the laſt ten years, a circumſtance which is to be accounted for from the great number of ſtrangers who are interred here. The preſent number of houſes is 265.

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* John Elſefield, as he is called in the biſhop's regiſter, was inſtituted in 1390. Reg. Winton. William de Wykham, pt. 1. f. 208. a. 2d numbering.

† He is called Mountforth, in the Wincheſter Regiſter, Fox, pt. 3. f. 446.

‡ Biograph. Brit.

§ Ibid.

"In the year 1545 there was a very great mortality at this place, the number of burials being 51; which exceeded the average of that period in a much greater proportion than in either of the great plague years in the laſt century. In 1605 there were 36 burials; in 1625, 34; in 1645, 40."

THE

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Project of a law againſt emigration propoſed by M. Chapelier, from the committee of conſtitution, with an avowal that no law on the ſubject could be made without violating all their principles. Mirabeau's opinion to the ſame effect. Violent clamours againſt him, and laughter at Chapelier. Galleries tumultuous. Reſolution paſſed in the midſt of confuſion, that all the committees ſhould conſider the ſubject, ſeparately and together. Riot the ſame day at the caſtle of Vincennes. La Fayette marches with the national guards. Signs of diſaffection in the battalion of the ſuburb of St. Antoine, under Santerre. Riot quelled, and the ringleaders taken. La Fayette's life twice in danger. Alarm about a plot to kill the king, or carry him away. Gentlemen go again to his defence. Found in the palace by La Fayatte, who remonſtrates to the king. Louis addreſſes the gentlemen, who in conſequence ſurrender their arms to the king. Arms ſeized by the national guards, and ſome of them broken in the king's preſence. Gentlemen inſulted. Emigration in conſequence of this day, and ſituation of the king. M. Roland firſt arrives in Paris. Briſſot's councils at his houſe* — — — — [84

CHAP. VII.

King greatly affected by the events at the Thuilleries. Ill in conſequence. Directory of the department of Paris enter on their office. Mirabeau's ſpeech in their name to the national aſſembly. Their addreſs to the public. Attacked by the violent party. Motion for the election of miniſters debated in the Jacobin club. Mirabeau is for an efficient monarchy. The directory, and the national aſſembly, liberate eight gentlemen arreſted at the Thuilleries. Sections reflect on the conduct of the directory. M. Chapelier moves for the demolition of the caſtle of Vincennes:—repairs ſuſpended. Jacobins reproach Mirabeau: King and court entertain hopes of him. Attacked by his laſt illneſs; but attends the debate on the property of mines. Suppoſed to be bribed by the proprietors of the mines of Azin. His illneſs increaſed by his exertions. Affects to meet death like an ancient Epicurean. Loſes his fortitude. Dies reproaching Dr. Cabanis for not performing his promiſe of ſhortening his ſufferings by opium. His character in private life: as an author: as a ſpeaker: as a member of the national aſſembly: as a politician. Both parties anxious for his life. No appearance of his having been poiſoned. Decree reſpecting his interment. His funeral. An *eight days mourning for him. His poſthumous opinion of teſtamentary diſpoſitions. Monarchy-club attempts a meeting. Prevented by the populace. Perſecution of the clergy increaſes. New biſhops elected by Jacobin intereſt. Extraordinary mode of enthroning them. Lay-men and prieſts of bad character elected. Pope's bull reſpecting the Gallican church. Its moderation. Perſecution of the ſiſter's of charity. Three in one pariſh ſcourged to death. Other women ſcourged in the ſtreets. School-maſters and miſtreſſes compelled to take the civic oath. Chapels of convents ſhut up. Chapels permitted by the directory to be hired for divine worſhip. That of the Theatins ſo hired and licenſed. Mob prevent the congregation from meeting. Fix over the door a bundle of rods, and a threatening inſcription. Both taken down by the mayor. Replaced by the mob with additions. National guards quiet ſpectators of all. Inſolence of one of them at the door of the royal chapel while the king was there at his devotions. Reſolution and placard of the club of the Cordeliers accuſing the king. King's journey to St. Cloud on the 18th of April riotouſly prevented. National guards concur with the mob. Mayor and commander in chief hiſſed and hooted. Reply of the king to an inſolent ſoldier. Imperious addreſs of the directory to the king, demanding to have the officers of his houſehold diſmiſſed, and the conſtitution announced to foreign courts by new miniſters: Flattering addreſs to the citizens of Paris. Directory convene the ſections. King's ſpeech in the aſſembly reſpecting his journey to St. Cloud. Preſident's anſwer in uniſon with the addreſs of the directory. Addreſs from the municipality to the ſame effect. Inſolent language and behaviour uſed towards the king from all quarters. Chaplains and officers of the houſehold reſign. King complies with the demands in the addreſſes. Draft of a letter from the king to foreign courts objected to by M. Montmorin. He is ordered to obey. M. La Fayette reſigns in conſequence of the late conduct of the national guards. Prevailed on to reſume the command. Goes at the head of deputies from the national guards to addreſs the king. One battalion broken for its mutinous demeanour. Placards of the club of the Cordeliers denounced. Battalion of the Cordeliers change their appellation. The club continue the ſame line of conduct. Violent againſt La Fayette. Other clubs the ſame. Jacobin club print aud circulate a letter of Dubois Crancè againſt the late oath of the national guards to La Fayette. Municipality and La Fayette compromiſe. A new battalion formed of the one lately broken, fourteen only being excluded. Theſe fourteen honoured, and feaſted by the fraternal ſociety and the Cordeliers. Popular explanations of La Fayette injurious to the king. Directory of Paris demand new laws, againſt ſedition, on the right of petition, and placards. Referred to the committee of the conſtitution, and a decree ſoon after paſſed, authoriſing ſoldiers to frequent the clubs. Report of Chapelier on the laws demanded, and projects of them. Oppoſed by Roberſpierre. Not paſſed, till the principal points were altered or explained away. Great expectations of the common people from opening the barriers of Paris. Are diſappointed. Shew a diſpoſition to tumult in conſequence. Aſſignats depreciated. Populace attack the diſcounters of aſſignats, and attempt to hang one of them. Second bull, and debates about Avignon. Pope burnt in effigy. Attempts to* *hang M. Clermont Tonnere, and deſtroy his houſe. Hideous condition of the gaols. No adminiſtration of juſtice. State of the provinces. Diſturbances break out in the Vivarais, at Tulle, Straſburg, and Colmar. Perſecution of the clergy increaſes. Law-proceedings againſt them too voluminous to be reported on by the eccleſiaſtical committee. Cruel treatment of the ſiſter's of charity throughout the kingdom. They petition the aſſembly, and are ſent for protection to the king. Debates about the colonies. Barnave's popularity ſhaken. Decree and explanation of motives, inconſiſtent with their celebrated declaration of rights. Decrees relative to the conſtitution. Board of Treaſury eſtabliſhed: Miniſtry organized: Both on plans highly derogatory to the Royal authority. Sound doctrine of M. Cazalès overruled. King's patronage in the navy reduced very low. The ſame intended in the army. Clubs want to break all the officers in the troops of the line. Decreed that the king ſhall not command, promote, reward, or puniſh the national guards. Review of the new finance-ſyſtem. Circular addreſs upon it. Remarkable admiſſions in favour of the old government. Calling of the new legiſlature, and its organization. Impreſſive ſpeech of M. Duport on the melancholy ſtate of the country: confirmed afterwards by M. Deſmeuniers and M. Bailly. King's late letter to foreign courts turned againſt him. Indecently attacked in the newſpapers. M. Montmorin complains of it, but the aſſembly paſſes to the order of the day. Neceſſity of the king's taking ſome deciſive ſtep* — — — [116

CHAP. VIII.

Two plans formed for the king's deliverance: One, by the Marquis de Bouillè, propoſed that the king ſhould withdraw himſelf from Paris, and throw himſelf on the loyalty of the provinces; the other, between the Count d'Artois and the Emperor, offered the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring powers. The king rejects the latter, and reſolves on attempting the execution of the former. Preparations for his flight. Theſe diſcloſed to La Fayette, and to Voidel. Queen alone ſuſpected. Guards at the palace doubled. Meaſures of the Aſſembly not conciliatory to the king. Power of pardoning taken from him by the new criminal code. Report relative to the army tends to force all the loyal officers into a reſignation of their commiſſions. Report on the ſtate of the frontiers ſhews a diſpoſition to diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. Farce of a deputation of pariſh-children to the aſſembly. Speech of their leader, promiſing the future conqueſt of the world. Jacobins likely to ſucceed in the approaching elections. Ceremony of the federation at hand. Duplicate of a paſſport obtained for the king's uſe. Other preparations for his departure. King and his family eſcape from Paris. Monſieur and his conſort eſcape. Proceedings in the aſſembly in conſequence. King's memoir delivered to the aſſembly. Abſtract of that memoir. Effect of the king's eſcape on the aſſembly—On the people. Proceedings of the Orleaniſts—Of the Briſſotins. King and his family arrive at Varennes. Arreſted there. Ignominiouſly ſent back to Paris. Inſults offered them on the road. The Marquis Dampierre ſhot for his loyalty, as he was in the act of kiſſing the king's hand. The Royal family arrive

arrive at Paris. Studied diſrepect ſhewn to them as they paſs. A cry of "the law, the law," and tumult raiſed as they are getting out of their carriage at the Thuilleries. Are impriſoned there. King and queen examined by the commiſſioners. Accuracy of the king. Conſtitution changed to a republic by theſe meaſures. M. Cazalès in conſequence reſigns. Short character of him. Coalition of the Lameths, Barnave, and the reſt of their party, with the party of La Fayette and the committee of the conſtitution. Conſequent reconciliation and return of the club of 1789 *to the Jacobins. The committee of the national aſſembly reports in favour of the king. Populace from the Palais Royal get poſſeſſion of the Jacobin club, and join in voting a petition againſt the King, propoſed by Laclos. Diſagreement of Laclos and Briſſot about drawing it up. Laclos wants to leave an opening for raiſing d'Orleans to the throne; Briſſot is for aboliſhing royalty altogether. Two different copies of the petition printed. Riotous meeting the next day in the Champ-de-Mars, for the purpoſe of petitioning. Jacobins ſend to announce that they had ſuppreſſed their petition. On the Sunday two perſons murdered by the multitude in the Champ de Mars. A new petition there propoſed. Martial law proclaimed, and ſeveral of the populace ſhot by the national guards. Great terror of the republican faction. Club of the Feuillants formed by a new ſchiſm of the Jacobins. Reviſion of the conſtitution. Eloquent proteſt of the minority againſt all the acts of the Aſſembly. Acceptance of the conſtitution by the king. Union of Avignon with France. Decree reſpecting the colonies, contrary to the former decree of the* 12*th of May. Decree againſt the clubs. Other decrees. Cloſing of the aſſembly. Review of the proceedings of the Aſſembly. Culpable acts amounting to actual rebellion in the commencement of the revolution. Vicious ſyſtem of domeſtic politics, on a principle of univerſal innovation. Miſchievous conſequences. Furious perſecution of the clergy at the diſſolution of the Aſſembly. Horrible ſcenes in the colonies at the ſame period. Syſtem of foreign politics. Declared hoſtility to all other governments from the beginning of the revolution. Alarms of Germany. Attack on the Empire in the proceedings againſt the princes of Alſace and Lorraine, and in the affairs of Avignon. Intrigues of the French in the latter country, and miſeries produced by them. Conduct of the king of Pruſſia. —Of the Emperor. Circular letter from Padua, and declaration at Pilnitz* — — — — [151

CHAP. IX.

Internal ſituation of France. Diſſenſions in families. Jacobinical influence. Weakneſs of the Conſtitutionaliſts. Briſſot, his foreign and domeſtic politics. Abbé Fauchet elected into the new legiſlature. Debates on his election. The legiſlative aſſembly take the oath of fidelity to the conſtitution. Ceremonial adopted on the occaſion: Diſplays a diſpoſition to degrade royalty. M. Ducaſtel cenſured for uſing the words "Sire and Majeſty," in addreſſing the king. Decree to ſuppreſs the chair of ſtate, and to place the king in a chair ſimilar to that of the preſident, on the preſident's left hand. Public *alarm in conſequence of the diſpoſition evinced by the aſſembly. Decree againſt the chair of ſtate adjourned. King's reſolution of adhering to the conſtitution. He repairs to the aſſembly. Aſſembly jealous of the royal interference. Decree to deprive Monſieur of his right to the regency, and againſt the emigrants in general. Louis refuſes his ſanction, by the advice of the miniſtry. Aſſembly refuſes to hear the miniſters in explanation of the royal motives. Decree againſt the prieſts. Speech of M. Iſnard. The ſanction likewiſe refuſed to this decree. Addreſſes to the aſſembly againſt the exerciſe of the royal veto. Inflammatory language in many of them applauded. A cenſure on them moved; but rejected. Aſſembly refuſes to hear a letter from the keeper of the ſeals read. The commiſſioners for carrying decrees to the Thuilleries, complain of not being received in a proper apartment. King's letter on the ſubject. Diſreſpectful anſwer of the preſident. The miniſters thwarted in their meaſures. M. Montmorin reſigns, and is ſucceeded by M. de Leſſart. He is accuſed by abbé Fauchet, and acquitted. Colonies. Violence of M. Briſſot on that ſubject. Concordat confirmed. Affairs of Avignon. Leſcuyer put to death by the populace. Maſſacre of the Ice Houſe. Horror of the national aſſembly. Complaint of Jourdan's party againſt two of the mediators. Counter addreſs of the city of Avignon. New commiſſioners ſent by the aſſembly. Accuſations againſt them. Committee appointed to examine into the crimes committed at Avignon. Partial report. Attempt of the Marſellois to liberate Jourdan prevented. Amneſty for Jourdan and his banditti moved in the aſſembly. Deputy extraordinary from Avignon, with an account of the judicial proceedings againſt the chiefs of the banditti. He is coolly received by the aſſembly, and inſulted by M. Bazire. Speeches in favour of the amneſty. It is decreed. Jourdan returns in triumph to Avignon, threatens the inhabitants, and exerciſes the ſame cruelties as before. Regiment of Chateau Vieux. Commencement of a negociation with the Emperor. Complaints againſt ſeveral German princes for permitting hoſtile aſſemblies of the emigrants. No ground for complaints of this kind againſt the Emperor. M. Rews derides the ſupport which the emigrants were likely to obtain in Germany. M. Averhoult. Miniſter for foreign affairs informs the aſſembly, that orders had been given for the ſuppreſſion of every hoſtile preparation of the emigrants throughout Germany. M. Ruhl. Applauded ſpeech of M. Iſnard. Aſſembly addreſſes the king, complaining of a want of energy in the diplomatic line. Harangue of Anacharſis Cloots, and the preſident's anſwer. King goes down to the aſſembly. His ſpeech. Reply of the aſſembly. Aſſembly impatient for war, iſſues a manifeſto on the ſubject. Speech of Briſſot on the occaſion. Particulars of the manifeſto. The elector of Treves diſperſes the bodies of emigrants in his dominions. The government at Bruſſels complains of favours beſtowed on emigrants from the Netherlands in France. Several Dutch emigrants appear at the bar of the aſſembly, and are termed by the preſident, "Allies of the French people." Aſſembly enters into an alliance with an obſcure ſociety in London, calling themſelves Conſtitutional Whigs. Refugees from Brabant and Liege permitted to form themſelves into a deliberating body, and to paſs reſolutions againſt their reſpective ſovereigns. New pretext for war. Offence taken at certain expreſſions in* *a diſpatch of Prince Kaunitz. Diviſions among the Jacobins on the ſubject. Diſpute in conſequence between Briſſot and Roberſpierre. The opinion of the former prevails. Briſſot's boaſt of having been the author of the war. Debate on Prince Kaunitz's diſpatch. Decree againſt any Frenchman's taking part in a ſuppoſed congreſs for the modification of the French conſtitution. Briſſot ſtimulates the aſſembly to an immediate war with the Emperor. The aſſembly again addreſſes the king. King's anſwer to the addreſs. M. de Leſſart's inſtructions to the French embaſſador at Vienna. Counter inſtructions of Prince Kaunitz, explanatory of the Emperor's conduct and motives. The Pruſſian envoy informs M. de Leſſart, that his Pruſſian majeſty would oppoſe any invaſion of the German territory. De Leſſart impeached and ſent to Orleans. Succeeded by M. Dumourier, who ſolicits a correſpondence with the jacobin club. Death of the Emperor. Further progreſs of the negociation. Communications from Dumourier. Conference between M. Noailles, the French ambaſſador, and Count Cobentzel. The king of Pruſſia courted. The French cabinet reſolve on a declaration of war againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia. Secret agent from Vienna at Paris during the negociations. The king propoſes the war to the aſſembly, which receives the propoſal with tranſport* — [247

CHAP. X.

War in India.—Tippoo Sultan attacks the lines of Travancore. Is repulſed. The Eaſt India company interfere. The Sultan attacks the lines a ſecond time, and is ſucceſsful. Preparations for war in the Britiſh ſettlements. Plan of the campaign. The Sultan retires from Travancore, and ineffectually endeavours to negociate with General Medows. The general takes poſſeſſion of Caroor, Daraporum, and Coimbetore. Capture of Erroad, Dindigul, and Sattimungulum. Chain of poſts from the Coromandel coaſt eſtabliſhed. The enemy ſuddenly deſcends the Gauts, and attacks Colonel Floyd, who retreats. Particulars of the retreat. General Medows, with the main army, joins the colonel at Velladi. Marches after the Sultan. Rapid movements of the enemy. General Medows returns to Coimbetore. Wiſhes to effect a junction with the Carnatic army. Proceeds to the north-eaſt with that view. Is preceded by the Sultan, who after having ſhewn himſelf in order of battle before the Carnatic army returns, and falling in with the general, hurries in confuſion towards the Gauts. Junction of the grand and the Carnatic armies. The Sultan now bends his courſe to the Carnatic. Is overtaken by the Engliſh at the paſs of Tapoor. Gets the ſtart again, and reaches Trichinopoly. Paſſes through the Carnatic to Tiagar and Trinomaly. Captures the fort of Permacoil near Pondicherry. General Medows purſues him no farther than Trinomaly, but proceeds to Vellout. Tranſactions of the Carnatic army previous to its junction, and of the Bombay army. Reflections on the termination of the firſt campaign. Lord Cornwallis aſſumes the command. The Sultan retires to his own dominions. Lord Cornwallis enters Myſore by the Muglee paſs. Marches immediately to Bangalore. Skirmiſh before Bangalore. The Pettah or town

town ſtormed and taken. The enemy in vain attempts to diſlodge our troops from the Pettah. The fort captured. Correſpondence between Lord Cornwallis and the Sultan reſpecting the body of the governor, who was killed in the aſſault. Lord Cornwallis returns to the North, is joined by the Nizam's cavalry, and receives conſiderable ſupplies. Returns to Bangalore. General Abercromby, with the Bombay army, aſcends the Weſtern Gauts, and is ordered to Periapatam. Lord Cornwallis proceeds to Seringapatam. Encamps at Arakeery. Attacks the enemy, and drives him into the iſland. Incapable of undertaking the ſiege of Seringapatam. Reſolves upon a retreat. Falls in with the Mahratta armies. Unſucceſsful attempt of the Sultan to negociate. The combined armies ſeparate. Lord Cornwallis reaches Bangalore. Plan of operations for the rainy ſeaſon. Capture of Ouſſoor, Rayacottah, and other hill forts. The Sultan again in vain endeavours to negociate. Communication with the Nizam's country opened. Spirited ſpeech of General Medows at Nundrydoog. The enemy retakes Coimbetore, and ravages the Barramaul. The Barramaul cleared by Colonel Maxwell. Lord Cornwallis takes Savendroog, Outradoog, Ram Gurry, and Sheria Gurry. Proceedings of the armies of the Nizam and that of the Mahrattas under Perſeram Bhow. Lord Cornwallis encamps before Seringapatam. Short deſcription of the iſland. Lord Cornwallis attacks the enemy's fortified camp in the night. Particulars of the attack. A poſt of conſequence eſtabliſhed on the iſland. The Sultan is reduced to the ſole defence of the fort. Releaſes the officers taken at Coimbetore, and ſues for peace. Attempts the life of lord Cornwallis. Junction of General Abercromby. Operations of the ſiege. General Abercromby inveſts the ſouth-weſt ſide of the fort. Conflict at an advanced poſt. Termination of Hoſtilities. Preliminary articles of peace. Delivery of two of the Sultan's ſons as hoſtages. Definitive treaty. Diviſion of the ceded territories. Reflections on the advantages and policy of the peace — — — [282

CHAP. XI.

Public attention to the Indian war and Ruſſian negociation. Riots at Birmingham. Their cauſes and origin. Charges of the diſſenters, and anſwer of the church party. Opening of the ſeſſion of parliament. Speech from the throne. Addreſs moved in the houſe of lords. Lord Stormont. Amendment on the addreſs in the houſe of commons. Both ſides of the houſe expreſs ſatisfaction at the marriage of the duke of York, and at the flouriſhing ſtate of the revenue. Ruſſian negociation attacked, and defended. His majeſty's recommendation of the repeal of taxes repreſented as a breach of privilege. Supported as perfectly proper and conſtitutional. Omiſſion of Birmingham riots in his majeſty's ſpeech. Miniſtry challenge an enquiry into the conduct of government during the riots. War in India conſidered on one ſide as diſaſtrous, on the other as diſtinguiſhed by brilliant ſucceſſes. Mr. Fox. The chancellor of the exchequer's ſpeech on the ſtate of the finances. Repeal of certain taxes. Mr. Pitt's ſtatement controverted by Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Fox. Mr. Pitt's

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